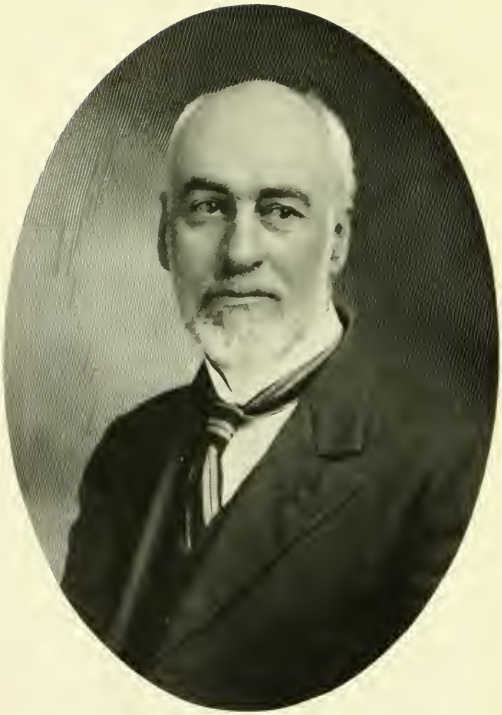
NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08181504 9

MICROFILMED BY UMI

Miller

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/twentiethcentury01mill



John Miller

A TWENTIETH CENTURY

HISTORY

OF

ERIE COUNTY

PENNSYLVANIA

A NARRATIVE ACCOUNT OF ITS HISTORICAL PROGRESS, ITS PEOPLE, AND ITS PRINCIPAL INTERESTS

BY

JOHN MILLER

ILLUSTRATED

Volume I

1909
THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY
CHICAGO

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
706982
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1915 L

COPYRIGHT, 1909,
By John Miller.

TO BEGIN WITH

It may well be questioned whether, west of the Appalachian range of mountains, there is to be found a locality that, in its time, has played a more important part in the world's history than Erie county has. Lifted into prominence in the historical landscape as the distance of time widens the perspective, Erie county incidents tower in the background, landmarks in the history of America and of the world.

We read that the French, in pursuance of a policy, built a fort at Erie (Presque Isle), constructed a military road to Lake Le Bœuf, where another fort was built, and there established a line of communication by batteaux down the streams to the forks of the Ohio. But how few have recognized the fact that the building of the two Erie county forts and the construction of that portage road was the overt act leading up to the grand climax; that the culmination occurred when Legardeur de St. Pierre, at Le Bœuf, in curt, soldierly fashion, made reply to the message of Dinwiddie, carried into the wilderness by Washington; that that reply, delivered upon Erie county soil, precipitated a conflict in which three nations were involved, known in American history as the French and Indian War and in the history of Europe as the Seven Years' War? That the military work of the French in Erie county was at the time regarded as of a serious nature has been understood, else Governor Dinwiddie would not have commissioned his most trusted officer, Col. George Washington, an express messenger to carry dispatches in the depth of winter so far into the heart of the great forest. But how serious it was, and how important as bearing upon the history of the world that occupancy of the French was to be, only time, as it widened the horizon of historic vision, could tell. Forts Presque Isle and Le Bœuf and the "Old French Road," viewed in the light shed upon them by the world's history, matured by time, acquire a significance beyond what has generally been bestowed upon them.

Another incident lifts Erie into prominence in history. It is in connection with the Second War for Independence. Well may it be said that, but for the part played by Erie in the War of 1812 the result of that conflict might have been different. Surely it is not exaggeration to say that the great naval battle on Lake Erie was the decisive engagement of that war. Had it not been for Capt. Daniel Dobbins's representations to President Madison, there probably would not have been built an American fleet for service on Lake Erie; and had it not been for Capt. Dobbins's thorough knowledge of the lake and of the situation of affairs, and his energy in carrying out his plans, for which

he won the approval of the President, the American Nation might have had a hopeless task in its efforts to stem the tide of disaster that was overwhelming the northern frontier. That glorious victory of September 10, 1813, in which the Erie-built ships humbled British naval pride by defeating an entire squadron—the first instance of the kind in British history—may well be regarded as the turning point in that war, the winning of which confirmed, and forever established, American independence.

Let Erie not forget the distinguished part it has played in the history of the world.

In this History of Erie County an effort has been made to set down in as orderly fashion as possible, the occurrences that have transpired, so far as can be ascertained from the records. By records, let it be explained, is meant not alone the writings of those who have written accounts of the happenings from time to time, but those relics that were left by the original owners and occupants of the soil, meagre though they are in quantity, obscure in quality, and perhaps misleading or uncertain in character. With no written language and with nothing but traditions passed from father to son through no telling how many generations, Indian history is necessarily hazy; scarcely more so is that history the only record of which is found in the isolated mounds and mysterious earthworks scattered about and overgrown by centuries of forest. That Erie county had been occupied by that mysterious race, that in this section, at least, preceded the Indian of the white man's ken, there are numerous proofs in what survives of their work. Whether they were an earlier and distinct race, or merely the forebears of the Indians that still survive, is a matter for the ethnologists to settle. At any rate, they once were here, and Erie county seems to mark the ultimate boundary of their possessions. For the elucidation of the history of the red man—that child of the "stone age"—indebtedness is acknowledged to the writings of F. W. Halsey, John Fiske and Francis Parkman.

As to the period of French occupancy, covering, so far as Erie county is concerned, the six years from 1753 to 1759—the narrative of the building of the forts, the construction of the portage road, and the incidents of the war that, centering at Fort Duquesne, finally resulted in driving away the French—it is proper to state that the main reliance has been on the historical works of Francis Parkman; of Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society, and the anonymous History of Western Pennsylvania, published in 1846 by Daniel Kauffman of Pittsburg (its author, "A Gentleman of the Bar"). The story of Washington's visit to Fort Le Bœuf—our Waterford of today—is from the journal kept by George Washington himself.

Mention must be made of the work done by the late Miss Laura Y. Sanford, whose excellent History of Erie County has been exceedingly serviceable, especially with reference to the beginnings of the permanent settlement of Erie. To the historical account of the building of Perry's fleet, the Battle of Lake Erie, and the disposition made of the ships and prizes, written in 1876 by Capt. W. W. Dobbins, a son of Capt. Daniel Dobbins, the writer of this history is indebted. Acknowledgment must be made of the service rendered by the late

Benjamin Whitman, who, with commendable zeal, took advantage of opportunities that happily then existed of gathering into orderly shape an immense store of facts relating to the early settlement of the county, still available when collected, a third of a century ago, from the lips of pioneers now passed from the stage of human affairs. From the writings of the late Hon. James Sill; of the late Rufus L. Perkins; of the late Lewis W. Olds; of Thomas C. Miller, Rev. J. P. Irwin, Robert J. Moorhead, Dr. Edward Cranch, J. Elmer Reed, the late Capt. N. W. Russell and Mrs. Isaac Moorhead, much has been obtained, while of the living, who yielded to interviews, it would be in vain to give a list—unwise to attempt it, because in a list that would be so extended many might inadvertently be omitted.

Other sources of information have been the records in the City Hall, (in the search through which Mr. Thomas Hanlon, for many years City Clerk, has rendered invaluable service); the well preserved newspaper files in the Public Library; many excellent scrap-books (not omitting some made by the late M. S. Vincent), and the city directories, back to the first number published by Henry W. Hulbert in 1853. Acknowledgment must be made of the assistance furnished by the Postmaster General's office; by State Superintendent of Public Instruction Schaefer; by Hon. Isaac B. Brown of the State Department of Internal Affairs, and by Collector B. B. Brown of the Erie Custom House and Isador Sobel, Postmaster of Erie.

Covering the Civil War Period, besides what the newspapers of the time afforded, indebtedness is acknowledged to the writings of Rev. John Richards Boyle, and George L. Kilmer; to Bates's regimental histories; to numerous magazine articles, and to Capt. E. L. Whittelsey and Capt. James Hunter.

These acknowledgments are here made to account for the absence of foot-notes, and it is trusted this explanation will be taken as sufficient excuse for the omission of these marks of authority or verification in their place. That the history which follows may be accepted with as tender criticism as the indulgent reader can conscientiously grant is the hope of the author.

J. M.

Erie, September, 1909.

CONTENTS

PART ONE—THE COUNTY

I.	The Scene of the Story	1
II.	The Earliest Inhabitants	10
III.	The French in Possession	19
IV.	Washington's Mission	30
V.	The Fall of French Power	40
VI.	Pontiac's Conspiracy	49
VII.	The Triangle	57
VIII.	Ready for the Settlers	65
IX.	Coming of the Pioneers	72
X.	Death of Anthony Wayne	81
XI.	Settlement Begun	88
XII.	Laying Out the Roads	97
XIII.	The County Organized	107
XIV.	The War Cloud's Shadow	117
XV.	Non-Combatants	128
XVI.	Perry Meets the Enemy	137
XVII.	After Victory was Won	147
XVIII.	The Religious Development	160
XIX.	Schools of the County	175
XX.	Early Industries	187
XXI.	How Commerce Grew	203
XXII.	The Peninsula	214
XXIII.	The Canal Built	234
XXIV.	Coming of the Germans	245
XXV.	The Railroads Enter	258
XXVI.	The Railroad War	267
XXVII.	The Railroads Built	294
XXVIII.	Slavery in Erie	308
XXIX.	Erie's War Regiments	324
XXX.	The Lake Navy	341
XXXI.	Minute Men and Conscripts	352
XXXII.	The War Debt Paid	363
XXXIII.	The Bench and Bar	374
XXXIV.	The Spanish War	390
XXXV.	Notable People	400

XXXVI. The Grape Belt 412
XXXVII. Political Record 419

PART TWO—TOWNSHIPS AND CORRY

I. Amity 437
II. Concord 440
III. Conneaut and Albion 444
IV. Elkcreek 451
V. Fairview Township and Borough 455
VI. Franklin 463
VII. Girard Township and Borough 466
VIII. Greene 477
IX. Greenfield 481
X. Harborcreek 486
XI. Le Bœuf and Mill Village 491
XII. McKean and Middleboro 496
XIII. Millcreek 500
XIV. North East 510
XV. Springfield and East Springfield 522
XVI. Summit 528
XVII. Union and Union City 531
XVIII. Venango and Wattsburg 541
XIX. Washington and Edinboro 547
XX. Waterford Township and Borough 556
XXI. Wayne 563
XXII. The City of Corry 568

PART THREE—THE CITY

I. The Site of the Town 585
II. The Town of Erie 591
III. The Borough Chartered 604
IV. Becomes a City 623
V. Erie's Harbor 641
VI. Burning of the Erie 657
VII. In Time of War 665
VIII. Public Markets 680
IX. Erie's Industries 688
X. Vanished Industries 713
XI. Business Affairs 727
XII. Electricity Enters 739
XIII. By Trolley Route 748
XIV. Public Buildings 763
XV. The Medical Profession 779
XVI. The City Schools 788
XVII. Erie Churches 802
XVIII. Social Organizations 830
XIX. Hotels, Theatres, Sports 845
XX. Parks and Resorts 855
XXI. Journals and Journalists 869
XXII. Conclusion 881

PART FIRST

THE COUNTY

CHAPTER I.—THE SCENE OF THE STORY.

The Heart of the Greatest Forest in the World.—The Woods, Hills, Streams and Lakes, and General Physical Features of the County.

It would not be proper to enter upon the history of this or any other section or part of the American continent without turning back to the beginning of it—the beginning as we have come to understand it—and dating our start on the 12th of October, 1492, the day when Columbus discovered America. No; on second thought, I had better not put it that way, though this is entirely in accord with historical convention. The best way to put it is: the day upon which Columbus discovered there was a western shore of the great Atlantic sea. It is better this way for two reasons. First, America had long had its existence and was not sooner known to the inhabitants of the eastern continent simply because none had been possessed of the energy, the enterprise, the good judgment, the abounding faith and the indomitable will the great Genoese was endowed with. The other reason is that after all Columbus did not discover America; he just fell short of it; and though it did happen to him that once upon a time he viewed the mainland of America he did not know it. When he passed through the strait that makes Trinidad an island and viewed the land upon his left he believed that too to be of the same nature as all the rest of his discoveries in the western hemisphere, only an island. In truth it was the main land of South America. But even had he known the real character of the land he was viewing, as a discoverer of the continent he had been forestalled.

But that vaster moiety of the western continent, that portion that was in time to attain to the proud position of standing in the fore-front among the nations of the world? The beginnings of that, applying the measure of time that has ever since been employed by European people, date from the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, sailors enlisted in the service of Great Britain, who, in 1497-1499, pushing their adventurous prows in the direction of the setting sun and choosing a course nearer to the latitude of the nation under whose flag they sailed, found and explored a marvelous coast, extending hundreds of leagues, from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico. It is this discovery, or voyage of exploration, if you please, that most concerns us—that, in fact, had most to do with

the advancement of the new continent, and the whole world in fact. It was the real discovery of America. For it was an enterprise belonging to the race that was to build up, beyond the Europeans' setting sun, an empire vaster in area, greater in power, and incalculably higher in liberty than any nation the world had ever seen. It was Columbus who gave the cue; it was the Cabots with the Anglo-Saxon behind them who entered upon the stage as the actors of the opening scene of the world's greatest nation-drama.

Let us now spread before us the map of this discovery of the Cabots —this new continent as it was when first viewed by the eyes of those European mariners. What manner of land was it?

It was the greatest forest in the world, extending from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi river (generally) and from the Gulf of Mexico northward, to the shores of Hudson's bay, and then further northward and westward, to the mouth of the Mackenzie river on the shore of the Arctic ocean, and up into Alaska. Nor did it end there, for, crossing the continent, this stupendous forest reached southward again in two spurs, one the great timber country of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia; the other the timber tract of the Rocky mountains. It was a forest of hundreds of species of trees, ranging from the palmettos and pines and live oaks, cypresses and gums and magnolias of the south, to the spruces and firs and birches that in the extreme north become dwarfed by their proximity to the icy zone into mere shrubs.

Almost in the geographical centre of the eastern or main section of this great forest is the area that is the scene of this history. It is truly a goodly land. Perhaps no other part of the great North American forest, of equal area, could boast of a greater variety of trees, certainly no other could produce more species valuable to the race of man. And in vast abundance, too, are those timbers that are to become an adjunct toward the founding and development of a commonwealth never before approached. There is no means by which to calculate the influence upon the building of this nation that was exercised by the white pine and the hemlock spruce, which at one time were abundant here. The same is true, though probably in lesser degree, of the chestnut and the several oaks; of the cherry and the walnut; of the tulip-tree or whitewood, and the cucumber; of the ash and maples and beech; of the cedars and elms and hickories; of the birches and linden or basswood.

Everywhere they grow within easy reach, forming a covering so dense that the sunlight scarcely prevailed to reach the ground beneath to stimulate the humbler growth that through the slow process of evolution had come to accommodate itself to the conditions that prevail. Literally it is a trackless forest, for the few and widely separated Indian trails scarce merit the name of paths—the red man's highway through the great forest is not overland; the streams are his true thoroughfare; the rivers of varying degree and the lakes his means of communication.

And conceive what must have been the surprise of the earliest of the European explorers when, having penetrated the recesses of the forest, they were stopped upon the shore of a vast sea that seemed to stretch illimitable; a sea without a tide; a sea of pure sweet water; that lay before them a glassy mirror in time of calm, or in storm was even more terrible than Old Ocean himself. And more wonderful still, to learn, as exploration progressed, that within the confines of this great forest there extended a series of these seas or lakes, extending hundreds of leagues in a diagonal direction, some (the greater of them) joined together as a chain, others separated by varying distances, the whole covering the equivalent of thirty degrees of the earth's latitude.

Its streams, too! Perhaps the grand Montaña of Brazil, the principal rival of the great North American forest, can boast of more numerous navigable water-ways in the tributaries of the Amazon, but certainly no continent can produce, in section habitable for a progressive race, a system as complete, for purposes of communication or as aids to industry, as that (or those, if you please) with which the great forest of North America was furnished. They abounded, and their courses seemed to lead in every direction. It was possible for the early explorers to penetrate in every direction—to the north or south, to the east or west—by employing the rivers, and white man and savage alike were prompt to put them to use.

This stupendous forest, nearly a thousand leagues in greatest extent, was inhabited, but it was not populous, neither as regards man nor the lower animals, though in respect to species or kind there were many varieties in both classes. Mankind was represented by a race of brown men, mistakenly called Indians, and quite as erroneously spoken of as red, the color designation due no doubt to the almost universal custom of the savages of painting their faces and bodies, the favorite hue being red. Of these Indians there were many tribes or nations, differing in appearance and language and mode of life. They were children of nature, their industries insignificant, and even agriculture as a means by which to obtain subsistence but little practiced. From the forest they obtained a large proportion of their food. The chestnut, the acorns of the white and chestnut oaks, the beech, hazel, hickory, pecan, walnut, butternut, wild plum and cherry, service berry, berries of species of viburnum and wild grapes, besides the fruits of the several brambles and berries of the heath family of shrubs, all contributed to the bill of fare of the savage. The maple yielded sugar; other trees were made to yield sustenance from their inner bark, while plants of humbler growth contributed root, stem, leaf or seed to help supply the necessary food.

More important, however, were the animals that were hunted; for their flesh, or for their skins, or for their tendons that were required for bow-strings or thread. The Virginian deer and the bear were found throughout nearly the entire range. The elk, and in the north, the moose.

The bison or buffalo, in the beginning of the white man's acquaintance with the North American continent, was not strictly a denizen of the great plains of the interior. Its range extended east to the Alleghany mountains, and as late as the year 1795 was to be found in what is now central New York. To this day its presence in the eastern part of the great forest is certified by the name borne by a populous city, and in this county of Erie by the lake and stream named after it—Le Bœuf. And the fauna included animals of the carnivora—the cougar or panther, the wolverine, the lynx, the wolf, the fox, besides furbearing animals such as the beaver, the mink, squirrels, the hare or rabbit, the muskrat, the skunk. These denizens of the forest, as well as the great game, all contributed to the support of the savages who represented the human race as lords of the great North American forest. In the process of time these animals were to play an important part in working out the destiny of this continent. It will appear in the course of this narrative how important this part was.

The location of Erie county is very near the geographical centre of this vast forest that stretched, north and south, over forty degrees of latitude. It was, before the advent of the white man, a typical section, representative of the American forest at its best, for here the arboreal vegetation, favored by situation and climate, reached its perfection. There were lacking several species to be found only farther south; there were, however, other species that do not thrive in the south, while many that here attain to vigor and great proportions do not grow much farther north. It is a fertile tract, and, comparatively level, especially favored the broad-leafed trees or hard woods. Many chestnuts, tulip-trees and sycamores attained to truly gigantic proportions, reaching quite to the recorded limit of height. The white pine was best on the southern slope of the county's great divide, having in the early days been reasonably abundant in the valleys of French creek and its tributaries. The hemlock spruce, a slow growing but valuable timber tree, was more generally distributed, frequently dominating restricted districts. The chestnut was especially abundant on the lake shore plain. The most plentiful of all the species of trees was the beech, particularly on the uplands, while the sugar and red maples were universal and abundant. The oaks of several species or varieties (such as the white, red, black, scarlet and chestnut) were well distributed, seldom, however, forming groves or woods as did the hemlock, chestnut, maple and beech. The basswood, the tulip-tree (poplar or whitewood of the lumberman) the cucumber, elms of two species, cherry, tupelo, white ash, hickories, walnut and butternut and the black and yellow birch were common and generally distributed, though according to all accounts that can be obtained the paper or canoe birch was not a denizen of this county, or if so, was scarce. The black ash chose the swampy places and the sycamore was not content unless its feet were in the water. There were three indigenous poplars, two of which favored

sandy situations, near the water, and the third, indifferent, was best suited with a heavier soil. There was but one willow that attained to the dignity of a tree—the black or swamp willow—the numerous species of willow trees of the present time, coming as immigrants with the white man, just as the Lombardy poplar did. Besides these there were the tamarack of the swamps, and the ironwood, and, sometimes attaining to the stature or habit of a tree, the service berry, the flowering dogwood, the pawpaw, the wild plum, the witch-hazel, the blue or water beech and the alder. The red cedar or Virginian juniper, frequently a good-sized tree, once was plentiful enough to yield material for fence-posts, and probably the black spruce, the white cedar and the locust were among the trees of Erie county. On the peninsula is to be found an oak, that does not grow upon the mainland.

Topographically Erie county is interesting. Generally speaking it consists of a series of ridges that extend with comparative regularity parallel with the lake shore, highest in the east and gradually falling away as they extend toward the Ohio line. The high dividing ridge (Erie county's great divide) which separates the waters of the Allegheny tributaries from the water that discharges into Lake Erie, crosses the New York state line near Colt's Station in Greenfield township, where it is 1,000 feet or more above the level of the lake. It then passes in nearly a straight line to Strong's, on the turnpike ten miles from Erie in Waterford township, where it is from 850 to 875 feet above the lake level. From Strong's westward it becomes less distinctly marked and much depressed, and is altogether lost before reaching Conneaut township. Conneaut lake in Crawford county is a little more than five hundred feet above Lake Erie. From this dividing ridge there are four tolerably well marked terraces to, and parallel with, the lake. These terraces are higher and better defined near the New York state line, and become much depressed on reaching Elk-creek and Fairview townships, with the exception of the lowest, or northernmost one, which extends into Ohio. The streams which empty into the lake in some instances run, each within one of these terraces for a considerable distance before they find an opening through which they can pass to a lower level. This is most notable toward the western part of the county, the best examples being Walnut creek and Elk creek, which rising due south of Erie, flow westward long distances before they finally discharge into the lake. Conneaut creek, rising in Crawford county and flowing north, after passing Albion takes the characteristic westerly course into Ohio doubling upon itself before it finally turns northward to the lake. The streams to the east of Erie, on the other hand, have a more direct course from the high dividing ridge. The valleys and ridges south of the divide are none of them regular or easily defined; they are numerous and scenically beautiful. Toward the east, in the neighborhood of Corry, the hills are high, but they gradually become dwarfed

toward the west. The approach to the lake by the streams from the interior is marked generally by sharp steep ravines or by narrow tortuous valleys or glens many of them wooded and charming in high degree. In places, especially where the streams have pierced the high ridges, the canyons or breakers that have been formed are grand and impressive. The canyon of Wintergreen gulf, is perhaps the most notable of these, while the high bluff known as the Devil's Backbone, with its almost perpendicular sides brought together at the top to a narrow trail or footpath, thrust into the ox-bow bend of Elk creek, in Girard township, reaches the degree of sublimity. The brow of the bluffs of many of the streams is not infrequently rendered impressively picturesque by more or less extensive groves of hemlock spruce, overlooked by some happy chance when the lumberer was abroad with his all-devouring saw, and it is pardonable to breathe a wish that these relics of the great forest that once was, may long remain.

The county's streams are trivial as a rule, particularly so at the present time. During the summer season it frequently happens that once important and constant streams are as dry and dusty as the country roads, being sometimes for weeks without even scattered pools of water to be found in their beds. Those that empty into the lake, during their best estate, which is now more than three-quarters of a century ago, were wild and turbulent; then invaluable as a means of furnishing power for the industries of the time. The principal streams that empty into the lake are Crooked creek, Elk creek, Trout run, Walnut creek and Mill creek, and, eastward, Four-mile, Six-mile, Twelve-mile, and Sixteen-mile creeks. Conneaut creek passes through a corner of Erie county only. The streams of the Alleghany water-shed are different, swift-flowing to be sure, near their source, but, nearing the county's southern line, tamed into a condition that rendered them serviceable for the commerce of the early time and important factors in aiding the development of the county in its youth. The streams of the southern watershed are of but three systems. The main, being French creek with its numerous tributaries, and the others Conneauttee creek and its tributary, Little Conneauttee, which rise in McKean and Franklin townships and drain Washington township; and Hare creek and its tributaries which have their source in the east half of Wayne and after a course of a few miles flow into the Brokenstraw in Warren county. The townships drained by French creek and its tributaries are, Greenfield, Amity, Concord, part of Wayne, Union, Le Bœuf, Waterford, Venango, and the southern halves of Summit and Greene.

The lakes of the county are three in number and all are small—mere ponds. The most important is Lake Le Bœuf in Waterford township, known to the white man from the beginning of the French occupancy, as the route from the fort down French creek, led through this lake at the very start, for at only a few rods distance down from the fort the lake

receives Le Bœuf creek, which leaves it again but a short distance to the south. This lake is about two-thirds of a mile long by a half mile in width and contains a small island in the center, sometimes inundated during a high stage of water. Conneauttee Lake in Washington township is about a mile long and half a mile wide, but this is its measurement since reinforced by means of a dam in the outlet built to obtain power for a flour mill. Naturally it was probably three quarters of a mile in length. Lake Pleasant, the smallest of the three is about a half-mile long by one-third wide. All three of the Erie county lakes are the product of glacial action, the result of the scooping-out process by the movement of the ice, which formed bowl-shaped excavations where the water collects as it is drained from the surrounding hills. Doubtless Lake Le Bœuf was at one time much larger in area; before the upper part had become filled with the peaty soil formed by the decaying vegetation reinforced by the alluvion carried by every spring freshet and deposited a little at a time upon the edge but constantly encroaching. The lakes are most beautifully situated, with surrounding hills of green in summer time, but unfortunately in two instances less attractive now than before the surrounding woods were removed.

The most beautiful waterfall of the county is in the vicinity of Howard's Stone Quarry in the northern part of Franklin township. The water is from Falls creek (the name derived from the cascade) and Falls creek is a tributary of Elk creek. This miniature Niagara is of a height of about fifty feet, but of no great width. The stream, which above the fall traverses a rather level tract, flows in a comparatively shallow bed which is superposed upon a rather thick stratum of the fine hard sandstone that was the product of that quarry during its business activity, and it is over the edge of a break in this stratum that the water is carried into a deep and narrow gorge with steep sides, the left covered with a growth of trees, the right almost perpendicular. Numerous cascades are found along the shore where the streams empty into the lake. The larger streams long ago wore away their rocky bottoms so that for many years a considerable length of slack water distinguished their estuaries. This condition is especially marked at the mouth of Elk creek. The slackwater at the mouth of Walnut creek is short, backed by a series of steep rapids that flow over the bottom of shale, composed of alternate hard and soft laminæ. Until within recent years—a score or so,—the fall at the mouth of Cascade creek was one of the most charming in nature, though small, and near the mouth of Six-mile creek there is still to be seen a little cascade which pours into a beautiful pool below, a delightful bit of natural scenery.

The soil of Erie county is varied. Bordering upon the lake, at its edge lying from fifty to sixty feet above the level of the water, there is a fertile plain, comparatively flat, varying from two to three miles in width, the soil of which is generally a sandy loam, largely alluvial in its

character, though midway there extended from near Moorheadville to the Ohio line a strip of land in places a half-mile wide of a swampy character. The soil in this was of no great thickness, being underlaid, at the depth of a foot or two in some instances, by a stratum of hard rocky shale or sometimes "hard-pan" clay. When cleared the soil of this swamp, became peat, in dry seasons took fire in places and, smouldering sometimes for weeks, burned out the supports of the trees in the woods upon which it encroached, with the result that the trees fell, a complicated mass of wreckage. Much of this swampy land in time became valuable to the cultivator. Back upon the hills the soil is generally clayey, stiff and hard to work, and at one time the land was regarded as of no particular value to the farmer, and fit only for grazing. "The Beechwoods" section was esteemed a poor part to have one's lot cast in. But the progress made in agriculture changed old-time notions, and now there is no part of the hill country that is not regarded as valuable. The wider valleys of the southern part, especially the valley of French creek has an alluvial soil of great depth and fertility. The most noteworthy swamp of the county is the "Tamarack Swamp," named from the larch which there has its habitat. It extends from near Waterford, west into McKean township, and is the source of tributaries of both Elk and Le Bœuf creeks.

Geologically Erie county is poor indeed. There is no coal, no iron, no oil, no metal of any kind, no limestone and no building stone worth working. Its foundation is what is known as the Portage sandstone and shale in irregularly alternate strata. But little of value has been obtained from the rocks of Erie county. At Le Bœuf, where the sandstone is rather coarser in texture, some building stone has been taken out, and at one time considerable was done at the Howard quarry in the northern part of Franklin township. Neither of these locations now yields any product to be depended upon. The Erie rocks are distant from the coal measures, as from the petroleum region, and though in the past drilling yielded small quantities of oil, and even to this day gas can be obtained by boring, neither is constant nor long in term of production and therefore, not being dependable, there has not developed here a local oil or gas business. Scientifically there is a measure of interest in the rocks hereabout because of the occurrence of a formation called cone-in-cone, useful only to the geological collector for his cabinet. There are also a few fossils, chiefly of the lowest orders of plants, found in the slaty shales or the heavier strata of blue sandstone. At one time bog iron in some quantity was quarried from the swamp of the Lake Shore plain, but it soon became exhausted. Coming within the considerations of geological science there must not be overlooked the numerous erratic bowlders to be found everywhere over the county, sometimes lying upon the surface or embedded in the soil, and often plentiful in the streams, where the action of the water has laid them bare, evidence that this

section was included in the region affected by the influence of the glacial epoch (the ice age), and numerous pebbles or small bowlders have been found in this vicinity that bore scratches, the effect of the grinding process as they were carried over harder substances under the weight of the massive glaciers during their steady but deliberate progress. Indeed the bed of Lake Erie itself, the shallowest of all the Great Lakes, is by geologists pronounced the result of glacial action that scooped out the immense basin.

Now this story, brought up to date, is the story of the Erie county part of that great American forest. It is difficult for us today to conceive what that forest primeval was—perhaps even to fully understand that it was; that where the city stands was once an echoing woods from which, upon its floor, the sky could scarce be seen; that it was a tract of land cut by ravines well nigh impassable, with woods, woods everywhere; that then there was no view of green hills to the south, and smiling fields of grain billowing in the breeze; no stretches of growing corn like an army of plumed warriors; no long avenues bordered with vines upon which the purple clusters are ripening in the autumn sun; no gables looking out from the sheltering orchards that surround; no red school-house upon the hill—only the narrowly circumscribed view within the aisles of the forest. No sounds of industry; no rumble of wheels; no clang of church-going bell; no cheerful call of friendly greeting—only the sough of the wind among the hemlock boughs, or the rustle of the leaves; the plash of the waves upon the beach; the song of the wood-thrush or the warbler or the vireo among the branches; the shrill cry of the flicker, or the echo of the woodpecker's rat-tat upon the hollow trunk. This was what prevailed when the white man was yet to come. We know what Erie and Erie county now is—but it is profitable also to consider what it was from which that we now have is come.

CHAPTER II.—THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

The Mound Builders and What They Left as Records.—The Erie Tribe and Their Extinction by the Indians of the Six Nations.

Who were the original inhabitants of Erie county, and what manner of men were they who first called this part of North America their home? The answer is found in the remains they have left behind, relics of the works they constructed, that after an existence of several centuries are still to be seen and traced in outline. They were not the work of any tribe or nation of Indians with which the European became acquainted. Modern ethnologists pronounce them to have been the same, to all intents and purposes, as the Indians of the seventeenth century with which the white man became acquainted only that they were the ancestors of the later race. But there have been others who regarded them as entirely different, bestowing upon them the title of the Mound Builders. The most recent investigators are of the opinion, speaking generally of the Mound Builders, that there was no definite period of their occupancy of this part of the continent, or that covered their activity, pointing out that in some of the mounds there have been found implements and weapons that had been procured from the white men; while, on the other hand there are those of a different way of thinking who claim that these relics had been placed in the mounds, already long constructed, by Indians of later years who selected these tumuli as places of burial for their dead, citing instances where iron tomahawks had been dug up from a mound upon which trees centuries old were growing. There is therefore still the question remaining to be answered: Who were the Mound Builders?

That there was a race of mound builders, and that they have left numerous evidences of their activity is, however, undisputed, and that their work is confined within very well defined boundaries is acknowledged. That they were anterior to the Indians the Europeans found here is also generally conceded, but by what appellation they went among themselves; what their origin was; how long they endured; what brought about their extinction; nothing is known—only that they were and are not.

They had no written history, nor is there anything pertaining to them in hieroglyphics to be found anywhere; only remains of their works, and these, widely distributed, are counted by the thousands. The Mound Builders were probably numerous at one period, for many of their remains would indicate this, such relics as extensive defenses of the character of forts; mounds that were the places of sepulture, perhaps of chief men; works that may have been temples of worship; others of singular form, the purpose of which conjecture may busily occupy itself with; and yet others of such diversity of forms and designs in each group that nothing in the circumstances or conditions of the people of the present period can suggest an explanation for.

The territory of the Mound Builders was a vast one, including the whole interior of the continent of North America within the boundaries of the Alleghanies, the Rocky Mountains, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico. They were always, it would appear, dwellers by the streams, which undoubtedly were their highways, and these streams the population appear to have followed practically to their sources.

As to their system of government or mode of life there can be nothing known, save that scant degree of knowledge that comes from inference; based upon the relics that have been found. They were of the stone age (as, of course, were the Indians of the Discovery), but upon the borderland, for it can be determined they were, for their position in the scale of development, skilled miners of copper and galena; they were artisans in a rude way; their stone implements they fashioned to their use; with these they wrought in wood, forming various utensils; they were potters; they undoubtedly constructed boats or some other form of embarkation; they had a system of barter or exchange, and therefore a commerce. All of this comes from deduction based upon the relics that have been found.

It will serve, here, to introduce briefly an account of some of the most notable works of the Mound Builders, so-called. Fort Ancient, on the Little Miami river, in Warren county, Ohio, thirty-three miles northeast of Cincinnati, is situated upon a plateau or terrace, all of which it occupies, and the total area of the fort or fortification is about one hundred acres. Yet, following the brow of the hill, upon which it stands, with all the bends and irregularities, the wall that encloses this fortification is five miles in length. The embankment that forms the enclosure is composed of stiff clay, and, ranging from five to twenty feet in height—the average between nine and ten feet—the wall contains 628,800 cubic yards of excavation. The fortifications had over seventy gateways or openings, and it is the supposition that these spaces were at the time the fort was in use filled with timber gates or stockades. The presumption is that what is now called an embankment was orginally a wall of sundried brick, averaging twelve feet or so in height, but long ago modified by the action of natural forces—rain, frost, wind and the

slow process of change by the operation of vegetation—into the rounded embankment, grass-grown or covered with brambles, that was its condition when the white man first found it. The enclosure and the hill were covered with the primitive forest—that is to say, there was no means by which the timber covering of Fort Ancient could be distinguished as differing from the woods that composed the adjacent forest. This was undoubtedly a work of defense, and military men who have surveyed and studied it pronounce it remarkably strong, and presenting evidence of the military genius of that strange and unknown people.

Other notable works of the same epoch are the fortification at Bourneville, near Chillicothe, Ohio, 140 acres in area, surrounded by a stone wall two and a half miles in length; the famous mounds scattered through Ohio and down the valley of the Ohio river, some of them eighty feet in height; the sacred enclosures or temples (so-called), a notable one on the Licking river, near Newark, Ohio; the symbolical mounds, such as the Great Serpent, in Adams county, Ohio, and the Big Elephant mound in Grant county, Wisconsin; and the curious and interesting plantation or garden.

Now, taking into account the character of these works, many of them prodigious in their proportions; and their vast number, for there are upwards of ten thousand in the state of Ohio alone, the inference is logical that there must have been a large population. There is also the other natural inference, namely, that they were an agricultural people, for otherwise they could not have existed in such numbers. The result of a careful computation of the possibilities of support without the aid of agriculture is that it would require 50,000 acres for the support of one hunter who subsisted upon nothing but the chase. This would give the whole state of Ohio a population of only 509 able-bodied men supported from the flesh of wild beasts. The evidences from the works that remain as relics of the mound building Indians are that an infinitely greater number at one time occupied that land. The construction of such a work as Fort Ancient would alone employ a force many times greater than the entire population of the state, had they been dependent upon hunting for their subsistence. On the other hand, the product of a single acre of maize may support 200 men for a year. Was it not, then, the cultivation of this remarkable grain that had made possible the construction of these numerous works, themselves proof of the existence of a numerous population?

And here comes in a most interesting and embarrassing fact: the existence of maize or Indian corn. It is a vegetable problem, a puzzle alike to the botanist and the cultivator. It is a puzzle, because undoubtedly having had a native or wild origin, it is known now only as the highly developed grain, differing in no essential particular from what it was when the European first became acquainted with this western con-

tinent. The original of the Indian corn is not known, though the botanists have for many years been diligently searching for it; that it has been highly developed from its original form is the general belief, and if this is true how many centuries—how many thousand years—have been necessary to bring it to its present perfection. If it is the result of careful and intelligent cultivation, that careful and intelligent cultivation was bestowed upon it by the aborigines of America, for zea mays, as the botanist has named the Indian corn,is an American plant,and its existence here may be proof of the extreme antiquity of the human race in America; perhaps to establish the fact that the Mound Builders were an earlier and distinct race as compared with the Indians of the Discovery, or perhaps that even the builders of the mounds were modern as compared with the cultivators who developed the maize.

But, to return to these builders of the mounds and defenses, occupying the vast territory they did, and existing in such numbers as they seem to have, how did it come about that they disappeared from the face of the earth, leaving none behind to tell their story, nor even a tradition to come down to later days? There is no answer and there is no relic to invite inference or excuse conjecture. Were they driven out by an incursion of nomadic hostiles? Was their land overrun as were European countries by the Goths and the Huns? Or was there no change beyond the gradual drifting into new modes and customs?

And when did the change take place? It was before the advent of the red man, whom the white man, come from Europe, mistakenly called Indians. It was long before their time, because there is no tradition that the white man has ever had from the red that tells of any race but themselves. It was so long ago that forests have grown up and decayed upon the works this mysterious people left behind them. Centuries are undoubtedly repeated between their exit from the stage of human affairs and the entrance of the people who came to be known as the American Indian—the people we have known for now upwards of 300 years.

This race of Mound Builders—if it was indeed an earlier and a different race—has left in Erie county a part of the record of its existence, for what is now Erie county appears to have been the northeastern corner of the territory occupied by these interesting and remarkable aborigines. If they were a race distinct and preceding the American Indians, then they were perhaps the earliest inhabitants of Erie, and should be given this place at the beginning of a history of the county. If they are not a distinct and separate race but only the progenitors of the modern Indian they were still the earliest inhabitants. So that in any event they are entitled to place. Their relics are comparatively numerous. Among the best known is that found in Wayne township a short distance from Corry, which consists of a circular embankment of earth surrounded by a trench from which the earth had been dug,

the whole enclosing about three acres. This embankment, still visible, is reduced to between one and two feet in height, but when discovered by the early settlers was higher and covered with forest trees. A little west there was another and smaller circle of much the same character, which being plowed over was at length obliterated. Smaller than the Wayne mound or circle is that of the John Pomeroy place on Conneaut creek, near Albion. It encloses an area of a little less than an acre, and the embankment of this was three feet high and six feet broad at the base. Large trees grew upon this and an oak, when cut down indicated an age of 500 years. On the same farm there is an interesting mound a hundred feet long and fifty feet wide by twenty-five feet high. There are stories of finding the skeletons of giants in one of the Conneaut township mounds, but the measurements given are incredible. Remains of works of a similar character exist in Girard, Springfield, Harborcreek, Fairview, Le Bœuf and Venango.

In the neighborhood of Wintergreen Gulf, on both sides of Fourmile creek, there are a number of relics of ancient aboriginal defenses, one on the west side being especially well preserved and notable because of the belief on the part of the early settlers that it had been a French fort. There are traditions of cannon balls having been found embedded in trees that grew hard by and stories made to fit these traditions of an engagement between the British, who occupied a similar fort on the east side of the ravine, and the French on the west. There is a tale that has been told of two strangers who came in the early day, speaking a strange language and carrying unfamiliar instruments for surveying, who haunted the old fort, at length dug in a spot determined by careful measurements, finding a chest of treasure which was carried away. They were French men, according to the story, and obtained their data for locating the valuables from an old manuscript which gave an account of the fight with the British, the concealment of the treasure and the evacuation of the fort.

But it is all a romance. The fort, if it be a fort, indeed, was there long before the French came this way, and for years,—maybe centuries —was in as ruinous condition, almost as it is today.

The earliest historical inhabitants of this part of the American continent belonged to an Indian nation known as the Eries or Cats, and it is from this Indian nation that the second of the Great Lakes takes its name. This nation was never known by the name Eriez, as has been mistakenly stated, the error in the orthography of the name having been due to the lettering of a French cartographer who inscribed in the drawing of the lake the name "Lac des Eries," with a turn in the wrong direction in forming the letter "s." The various synonyms of the Eries were Eirgas, Eriehronon, Riguehronon and Carantoüans. By some the mistake has been made of giving Kahkwa as a synonym of

the Erie nation. The Kahkwas of Seneca tradition were the Attiwaudrons or Neutral nation who inhabited the opposite side of Lake Erie.

But little is known of the Erie nation, as the French, who were the pioneers in this region, had little or practically nothing to do with the tribes south of the lake and did not occupy or attempt possession of this territory until after the Eries had ceased to exist as a nation. Entrenched as far west as the Sault Ste. Marie, and engaged in commerce, missionary work and exploration to the western end of Lake Superior and beyond, and by at least two routes to the Mississippi and down that stream, their common route—their almost universal thoroughfare—had been the Ottawa river to Lake Nipissing, the Severn river and Georgian Bay to Lake Huron and the west. Even after they had established a garrison at Detroit, when they had come to employ Lake Erie to a limited extent as a route of travel, they avoided the southern shore, and, leaving Lake Erie at the mouth of the Grand river, proceeded northeastward across the Niagara peninsula of Canada to Lake Ontario on their journeys to the eastward. They had never sent missionaries to the Eries, and even the ambitious and enterprising Jesuits had left the nation that inhabited the country to the south of Lake Erie uncared for. Their existence was known, however, as Champlain's adventurous interpreter, Etienne Brulé, visited them in the summer of 1615.

The Eries were, however, known to their kindred of the Iroquois confederacy, for the territory of the Cats (this French appellation, singularly enough, was also the name given by the eastern Indians to the Eries) extended eastward as far as to the Genesee, the frontier of the Senecas, and upon the eastern shore of the lake to the Niagara river. They were known as a tribe of great warriors and noted for their ferocity; they fought with poisoned arrows, and for a long time were a terror to the Iroquois. How numerous they were has never been even conjectured; nor is it related, either by the earliest of explorers nor by Indian tradition that they had any town or permanent abiding place, or locality where they practiced agriculture in the extremely limited way in which it was done by other Indian peoples of the great forest. From all accounts, though their territory was quite extensive, their number was small. As a matter of fact modern ideas of the numbers of the Indians at the time of the Discovery and of the various explorations, are ridiculously extravagant, for they were few and scattered and wide stretches of country occurred that seldom or never felt the impress of a moccasined foot. The Iroquois though powerful as a confederacy—the most powerful in the history of the Indians of North America—were never a numerous people. F. W. Halsey, in the Old New York Frontier, says "Just before the Revolution it is unlikely they numbered more than 15,000, if so many. When their influence was greatest, and they had not begun to suffer from the white man's vices, they are believed to have numbered 25,000, though never more." When it is considered that the

Iroquois, when in the summit of their power, represented the population of the entire state of New York, the largest state east of the Mississippi, it will be acknowledged that the country was very sparsely settled indeed.

The Eries were of the same family as the Indians of the Five Nations or Iroquois. There were as many nations out of that famous confederacy as included in it that were still connected by blood. Besides the Eries there were the Hurons, up near Georgian bay; the Tobacco nation, just south of the Hurons; the Neutrals occupying the southern part of the present Ontario peninsula, and the Andastes, whose country extended south through eastern Pennsylvania. There were thus, it will be observed, five nations of the Iroquoian family that existed out of the confederacy; and a sixth, of the same blood, there was, but that in time, moving north, united with the Iroquois, and the confederacy became the Six Nations of American history—this was the Tuscarora nation of the Carolinas. All of the other nations, out of the confederacy, were in turn exterminated by the Iroquois, who pushed the war against them relentlessly, nor ever ceased until as nations they no longer existed. And yet they were all of one kin!

To the reader of history this extermination of related nations will appear as something monstrous and without excuse or explanation, save on the score of natural ferocity. But there is a good explanation furnished. It was not because they had not joined the confederacy, but because, according to the ethics of Indian life, they were unfit, and their manner of living was an abomination—according to the tenets they were criminals. Let us present the case:

In the organization of the savage communities of the continent, one feature, more or less conspicuous, continually appears. Each nation or tribe—to adopt the names by which these communities are usually known —is subdivided into several clans. These clans can not locally separate, but are mingled throughout the nation. All the members of each clan are, or are assumed to be, intimately joined in a consanguinity. Hence it is held an abomination for two persons of the same clan to intermarry; and hence, again, it follows that every family must contain members of at least two clans. Each clan has its name, as the clan of the Hawk, of the Wolf or of the Tortoise; and each has for its emblem the figure of the beast, bird, reptile, plant, or other object, from which its name is derived. This emblem, called totem by the Algonquins, is often tattooed on the clansman's body, or rudely painted over the entrance of his lodge. The child belongs to the clan, not of the father, but of the mother. In other words, descent, not of the totem alone, but of all rank, titles and possessions, is through the female.

Now the violation of this tenet or doctrine of clanship, it is asserted, was the real cause of the bad blood that existed between the Iroquois and the dissenting nations of the same family. Mr. Fiske points this out as especially applicable to the Eries. And it appears that even in the case

of the Eries the confederacy was willing that they should "bring forth fruits meet for repentance," as the opportunity was afforded to do this. It was of no avail. The peace was broken in the making. The Eries and the Iroquois could not exist as separate nations and they would not be joined as one.

It was the year 1653 that the doom of the Eries was sealed. The Iroquois, to whom war was apparently necessary for existence, had carried on for a considerable period, hostilities, that ended only when the Hurons, the Tobacco nation and the Neutrals were totally wiped out (1650), and followed this up with a period during which they harassed the Algonquins and the French. At length, however, in 1653, they made treaties of peace with the latter, and for a term lived in amity with the colonists and their late Indian enemies. In the following May, an Onondaga orator on a peace visit to Montreal, said to the governor: "Our young men will no more fight the French; but they are too warlike to stay at home, and this summer we shall invade the country of the Eries. The earth trembles and quakes in that quarter; but here all remains calm." Early in the autumn Father Le Moyne, who had taken advantage of the peace to go on a mission to the Onondagas, returned to Montreal (the source of the Indian history of this period was naturally the French) with the tidings that the Iroquois were all on fire with this new enterprise, and were about to march against the Eries, with eighteen hundred warriors.

The occasion of this new war, says Parkman, is said to have been as follows: The Eries had made a treaty of peace with the Senecas, and in the preceding year had sent a deputation of thirty of their principal men to confirm it. While they were in the great Seneca town, it happened that one of that nation was killed in a casual quarrel with an Erie whereupon his countrymen rose in a fury and murdered the thirty deputies. Then ensued a brisk war of reprisals, in which not only the Senecas but the other Iroquois nations, took part. The Eries captured a famous Onondaga chief and were about to burn him, when he succeeded in convincing them of the wisdom of a course of conciliation, and they resolved to give him to the sister of one of the murdered deputies, to take the place of her lost brother. The sister, by Indian law, had it in her choice to receive him with a fraternal embrace or to burn him; but, though she was absent at the time, no one doubted that she would choose the gentler alternative. Accordingly he was clothed in gay attire and all the town fell to feasting in honor of his adoption. In the midst of the festivity the sister returned. To the amazement of the Erie chiefs, she rejected with indignation their proffer of a new brother, declared that she would be revenged for her loss, and insisted that the prisoner should forthwith be burned. The chiefs remonstrated in vain, representing the danger in which such a procedure would involve the nation: the female fury was inexorable; and the unfortunate prisoner, stripped of his festal robes,

was bound to the stake and put to death. He warned his tormentors with his last breath that they were burning not only him, but the whole Erie nation, since his countrymen would take a fiery vengeance for his fate. His words proved true; for no sooner was his story spread abroad among the Iroquois than the confederacy resounded with war-songs from end to end, and the warriors took the field under their two great war-chiefs. Notwithstanding Father Le Moyne's report that eighteen hundred warriors were sent against the Eries, their number according to the Iroquois account did not exceed twelve hundred.

They embarked in canoes on the lake. At their approach the Eries fell back, withdrawing into the forests toward the west till they were gathered into one body, when, fortifying themselves with palisades and felled trees, they awaited the approach of the invaders. By the lowest estimate the Eries numbered two thousand warriors, besides women and children—the Iroquois stated the Eries numbered between three thousand and four thousand, but this is no doubt an exaggeration; perhaps even the former statement of two thousand is excessive.

The Iroquois approached the Erie fort and two of their chiefs, dressed like French men, advanced and called on those within to surrender. One of them had lately been baptized by Father Le Moyne, and he shouted to the Eries, that if they did not yield in time they were all dead men, for the Master of Life was on the side of the Iroquois. The Eries answered with yells of derision: "Who is this master of your lives?" they cried; "our hatchets and our right arms are the masters of ours." The Iroquois rushed to the assault, but were met with a shower of poisoned arrows which killed and wounded many of them and drove the rest back. They waited awhile and then attacked again with unabated mettle. This time they carried their bark canoes over their heads like huge shields to protect them from the storm of arrows—for though the Eries had no fire-arms they used their poisoned arrows with great effect, discharging them with surprising rapidity. Planting their canoes upright against the palisades and mounting them by the cross-bars like ladders, the Iroquois scaled the barricade with such impetuous fury that the Eries were thrown into a panic. Those escaped who could; but the butchery was frightful, and from that day the Eries as a nation were no more. The victors paid dearly for their conquest. Their losses were so heavy that they were forced to remain for two months in the Erie country, to bury their dead and nurse their wounded.

From that time forward until permanent settlement by the white man, this portion of the country was a possession of the Seneca nation of the Iroquois confederacy, but it was such in name only, for it was rarely visited by any of the Indian race.

CHAPTER III.—THE FRENCH IN POSSESSION.

The Coming of the Expedition to Open a Way to the Forks of the Ohio.—Forts Presque Isle and Le Bœuf Built in 1753.

After the Discovery there were three of the European nations that took active steps to obtain possession, in whole or in part, of the new continent of America. The Spanish, following along the latitudinal parallels that had bounded the westward course of Columbus, were prompt to claim, and by conquest obtain, that portion of the new world that lay within or was adjacent to the tropics. The British selected the north Atlantic coast. The French, contesting with the British for the same coast, obtained footing on that part of it extending from the Nova Scotian peninsula, northward and, entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence, made their settlements gradually farther westward up that great river.

Each of these three nations was characterized by a distinct spirit in the conduct of its operations. With the Spanish, the impelling motive was the desire for gold and all their efforts were marked by a spirit of conquest distinguished at once by greed and cruelty. The story of the subjugation of Mexico and of the conquest of Peru is in each case a tale of horrible inhumanity. If the Spanish figured as explorers it was ever with the yellow lure of gold in their eyes and their progress left a trail of blood behind. Even the religion which the Spanish carried with them as an inseparable part of their organization was as cruel as the spirit of their soldiery. It was different with the French. Theirs was a commercial enterprise; in that resembling the Spanish. But it was cleaner commerce, and there was no thought of bloodshed in it, unless stress of circumstances called for it. Their idea was to make the natives useful to them; for the wealth that was to come to France, it was designed, should be produced by the furs that were to be collected by the Indian hunters in the great forest, and though they, too, as was the case with the Spaniards, had linked the church with the military in their great enterprise of acquiring a vast area of territory, their priests had set out upon a peaceful crusade. It was their purpose to convert to Christianity the savages of the new world. England's purpose was different entirely from that of both the others; it was to open up a new

land to be converted into homes for the surplus population of the mother country.

As between these three great movements toward acquisition in the newly discovered land we have to do with but two, the French and the English. And, as concerns the history of the county of Erie, chronologically the French come first, for they were the earliest of the white people to identify themselves with affairs of the southern shore.

Early in the seventeenth century the French began their work of exploration of the interior of the American continent, and it is proper to say that this work of exploration was pursued with great enterprise and zeal. Much of it—indeed the most of it in the early years—was done by the Jesuit missionaries, whose work was directed more toward the Christianizing of the Indians than the extension of the power of the French king, although the importance of the temporal power was at no time lost sight of. So, between the missionary priests and the commercially-minded governors, who contrived to make a good deal of personal profit out of the extension of French sway, the work of exploration and discovery was diligently pushed. At one time it was believed that a navigable route to the other side of the continent could be found by way of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, and the hope of this put spurs in the sides of exertion. In the process of time the explorations of the French led them to the westernmost end of Lake Superior, and even to the Rocky mountains; while the Mississippi was reached by two different routes and explored to its mouth.

But with the work of exploration proceeding to this prodigious extent and covering a long term of years—more than half a century— it is a remarkable fact that so important a feature of the geography of the country as Lake Erie and Niagara river (or more particularly Niagara Falls) remained undiscovered. This lake was not known to the French, except by report until 1669, and the great cataract remained a thing of report until 1678, when the La Salle expedition proceeded up the Niagara river to set about building the Griffon, the first vessel that ever sailed the upper lakes (save the canoe of the Indian).

Another remarkable thing is that Lake Erie became known by what might be called a back-door discovery, for it was first visited by Joliet, returning from a western tour in 1669 and the exploration of the lake at that time was not complete, because after reaching Long Point, through fear of the savages on the shore of the southeastern end, the expedition entered the mouth of Grand river, and proceeded overland to Lake Ontario.

There was a good reason for the failure of the French to make these explorations. There was a stumbling block in the way. That obstacle was the Iroquois confederacy. With almost every other family of Indians the French made progress. It seemed to be impossible with the Indians of the Five Nations. Their route to the west there-

fore took them as far away as possible from the land where their fears lay, and they chose to travel up the Ottawa and across to Georgian bay.

In the course of time matters changed somewhat. The French having established themselves in the north and the west set about acquiring what remained of the continent, and gradually, as their growing courage permitted, entrenched themselves in advanced posts, and setting up a bold claim, proceeded by extending their occupancy to make good their claim. It was in 1720 that Father Bobi, a priest of the Congregation of Missions, drew up a paper in which he sets forth the claim of France with much distinctness, beginning with the declaration: "England has usurped from France nearly everything that she possesses in America," and adding that the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht did not know what they were about when they made such concessions to the enemy. . . . He maintains that the voyages of Verrazzano and Ribaut made France owner of the whole continent, from Florida northward; that England was an interloper in planting colonies along the Atlantic coast, and will admit as much if she is honest, since all that country is certainly a part of New France. In this modest assumption of the point at issue, says Parkman, he ignores John Cabot and his son Sebastian, who discovered North America more than twenty-five years before the voyage of Verrazzano and more than sixty years before that of Ribaut. Farther along in his statement of the case Father Bobi declares that, "France, always generous, will consent to accept as boundary a line drawn from the mouth of the Kennebec, passing thence midway between Schenectady and Lake Champlain and along the ridge of the Alleghanies to the River Jordan (the French Broad, in North Carolina), the country between this and the sea to belong to England, and the rest of the continent to France."

This is a sufficiently clear statement of the position of France with relation to the new American continent, and this statement will help to an understanding of the motives behind the aggressive manifestations observed with reference to the French during most of the seventeenth century. The activity of the French was stimulated by the fact that here and there manifestations appeared of a disposition on the part of the English to break over the border as the French had been pleased to define it. It was especially aggravating to them that the English had so much influence with the Iroquois nation, and, to prevent the spread of the British into the interior it was decided to take firm steps. The Mississippi was theirs. They claimed by reason of that fact, that all the tributaries of that river, and the countries they drained, were also theirs. The British crown had granted a charter to a body called the Ohio Company. This involved La Belle Riviere. It was therefore incumbent upon the French that possession should formally be taken of the land they claimed. It was this disposition of England's that impelled the French to send forth the expedition of Celoron. With a force of 300

men Capt. Celoron, in 1749 proceeded from Montreal, and landing at the mouth of Chautauqua creek at a place now known as Barcelona, on the south shore of Lake Erie, carried the canoes and luggage of the expedition across the high ridge, a distance of about twelve miles, and embarked upon Chautauqua Lake. Traversing the lake and following the stream at its outlet they entered the Alleghany river and passing down, stopped at the mouth of every important affluent and buried a lead plate the inscription on which was to the effect that the King of France had taken formal possession.

But the effect of the Celoron expedition was not what had been hoped for. Something more imposing must be done. It was decided to send forth an expedition to occupy the Ohio. This was an enterprise of Gov. Duquesne's and was decided upon only after giving the subject due consideration as well with reference to its military results as to any other—and it is not to be doubted that a leading purpose of the French was to impress the Indians and win them over by this show of power and enterprise, for the natives were very susceptible to any demonstration of an ostentatious character. Although the colonial minister advised against it and charged Duquesne: "Build on the Ohio such forts as are absolutely necessary, but no more. Remember, His Majesty suspects your advisers of interested views," a word of caution that the governor could not fail to understand the meaning of, for graft and jobbery and corruption flourished at the French Canadian capital; Duquesne would not be turned from a purpose that to his way of thinking led to obvious advantages.

The decision to organize and send out the expedition was quickly reached and Duquesne mustered the Colony troops and the Canadians. From these he selected a force of rather more than a thousand men, increased by subsequent detachments to fifteen hundred, an army that seemed to the Indians a mighty host, and led them to declare that the lakes and rivers were covered with boats and soldiers, from Montreal to Presque Isle. The Mohawk warriors on the St. Lawrence who saw them pass hastened home to report the news to Johnson.

The importance of this expedition called for a man of ability to be its leader. Now at Quebec and Montreal there had developed a society as gay and lively as even the mercurial French could desire, and there were fair women as well as brave men; and festivities and flirtations and all the flounces and trimmings that gay society demands. Prominent in this society was a young military officer named Péan. He was rich—through illicit trading in furs, and other jobbery. Péan had a handsome wife, and she was popular. She was admired by Péan's superior officers—by Governor Duquesne. If there had not been a somewhat parallel case reported in the scriptures where a soldier named Uriah had a wife whom the King admired, the incident of Péan might be set down as original and Frenchy, for what happened to Uriah was

the fate of Péan—except that the latter was not killed. It was desired that Péan should have command of the expedition in order that he might be lost in the wilderness and separated from his handsome wife. Governor Duquesne, however, decided that though Péan must go, he could not go as the head of the expedition.

For the position of commander of the Ohio expedition Sieur Marin was chosen. He was a soldier of parts, seasoned by long service, and qualified by wide experience in the wilds of America, as an explorer, and when occasion demanded, as a fighter of Indians. And Péan went also. He was Marin's lieutenant. It was not a service that permitted the company of ladies. His handsome wife was left behind.

It was early in the spring of 1753 when the expedition under Marin to occupy the Ohio set out from Montreal. All told there were 1500 men. It was not a large army as armies generally are regarded. But, considering that they traveled by bark canoes; that they were outfitted with tools for heavy construction work as well as with weapons; and besides, of a miscellaneous and extensive stock of merchandise and "stuffs;" also that the boats, the tools and arms, and the stock had all to be carried over the steep and long portage at Niagara Falls, it will readily be granted that not numbers alone count in the making of an army. For the time and the place it was a great army.

It moved in two detachments. Its orders were to land at an appointed place and build a fort and thence penetrate into the interior, to establish a thoroughfare to the Ohio river. The first detachment, skirting the south shore of Lake Erie, landed at Barcelona, Celoron's old stopping place, and set about constructing a suitable defense. The main body, however, coming along soon afterwards, proceeded to Presque Isle, which was a new discovery of the French. It was declared that the route from Presque Isle was far better than that which Celoron followed, and Duquesne, speaking of the bay at this point called it "The finest in nature." All of which tends to show how thorough the knowledge of the wilderness by the French was, and how reliable their exploration.

Arrived at Presque Isle the expedition at once set about erecting a fort. The site chosen was just within the entrance of the bay, on the top of the bluff west of the mouth of Mill Creek. The location with reference to the survey of the city as it is today, was a little east of the foot of Parade street, the west wall probably near the east line of Parade street, and the north wall or side some distance north of the brow of the present bank or bluff, for a considerable amount of material was taken from that steep hillside from time to time by the railroad, and more by the burners of brick in the yard close by.

The fort was constructed of squared chestnut timbers about ten feet high, planted as a palisade or stockade. Within this enclosure there were the necessary quarters for officers and men, a store-house, a magazine

and a well. It was 120 feet square. This description of it is given by an Englishman, a conscript to the French, who afterwards made his escape, and the description given would indicate that it was a plain square structure of the stockade plan with a gate opening to the south. There are good reasons for doubting the accuracy of this description. When Washington was at Le Bœuf, (an account of his visit is given in a later chapter) he learned that the fort at Presque Isle was built on the same plan as that at Le Bœuf but larger. He gives a soldier's description of the defense, and part of his duty being to be accurate in his observations, what he has reported of the fort he saw is doubtless reliable. An account given of the fort describes it as four large houses of solid timber construction, with palisaded bastions at each of the four corners.

This accords better with what is known of the science of military engineering of the time, and it received verification many years afterward—long after the site had become grass-grown and on the surface no trace remained of any work of any sort that had occupied that place. It was early in the seventies while earth from the side-hill was being removed for railroad construction that the lower portions of much decayed timbers were exposed to view. Erie then had a devoted antiquarian, assiduous in the work of collecting—Capt. W. F. Lutje. News of such a discovery was not slow to reach Capt. Lutje's ears, nor was he tardy in acting upon the impulse to look into the matter. He went at once, and, adding to the instincts of the antiquarian the experience of an artillery officer, it did not take long to decide what the ruins had been. It was one of the bastions of the French fort. The side next the shore was not intact. Part of it had fallen during the work of excavating that had progressed from below, but the points where the angles occurred for the flank and the other face, both of which of course extended inward, were seen, and by the use of the shovel could be verified as part of the bastion formation. In the judgment of Capt. Lutje that bastion had contained the armory or arsenal because of the remains of weapons, in numbers, that were found. It is also worthy of note that one who visited Fort Presque Isle during its occupancy by the French spoke of the bastions and added the information that the cannon intended for use in them had not been mounted. Undoubtedly therefore it was a fort of full military scientific character that the French erected at Presque Isle.

When Fort Presque Isle had been built the energies of the entire force were directed toward the construction of a military road extending southward to the Riviere aux Bœufs, where another and smaller fort, called Le Bœuf, was built. This road extended in a practically direct line to the second fort, and a considerable part of the road is still in use. The French engineers paid no regard to natural difficulties or obstacles; the route was made direct. Ravines, swamps, hills or steep places were taken as they came. But little excavation was done and bridges of a rough and somewhat primitive character were employed in

crossing the two streams where bridging was necessary. The swamps were crossed by corduroy construction. The important thing to be accomplished was to take the shortest possible route. In the city of Erie Parade street is practically on the route of the French road, and obtained its name by that circumstance. A section of the corduroy work of the French remained in upper Parade street until somewhere in the decade of the sixties. At the Cold Springs the road turned to a due southerly direction and is the Old French Road of the present city. It ends by that name at the edge of Mill Creek ravine, but on the opposite side is to be found again as a part of the Waterford plank road, and continues as such till the Summit township line is reached, when the Waterford road turning to the east, the French route disappears. It is for an interval only. Presently it is again found and in use for a stretch of several miles, straight south through Summit until, a short distance from the southern line of Summit it had been abandoned. Traces of it remained as an open lane through the woods coming out very near to Major Strong's on the Waterford turnpike, in Waterford township, the pike very nearly occupying the site of the original road, from thence in to the borough.

But it is time to return to Fort Presque Isle and the expedition to occupy the Ohio. It has been stated that the fort was built and the road constructed. But this was not accomplished without much hard work and encountering great difficulties. Marin, commander of the expedition, a gruff, choleric old man of 63, but full of force and capacity, spared himself so little that he was stricken down with dysentery, and refusing to be sent home to Montreal was before long in a dying condition. His place was taken by Péan, his lieutenant, of whose private character there is little good to be said (remarks Parkman) but whose conduct as an officer was such that Duquesne calls him a prodigy of talents, resources and zeal. Péan wrote at the end of September that Marin was in extremity, and the Governor, disturbed and alarmed, for he knew the value of the sturdy old officer, looked anxiously for a successor. He chose another veteran, Legardeur de Saint Pierre, who had just returned from a journey of exploration toward the Rocky mountains.

Meanwhile the expedition was already justified by its effects. At first the Indians met the French with jealous suspicions. At Fort Le Bœuf the Half-King, a famous Indian Chief, came and ordered the French to leave the country, but Marin received him with such contemptuous haughtiness that the Indian went away shedding tears of rage and mortification. In time the attitude of the natives changed. The Indians were daunted and made submission to the French and without distinction came to the French camp and offered help in carrying baggage. It was heavy work to carry the cumbrous load of baggage across

the portages. Much of it is said to have been superfluous, consisting of velvets, silks and other useless and costly articles, sold to the King at enormous prices as necessaries of the expedition—silks and velvets for the soldiers of a campaign in a forest wilderness! where tanned deer-skin was none too tough a material out of which to make their clothing.

There was a third fort planned—at Franklin—and it was the purpose to send Péan down the river with the remainder of the force, hoping thus to inspire with terror the wavering tribes, and also to strongly reinforce the French who were to build a work of defence at the forks of the Ohio. But the plans went all astray. Fevers, lung diseases and scurvy were making fearful havoc, and at length the resolute but dying Marin was compelled to bitterly acknowledge his work but half done. Selecting out of his force three hundred to garrison Fort Presque Isle and Fort Le Bœuf the rest were sent back to Montreal.

Legardeur de Saint Pierre, the successor of Marin, arrived at the end of autumn, and chose to make his headquarters at Fort Le Bœuf, where he spent the winter, the command at Presque Isle being assigned to a lieutenant named Reparti.

It seems incredible that that campaign of a summer devoted to military engineering in this portion of the country should have proved so disastrous to the French. In their work of constructing forts and of road-building they were not molested by the natives, but on the contrary assisted. And yet the hardships encountered had reduced them to a really pitiable state. When the miserable remnant arrived at Montreal Governor Duquesne was so shocked by their altered looks that he wrote of them: "I reviewed them and could not help being touched by the pitiable state to which fatigues and exposures had reduced them. Past all doubt if these emaciated figures had gone down the Ohio (the Alleghany is meant) as intended, the river would have been strewn with corpses, and the evil-disposed savages would not have failed to attack the survivors, seeing they were but spectres."

Forts Presque Isle and Le Bœuf were evidently intended for a double purpose. They were not only to serve notice to all concerned that formal possession had been taken of the territory by the French, and to keep open a route of communication, but they were depots in that line of communication between the French capital in Canada and the forts to be built upon the Ohio river proper, the design of Governor Duquesne undoubtedly being to constitute the fort at the forks of the Ohio, as it was then called, the central or strong position of the French defences in the west.

There was also another motive that animated the French. They had long enough been intimate with the savages to understand how strongly they became impressed by the manifestation of power and of enterprise, and they were anxious to so impress the natives as to win them as allies. That this could be successfully accomplished in the new

region the French were opening up their former experience had led them to expect and their later experience while constructing the portage road to Le Bœuf had confirmed. They had almost completely won over the Indians, notwithstanding the vexatious rebuff administered to the Half-King. This chief, however, as may appear later, remained a faithful ally of the English.

It does not appear by anything that has yet been written on the subject, how the French obtained the accurate knowledge they possessed of the route they had selected, for there is no point where a shorter or less difficult route between the waters of Lake Erie and the navigable streams of the interior could be secured. If the Indians of this section had been allied to the French, or even on friendly terms there might be an explanation at hand. But they were not. There had been no trading between the French and Indians in this section of the country. There was, however, a Frenchman of considerable fame, an Indian or adopted Indian, who had penetrated far beyond the regions of French influence. He was an interpreter and at times a guide. Into the region south of this, along the Alleghany river, he had taken his way and in 1753 was posted at Venango with a commission from the French. His name was Joncaire, the son of the more famous Joncaire of the east, and his influence with the Indians was great. Besides the Indians he had allied with him at that post there was a small contingent of French. It was undoubtedly through Joncaire and his explorations, and the information he had obtained from the savages that the route by way of Presque Isle to the Ohio river became known to Governor Duquesne.

It is no easy matter at this late day to obtain accurate information with reference to the true character, mode of construction, and other details of Fort Presque Isle and of the settlement that may or may not have been located adjacent to it, because contemporary accounts vary so widely. From the work on the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, published by the State at Harrisburg in 1906, this account of the fort and the settlement are obtained:

"In 1755 it is said 356 families resided near the fort, and in 1757 there were 480. These were soldiers, carriers, traders, missionaries, mechanics, Indians, etc. Being a central point and Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara and Detroit on the borders, it was at times filled with stores and 1000 men (it is said) have been at one time between Presque Isle and Le Bœuf."

Sir William Johnson, in 1756, undoubtedly from information obtained from Indians or scouts, for personally he never visited it, says:

"The barracks within the fort are garrisoned with 150 men, supported chiefly from a French settlement near it, of about 150 families; Indians

pretty numerous; have a priest and school teacher; grist mills and stills in this settlement."

Fred Post's journal of 1758 would seem to indicate that the fort was made of palisades planted in the ground, in this respect quite contrary to what is said of it by others who describe it. His journal says:

"An Indian from Presque Isle reports the fort so out of repairs a strong man might pull any log out of the earth. There are two officers and thirty-four men in the garrison there and not above ten Indians, which they keep constantly hunting for the support of the garrison."

Thomas Bull, an Indian spy, in 1759 speaks of Fort Presque Isle as a bastioned fort. "The garrison," he says, "consists of two officers, two merchants, a clerk, a priest and 103 soldiers. The commander's name is Burinol. The fort is square with four bastions. There are no guns upon the walls yet, but four 4-pounders in one of the bastions, not mounted. The wall is only of single logs, no bank within, a ditch without. A magazine, a stone house, stands in the right bastion next the lake."

Capt. Pouchot, chief engineer of the French army in America, in 1763 gives a description of the fort which may or may not be accurate, as what he says of the situation of the fort and of the country back of it, do not at all agree with fact. If the fort was constructed on Vauban's principle, as we understand it, there certainly were bastions. Capt. Pouchot says:

"At Presque Isle there is a good bay, but only seven or eight feet of water. This fort is sufficiently large. It is built piece upon piece with three outbuildings for the storage of goods in transitu. It is 120 feet square and 15 feet high and built on Vauban's principle, with two doors, one to the north and one on the south. It is situated on a plateau that forms a peninsula, which has given it its name. The country around is good and pleasant. They keep wagons for portage to Fort Le Bœuf, which is six leagues. Although it is in a level country the road is not very good. The fort at Riviere au Bœuf is square, smaller than the one at Presque Isle, but built piece on piece."

Thomas Forbes, lately in the King of France's service, in 1754 writes:

"This fort is situated on a little rising ground at a very small distance from the water of Lake Erie. It is rather larger than that at Niagara, but has likewise no bastions nor outworks of any sort. It is a square area enclosed with logs about twelve feet high, the logs being squared and laid on each other and not more than sixteen or eighteen inches thick. Captain Despontaine is commandant in this fort and his garrison

was thirty private men. We were eight days employed in unloading our canoes here and carrying the provisions to Fort Le Bœuf, which is built about six leagues from Presque Isle at the head of the Buffaloe river. This fort was composed of four houses built by way of bastions and the intermediate spaces stockaded; Lieut. St. Blieu was posted here with twenty men."

CHAPTER IV.—WASHINGTON'S MISSION.

His Journey to Erie County and its Purpose.—The French Commandant Refuses to Obey British Orders.

There was a marked difference between the system of the government exercised by the French in America and the English colonies on this side of the Atlantic. The English had established not one but numerous colonies along the Atlantic coast, each having its own charter from the Crown. Each lived, then, a life of its own, shut within its own limits, not dreaming of a future collective greatness to which the possession of the west would be a necessary condition. No conscious community of interests held them together, nor was there any authority capable of uniting their forces and turning them to a common object. Some of the servants of the Crown had urged the necessity of joining them all under a strong central government as the only means of making them loyal subjects and arresting the encroachments of France; but the scheme was plainly impracticable. Each province remained in jealous isolation, busied with its own work, growing in strength, in the capacity of self-rule and the spirit of independence and stubbornly resisting all exercise of authority from without. If the English-speaking population flowed westward it was in obedience to natural laws, for the King did not aid the movement, the royal government had no authority to do so, and the colonial assemblies were too much engrossed with immediate local interests.

In the French colonies all was different. Here the representatives of the Crown were men bred in an atmosphere of broad ambition and masterful and far-reaching enterprise. Achievement was demanded of them. They recognized the greatness of the prize, studied the strong and weak points of their rivals, and with a cautious forecast and a daring energy set themselves to the task of defeating them.

If the English colonies were comparatively strong in numbers their numbers could not be brought into action; while if the French forces were small, they were vigorously commanded and always ready at a word.*

But though there was not a governor general of the American colonies; a central official who represented the Crown, there was one individual among the colonial governors who failed not to take notice when

* Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict.*

there were manifestations of encroachment by the French. This individual was Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, a dour, hard-headed Scotchman, jealous of his rights and so autocratic that he was nearly all the time at loggerheads with his assembly. Now Robert Dinwiddie was of the opinion that pretty nearly all the interior of the continent was part of his colony of Virginia. He refused to recognize a border line or boundary in the crests of the Alleghany range of mountains. Moreover, he kept himself posted. There were countrymen of his as industrious and enterprising as explorers as almost any of the French; who left their names upon streams and lakes and mountains as monuments of their energy and perseverance. These were not lacking among the stragglers across the mountains, into the wilds of the forest in the interior. So Robert Dinwiddie had means at hand of learning when his territory was being trespassed upon. Before the summer of 1753 was ended he had been informed that the French had taken possession and built forts at Presque Isle and Le Bœuf.

Governor Dinwiddie was a man of action. He became busy at once. Calling in a young officer, "one of the adjutant-generals of the troops and forces in the colony of Virginia," he commissioned him to proceed through the wilderness bearing despatches to the French, demanding why they had invaded the domains of King George the Second of England, and commanding them to retire. The young officer was George Washington, his destination was Fort Le Bœuf, and the story of his journey through the wilderness, across the "Allegheny Hill" and up the Alleghany river and its tributaries, forms one of the most interesting narratives in the history of the continent. His commission was brief and to the point. It was as follows:

"I, reposing special trust and confidence in the ability, conduct, and fidelity of you, the said George Washington, have appointed you my express messenger; and you are hereby authorized and empowered to proceed hence, with all convenient and possible dispatch, to the part or place, on the river Ohio, where the French have lately erected a fort or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver my letter and message to him; and after waiting not exceeding one week for an answer, you are to take your leave and return immediately back." This commission was dated the 30th day of October "Annoque Domini, 1753."

Washington, at the time he received this important commission, was less than twenty-two years old, but his conduct of the expedition in the face of incessant dangers and hardships, his success in foiling the intrigues of the French and defeating their designs upon his Indian company, and the success he achieved in obtaining important and reliable information, could not have been exceeded by a seasoned veteran. He

tells his own story of the expedition, kept in a diary or journal and submitted as his report to Governor Dinwiddie. He says:

'I was commissioned and appointed by the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Esquire, Governor, etc., of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces at the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day; on the next I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester, and got baggage horses, etc., and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills' Creek, where we arrived on the 14th of November.

Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors, Barnaby Currin and John McQuire, Indian traders, Henry Steward and William Jenkins; and in company with these persons left the inhabitants the next day.

The excessive rains and vast quantities of snow which had fallen prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle creek, on Monongahela river, till Thursday the 22d. We were informed here, that expresses had been sent a few days before to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French general's death, and the return of the major part of the French army into winter quarters.

The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Seward down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the forks of Ohio, about ten miles below; there to cross the Allegheny. . . . About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, king of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to a council at Logstown.

* * * * * *

Shingiss attended us to the Logstown, where we arrived between sun-setting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. We traveled over some extremely good and bad land to get to this place.

As soon as I came into town, I went to Monakatoocha (as the Half-King was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver creek, about fifteen miles off) and informed him by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general; and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the six nations to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King, which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present, to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned.

* * * * * *

25th.—Came to town, four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them: They were sent from New

Orleans with a hundred men, and eight canoe loads of provisions, to this place, where they expected to have met the same number of men from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convey them and the stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off.

* * * * * *

About three o'clock this evening the Half-King came to town. I went up and invited him with Davidson, privately, to my tent; and desired him to relate some of the particulars of his journey to the French commandant, and of his reception there; also to give me an account of the ways and distance. He told me, that the nearest and levellest way was now impassable, by reason of many large miry savannas; that we must be obliged to go by Venango, and should not get to the near fort in less than five or six nights sleep, good traveling. When he went to the fort, he said, he was received in a very stern manner by the late commander, who asked him very abruptly, what he had come about, and to declare his business. . . . . He informed me that they had built two forts, one on Lake Erie, and another on French creek, near a small lake, about fifteen miles asunder; that on the lake the largest. He gave me a plan of them of his own drawing.

26th.—(This day was devoted to a pow-wow with the Indians at which Washington laid before them the business in hand and solicited their co-operation in accordance with the instructions and request of the governor. There was much delay and evident reluctance on the part of the Indians to comply, so that it was not until the 30th that the journey could be resumed, and then but four of the natives had joined them. The journal continues under date of the 30th November):

We set out about nine o'clock with the Half-King Jeskakake, White Thunder and the Hunter, and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the fourth of December, without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

This is an old Indian town situated at the mouth of French creek, on Ohio; and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio; but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited me to sup with them, and treated us with great complaisance.

The wine as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

They told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G-d they would do it; for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago; and the rise of this ex-

pedition is, to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side Ontario lake. But on the death of the General, all were recalled to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty or thereabout in each. The first of them is on French creek, near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores are kept, about fifteen miles from the other; from this it is about one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying place, at the falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort at which they should lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, the place from whence all their stores are brought. The next fort lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario lake. Between this fort and Montreal, there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English Fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather) than four weeks voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels so that they may cross the lake; but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore.

December 5th.—Rained excessively all day, which prevented our traveling. (Here occurs an account of the efforts put forth by Joncaire to seduce the Indians, efforts that were continued during the 6th and into the 7th, causing great trouble to the young commander).

7th.—Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off today, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. I had last night left John Davidson (the Indian interpreter,) whom I brought with me from town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their company, as I could not get them over to my tent; for they had some business with Kustalogo, chiefly to know why he did not deliver up the French speech-belt which he had in keeping; but I was obliged to send Mr. Gist over today to fetch them, which he did with great persuasion.

At twelve o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through many mires and swamps; these we were obliged to pass in order to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

12th.—I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letter; both of which he requested me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, Captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

The commander is a Knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

At two o'clock the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, etc., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it, which I did.

13th.—The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

It is situated on the south or west fork of French creek, near the water; and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commanders private store round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort, for the soldiers' dwellings, covered, some with bark, and some with boards made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, etc.

I could get no certain account of the number of men here; but, according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of the officers, of whom there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me, to take an exact account of the canoes, which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did and told fifty of birch bark, and a hundred and seventy of pine; besides many others, which were blocked out, in readiness for being made.

14th.—As the snow increased very fast and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not then to continue down to Shanapin's town, at the forks of Ohio, and there to wait until we came to cross the Allegheny; intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavored all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me that he offered the wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace and trade amicably with them, as proof of which he would send some goods immediately down to the Logstown for them. But I rather think the design of that is, to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer, etc., with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our

English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

I inquired of Captain Reparti about the boy that was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved on him, between the death of the late general, and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged that a boy had been carried past; and that the Indians had two or three white men's scalps, (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango, eight) but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place where the boy came from, and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours, as they were carrying past. I likewise inquired what they had done with John Trotter and James M'Clocklan, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken with all their goods. They told me that they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

This evening I received an answer to his honor, the Governor's letter from the commandant. (The reply will be given at the end of this journal).

15th.—The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provisions, etc., to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he exerted every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure; presents, rewards and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair; I saw that every stratagem, which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practiced to win the Half-King to their interest; and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King and pressed him in the strongest terms to go; he told me the commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill-treatment; for keeping them as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I soon found it out. He had promised them a present of guns, etc., if they would wait until the morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them, in the morning.

16th.—The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also. But as they were obliged, according to promise, to give the present, they then endeavored to try the power of liquor, which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this; but I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks; and many times were obliged all hands to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to

carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22d, where we met with our horses.

This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango cannot be less than one hundred and thirty miles to follow the meanders.

23d.—When I got ready to set off, I sent for the Half-King to know whether he intended to go with us, or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well for anything to engage him in their favor; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honor the Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us and get provisions, etc., if wanted.

Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and the others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honor, the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods on foot.

Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then, with gun in hand and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murderingtown (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannapin's town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river above Shannapin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it

was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched then went on board of it and set off; but before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but coming to a place on the Great Kenhawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, (all but one woman with very light hair,) they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants would rise and take them as the authors of the murders. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left they say they were French Indians, of the Ottoway nation, who did it.

As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of the Youghiogany, to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

Tuesday, the first of January we left Mr. Frazier's house and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the second, where I bought a horse and saddle. The sixth, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for the fort at the Fork of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Will's Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the first day of December to the fifteenth there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

This is Major Washington's report of a most remarkable journey. It is abbreviated in two or three places by the omission of Indian speeches and debates, but the narrative of his difficulties and dangers and his marvelous escapes from savages and the floods, given as he wrote it, is

an illuminating picture of what was in this wonderful man from the very beginning of his life.

The mission was successful only in the information Washington was able to obtain. The letter of Governor Dinwiddie had declared that the land on the Ohio belonged to the Crown of Great Britain, and complained of the intrusion of the French. He demanded to know by what authority an armed force in time of peace had crossed the lakes, and requested their speedy departure, also bespeaking courteous treatment for Major Washington. The reply of M. de Saint Pierre was characteristic of the soldier, placed where he was to obey the commands of his superior officer. He would, he said, transmit the letter to the governor of Canada, to whom, he said, "it better belongs than to me to set forth the evidence and reality of the rights of the King, my master, upon the land situated along the Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the King of Great Britain thereto. His answer shall be law to me. . . . As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general; and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer." In conclusion he says: "I made it my particular care to receive Mr. Washington with a distinction suitable to your dignity, as well as to his own quality and great merit. I flatter myself that he will do me this justice before you, sir, and that he will signify to you, in the manner I do myself, the profound respect with which I am, sir," etc.

CHAPTER V.—THE FALL OF FRENCH POWER.

THE BUILDING OF FORT DUQUESNE.—DEFEAT OF BRADDOCK.—THE ENSUING CAMPAIGN.—PITTSBURG WON BY THE BRITISH. —FORT PRESQUE ISLE ABANDONED.

The history of Erie now for a time becomes intermingled with the history of the big world; the building of a fort here in Erie and another at Le Bœuf or Waterford precipitate a crisis that plunges two nations into hostilities; the grievance that had been for years standing between the kingdoms of France and England is at length brought to an acute stage by the Expedition to Occupy the Ohio, the first work of which was to erect a fort on the shore of Presque Isle Bay.

The action taken by Governor Dinwiddie was one of the incidents, the result of the renewed aggressions of the French, that was to set the British nation on fire; it was one of the first steps toward the declaration of the war that came to be known in history as the Seven Years War. As has been stated, Erie was naturally mixed up in the trouble, being formally taken possession of as French territory. The history of that trouble, is to a certain extent the history of Erie. It is proper, then, to look into the matter a bit and learn the relative merits of the contentions set up by the disputing parties, and what the results were, especially as Erie was to continue to figure in affairs until the French were finally driven from the North American continent.

First and foremost, there was the English claim. This is given precedence here because, being founded upon original discovery, it dates back to the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 and 1499. Their exploration, limited only to the coast line, extended, however, from Labrador practically to the Florida peninsula, through no immediate advantage was taken of this discovery by the English. It was not until 1607 that the colony of Virginia was established. From that time on, however, during the seventeenth century England was no laggard in respect to the interest it took in America. Though the actual settlement by the English was along the coast, upon the narrow and comparatively level strip between the Appalachian range of mountains and the Atlantic, England, however, did not place such restricted longitudinal bounds, either upon its territorial claims or colonial grants, but, profoundly ignorant of what was implied in the language of some of the grants made,

generously extended the patent to the western sea. It was certainly a comprehensive claim that the English Crown set up. Now English colonization meant something. As has been set forth in an earlier part of this work, the English colonists settled in America, not for transient gain; not for short-lived military glory; not to be servants of a grasping military power; but to establish homes and to become permanently located. Beyond practicing their full domestic duties, within the laws of the Crown, their ambition did not lead them. And while, therefore the government at London claimed all the territory to the west no well arranged plan was ever put in operation to take formal possession, nor was there ever any movement, either by the government or the colonists to explore the interior. True, there were individuals here and there who, following their instincts as hunters, or pursuing the business of fur traders, ventured into the wilderness, and before the century was half measured, lent their Anglo-Saxon or Celtic names to outposts and settlements. But they were few and far between. England held the continent of America only by the shadowy title of a claim. But as history has repeatedly shown, an English claim generally means something.

France, too, had a claim upon America, based, as has already been shown, first, upon the discoveries of Verrazano and Ribaut; second, upon its colonization; and third upon its exploration. As to the first claim, there are doubts, due to the question of priority; the second is of little value except as it refers to Canada, east of Lake Ontario, for the settlement of all of the rest of America consisted of practically nothing more than military camps or missionary stations among the Indians. But as to the third, there can be no question that the French had a good claim; better by far than that of England, and if it then had become as well established as an international law as it did later there can be no doubt that exploration gave a good title to France. The claim was, however, set up, and the French Crown set itself about maintaining the claim.

The origin of the trouble that assumed an acute form at the time the expedition under Marin was sent out to occupy the Ohio, was a grant conferred by the English Crown upon or to a company organized principally in Virginia and Maryland, with a few stockholders in England. It was called the Ohio Company, and among its members were two brothers of George Washington, Lawrence and Augustine. This company was organized in 1751, and was given a patent to 600,000 acres of land on the banks of the Ohio on the conditions: that within seven years they would settle one hundred families upon the grant, and that they would build a fort and garrison it. These conditions the Ohio Company forthwith proceeded to carry out in good faith. The land was allotted to them west of the mountains, quite within the territory that in his bombastic declaration Father Bobi, voicing the opinion of the French government, had declared to belong to the Crown of France. It was this overt act on the part of the English that had decided France upon taking more

decisive steps than the planting of lead plates at the mouths of tributary streams, as Capt. Celoron had done. These plates, beneath the surface of the soil were not sufficiently in evidence. The newer and the better plan was to plant forts; moreover these forts were also to be depots on a line of communication with the centre of activity, the point where the soldiers of France were to turn back the British invaders, come, it is true, in the guise of peaceful settlers.

This determination on the part of the French to resist immigration by the English, and more particularly the building and garrisoning of forts, was naturally taken by England to be tantamount to a declaration of hostilities; it was at least an invitation to a declaration of war. This was soon to come.

Early in 1754 French activity was renewed, and as soon as conditions permitted a large force arrived at Fort Presque Isle, destined for the Ohio. At the head of the expedition now was M. Contrecœur, who had been appointed to succeed Saint Pierre. The force consisted of 1000 men, and carried with them eighteen cannon. There was halt made only sufficient for the necessities of the expedition. To Le Bœuf they proceeded and immediately embarked for the Forks of the Ohio. There they arrived on the 17th of April, and halted within a short distance of an unfinished fort that the English were erecting. It was in command of Ensign Ward who had a force of forty-one men, who were engaged in work upon the stockade. The disparity between his force and that of the French was so great that Ward recognized the hopelessness of his situation, and accordingly, when summoned by Contrecœur to surrender, though he was reluctant to do so, he finally yielded and was permitted to depart. The French immediately took possession, and at once, under the direction of the Chevalier de Mercier, a captain of artillery and an accomplished engineer, the fort was greatly enlarged and strengthened, and in a month was completed. It was named Fort Duquesne, in honor of the French Governor General, and was of sufficient capacity to receive a garrison of 1000 men and of sufficient strength to resist any force that was likely to be brought against it. It was the first act in the memorable Seven Years War.

George Washington, commissioned as a lieutenant-colonel by Governor Dinwiddie, had been sent to the frontier, and was at the time at Great Meadows, not far distant. His force was small, ill provisioned, lacking ammunition, and in no manner whatever, fit to cope with the force of French that had been garrisoned at Fort Duquesne. He was resolved, however, not to slight his duty in any particular. He constructed in a hasty manner a defense he called Fort Necessity, and this he made his base of operations. From there he proceeded to scout, following rumors of his Indian allies. On the 28th of May, with a company of forty and some Indian allies he discovered a force of French, under M. Jumonville, concealed in a ravine, and surrounded them. There

was a brisk engagement that lasted fifteen minutes, resulting in the defeat of the French. Ten of their number had been killed, including Jumonville, twenty-two were taken prisoners, and one escaped to Fort Duquesne.

Retaliation was decided upon by the French. A force under Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, was to be sent out to meet the English. Washington's force was much inferior, both in numbers and condition, for a scarcity of provisions had greatly reduced the abilities of his soldiers. Washington's force had advanced to within but a comparatively short distance of the French Fort. His scouts and advance guard had penetrated almost to Fort Duquesne, and these and trusty Indians kept him posted. They reported the arrival of a large reinforcement from Canada, and that without further delay De Villiers would march at the head of 800 French and 400 Indians to attack the English. It was now near the end of June. Expected reinforcements had not arrived and his men were weak from lack of food. Under these discouraging conditions it was reluctantly decided to retreat, and accordingly the small army fell back upon and occupied Fort Necessity, hoping for the arrival of the New York companies reported last at Alexandria. On July first they reached their fort and set about strengthening it. On the third of July the French army came up. Their method of attack was to fire from behind the trees of a near-by hill, and soon the engagement was general, although the French did not attempt to take the position by assault. But the English force in their weakened condition soon became exhausted, their guns became unfit for use owing to the storm, their ammunition was about all spent, and the expected reinforcements having failed, Washington was in such extremity that when the French proposed a parley he acceded and in the end was compelled to make an honorable capitulation. The losses of the English were twelve men killed and forty-three wounded. On the fourth of July Washington led out the remains of his gallant band in good order and abandoning the field returned to Virginia.

The intelligence of the defeat of the English forces at length awakened the British government, partially, from its lethargy. Promptly it was decided to send out an adequate force to punish the French and head off their invasion. General Edward Braddock "one of the bravest and most accomplished soldiers of the empire," was selected to command, and sailed for America in December. He had with him two regiments of 500 men each, under Colonels Halket and Dunbar. In April the plans of a general campaign were matured, the principal feature of which was that the first of three expeditions, to be commanded by General Braddock in person, and to consist of his English regulars, the levies from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, with such Indians as might be induced to join them, were to proceed first to take Fort Duquesne. This accomplished he was to advance, reducing all the French forts in turn

until he should reach Niagara. The fort at Presque Isle was to be greatly strengthened, and vessels of war were to be built here for the defense of the lake. "He anticipated a series of conquests as easy as they would be considerable, and already felicitated himself upon the prospect of spending a merry Christmas with Governor Morris in Philadelphia."*

Gen. Braddock's army left Alexandria on the 20th of April, but were halted at Fredericktown, Md., for want of transportation facilities, and there was a long delay until Benjamin Franklin contrived to procure the necessary wagons. Col. Washington reported on June 10, as an aid-de-camp to Gen. Braddock and became, by reason of his experience in the American wilds, trusted by the General to a certain extent—indeed so far as the military education of the English soldier would permit. It would have been better for the English cause had the faith in Washington been more implicit. On the 9th of July, 1755, the last stage of the march upon Fort Duquesne was entered upon. As skillfully as possible the forces were brought across the Monongahela at the fords, and by two o'clock the army was reunited on the right side of the river, and with guides and flanking parties was advancing, when suddenly a heavy firing with a wild and terrible Indian war cry was heard in front. It was the savages allied with the French, who had opened the fray, Contrecœur had prepared an ambuscade. With 230 French and Canadians and 700 Indians he had posted himself in an open wood filled with fallen trees and high grass, above the river. No better defense for the Indian mode of fighting could have been provided. The attack was furious and unexpected and soon the entire English force was in a panic. An attempt to rally and charge with the bayonet was futile; no enemy could be seen, and yet the furious firing continued. The provincial companies scattered to fight Indian fashion; the regulars were compelled to remain in mass—a means to their destruction. The officers proved to be prodigies of valor; the General himself was in the thickest of the fight, but the troops were palsied with fear. At length, after the fight had continued until five o'clock, Braddock fell, mortally wounded. The battle was over and the English retreated.

After the defeat of Braddock there was a long period of inactivity, due to political conditions in the mother country. The difficulty was to procure a capable ministry, the favorites of the King proving quite inadequate to the task before them. At length the Crown yielded to the universal demand of the people and William Pitt, "the great commoner," was given the post of prime minister. Then was England's star in the ascendant. Mr. Pitt took charge of the government of England in June 1757. Among the matters and things that fell to his care was the conduct of the Seven Years War, that up to this time had proved disastrous to England. With a skill that will ever be regarded as remarkable Mr. Pitt, appreciating the necessities of the situation, addressed himself to the

*Lossing, *Biography of Washington.*

work, and from that time on the English army turned its face the other way; its was a victorious career.

The situation in America was properly regarded as of the highest importance. The question that was up for settlement between France and England was: which of the two nations should be master in America. The British had established on this side of the Atlantic, thirteen colonies, the aggregate population of which was 1,300,000, while the French in America hardly numbered 60,000 in all, and many of these were soldiers of the Crown. Assuredly England had an interest to maintain in the new world, and, that interest becoming greater every year, the question of mastery was one that demanded a settlement. Mr. Pitt was determined that there should be one, and he proceeded forthwith. At last England was fully awake. Pitt was alive to the interests of the colonies, and it was not long after he assumed the reins of authority before there was something doing.

At Fort Presque Isle and at Le Bœuf there were busy times during the two summers of 1754 and 1755. In the former year activity began early, as early as the lake was navigable. It was evident to the French Governor General that two things were necessary to the success of the plan he had formed and begun to carry out. These were prompt action and an adequate force ably commanded. The visit of Washington to Fort Le Bœuf and the letter of Governor Dinwiddie, instead of intimidating the French had had a contrary and double effect. It discovered to Duquesne the fact that his plans were known to the enemy, and it determined him upon such action as would either forestall the English in any attempt at establishing adequate defences at the Forks of the Ohio, or else enable him, if such work were in progress, to put a stop to it. He well knew that what he had already done in building the two forts and constructing the military road from Presque Isle to the head of navigation on Le Bœuf creek, had opened a means for the rapid and uninterrupted transportation of troops and all the necessities that an expedition called for.

This force, under Contrecœur it was, as has already been related, that captured the English fort and, enlarging it, gave it the name of Fort Duquesne. But there were other detachments at quite frequent intervals, in June of that year (1754) a force of 800 having crossed on the portage road to Fort Le Bœuf on the way down the Allegheny river. Nor was the activity confined alone to the detachments moving toward the front. Both of the garrisons had their hands full with the work cut out for them. Fort Presque Isle was the principal depot, the base of supplies, for the army down the river. Everything required for the support of the army, the provisions, the arms, the ammunition, had to be carried from Montreal. There was no other source from which these could be drawn. All of those were stored at Fort Presque Isle, to be sent forward as required. At Le Bœuf there was not only the work of

trans-shipment, but more important, that of providing the means of transportation. The latter work consisted of constructing the batteaux that were to carry troops and the army supplies. These batteaux were large canoes formed out of tree-trunks of sufficient size, and the demand for canoes of wood was constant, for but few of those sent down the river ever returned. Indeed in time practically all the timber available had been used up, and Governor Duquesne lamented that there were no longer pine trees of sufficient size out of which batteaux could be made.

The activity of the French continued during the year 1755, and this activity affected the two Erie county forts. But from that time on the life of the two garrisons was one of routine chiefly, and dullness characterized them. It is a mistaken idea that there was anything of the nature of social gaiety existing either at Presque Isle or Le Bœuf. The soldiers stationed at these places were "at the front" in the scene of being in active service. It is the general belief that there existed, during the French occupancy, a small town or settlement hard by the fort, across, or on the right bank of Mill Creek. This is certified to by Indian spies and escaped prisoners, but so far as search among published records has been made nothing has been found to establish the fact that there was such a town. But it is not at all impossible that the alleged statement of an escaped prisoner is true when he said there was a town of 100 families close by, though it is much more probable the town was inhabited by Indians, especially when the fate of the fort at the end of the war is taken into account. That, however, remains to be told later.

When the Pitt ministry came into power there was a revolution in sentiment among the English in America. Mr. Pitt's letters to the colonies were well adapted to produce union, action and energy in the provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas. They were told that England would soon send to their assistance a powerful army, to act in conjunction with the provincial troops. The effect was electrical. The provinces vied with one another in making provisoins for defence, and in the spring of 1758 there was an English army of 50,000 men ready for action, 20,000 of whom were provincials—the most formidable army ever seen in the new world. Three expeditions were organized: against Louisburg; against Ticonderoga, and against Fort Duquesne. The last was under Brig. Gen. Forbes, and amounted to about 7,000 men, with Washington in command of the provincial troops. The advance was slow, owing to the ill-advised determination to construct a new road over the mountains. However, a force of 800, under Major Grant, consisting of Highlanders and provincials, was sent forward to reconnoitre. Grant's zeal, however, outran his discretion. Contrary to orders he pushed on to Fort Duquesne, attacked the French and was terribly defeated, losing 270 killed, 42 wounded and several taken prison-

ers, among them Major Grant and Major Lewis. This battle occurred September 14.

Emboldened by this success the French decided to attack Col. Bouquet in his camp at Loyalhanna, and with a force of 1,200 French and 200 Indians, under De Vetri, made an assault on October 12. The action was spirited, and lasted four hours, but the French were defeated and compelled to retreat. The main army of the English was advancing, but moved slowly. When it arrived at Fort Duquesne November 25, nothing was found but smoking ruins. The French had set fire to the fort and the outlying houses and fled. Of the 500 men in the fort at the time of its evacuation part retreated down the Ohio river and the remainder, with Gov. M. de Ligney, proceeded to Fort Presque Isle. Fort Duquesne now became Fort Pitt, and eventually Pittsburg, named in honor of the Great Commoner.

The loss of Fort Duquesne for the moment paralyzed the French in the region south of the lakes. They recognized the fact that the force which had come against them at the Forks of the Ohio was one of great strength, and also that it was largely composed of British regulars, who unlike the provincials would not be in haste to return to their private affairs, even at the expense of leaving the work of a campaign half-done. It was their immediate belief, therefore, that the British would follow up their advantage. This undoubtedly would have been done but for the lateness of the season and the rapid approach of winter. The fact that when General Forbes had reached Loyalhanna and found the mountain tops white with snow, had almost decided him upon deferring his movement against Fort Duquesne until spring. So, now that there had been so much more accomplished than was expected in the beginning of November, there was a resolution formed to do nothing more than to strengthen Fort Pitt and hold it. Of this fact the French were ignorant at the beginning, and De Ligney pushed his retreat quite to Presque Isle.

The inactivity of the British during the winter, however, had given the French an opportunity to gather their wits together again. Indeed they had by the opening of the year 1759 reached a determination to make a strong effort to recover Pittsburg and the control of the Ohio, and Presque Isle suddenly assumed a position of great importance in French affairs. In obedience to an order from Vaudreuil the French population of the Illinois, Detroit and other distant posts, joined with bands of western Indians, had come down the lakes with the avowed purpose of recovering Pittsburg, though Gen. Stanwix, who succeeded Gen. Forbes on the latter's death, recognizing that that post was really in imminent danger, was exerting himself to provide succor for it. These mixed bands of whites and savages were gathered chiefly at Presque Isle, with numbers also at Le Bœuf and Venango. Here at Presque Isle were such notable officers of their time as Capt. Aubry, Ligneris and Marin and other partisan chiefs, the best in Canada.

But while they were endeavoring to organize for a descent upon Pittsburg, expecting reinforcements from Canada to give them sufficient strength for the undertaking, steps had been taken to complete the work laid out by the Council of war at Philadelphia early in 1758, with reference to the campaign to the Ohio and thence up the Allegheny. Sir William Johnson had been commissioned to carry out the plan of campaign the other way 'round. He was to reduce Fort Niagara. Sir William Johnson was an interesting character. He was a native of Ireland, and a nephew of Sir Peter Warren, who owned a large tract of land at the mouth of Schohaire Creek (now the town of Florida, N. Y.) Johnson became Warren's agent, and also engaged in the fur trade on his own account. Johnson was different from the others of his time who occupied a like position and occupation; unlike the typical fur-trader, he dealt with strict honesty and humanity toward the Indians, the result being that he won the fullest confidence and affection of the Indian tribes. He became so thoroughly identified with them as to be regarded in the course of time as one of themselves, and his influence with the Iroquois was so great that he was depended upon by the British government to effect adjustments when troubles with the Indians threatened. He was not a military man by training, and yet was put in a position of command at the attack upon Crown Point in 1756, and won. With the prestige of that command in mind it came about that to him fell finally the task of taking Fort Niagara.

Fort Niagara, situated at the mouth of the Niagara river, on Lake Ontario, was, in the summer of 1759, in command of Capt. Francois Pouchot. Learning that the English were coming to attempt to take Ft. Niagara Pouchet sent a messenger in hot haste to Presque Isle for aid, for his force he felt to be inadequate. It consisted of 486 men, but of these, according to his own account, given later, there were but 370 capable of bearing arms. On the 24th of July 110 French and 200 Indians, under Aubry and Ligneris, arrived at Niagara from Presque Isle. But this succor was in vain. The relief party was overthrown and Fort Niagara fell into the hands of Sir William Johnson on July 25, 1759.

After the final defeat at Fort Niagara the French retreated from the field, took to their boats and canoes and hastened back to Lake Erie. Their destination was Presque Isle. Here their halt was brief. Messengers were sent post haste to Le Bœuf and Venango. Each fort was burned in turn, and the garrisons of these three forts, joining the fugitives from Niagara, the retreat was pursued for Detroit. Thus the whole region of the upper Ohio and of the Niagara frontier was left in the undisputed possession of the English. This ends the history of the French occupancy of Erie county, though there lingers to this day the relics of that occupancy in names that have become attached to localities, lakes and streams.

CHAPTER VI.—PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

FORT LE BOEUF BURNED.—BRAVE DEFENSE OF FORT PRESQUE ISLE AGAINST THE INDIANS.—ITS FINAL CAPTURE.

After the fall of Fort Niagara and the final expulsion of the French there was naturally a season of relaxation in the vicinity of Fort Pitt. There had been good grounds for fear so long as Niagara held out, for the French had fully determined upon recovering the fort at the Forks of the Ohio, and it was with the purpose of making a bold stroke for the recovery of Fort Duquesne that there had been a mobilization of forces at Fort Presque Isle. The victory of Sir William Johnson at Fort Niagara, however, had changed the situation entirely. The skies were at length clear, so that it was possible to do something besides strengthening the defenses at Fort Pitt, which had been previously decided upon. There were other posts to be cared for, and Gen. Stanwix, early in 1760, ordered Major Rodgers to take formal possession of Forts Venango, Le Bœuf and Presque Isle, and strengthen them, as well as to occupy the forts westward on the Great Lakes.

According to some authorities the forts in this corner of Pennsylvania when abandoned by the French were left intact; but Parkman says they were burned. The latter is the likelier story. That was what befell Ft. Duquesne when it was found to be no longer tenable, and when the fleeing fugitives from Niagara carried to the French at the three forts that remained in Pennsylvania the intelligence of utter defeat, and they knew that nothing remained but to retreat to the west, it was only according to the rules of war, to leave nothing for the enemy. The three forts were undoubtedly destroyed by fire.

It was not until the succeeding year that Major Rodgers came this way and, finding the fort in ruins, rebuilt it. It was not built according to its original plan. The new plan consisted of a stockade enclosure with a block house, the second story of which extended out over the first all round, occupying a position at or near the northwest corner of the stockade. There was a house of logs for the commander of the post, other smaller houses, a stone magazine (which the French had left), and a well, all within the stockade, which was provided with strong gates.

Having rebuilt the fort as an important part of the act of taking possession, it became quite as important that it should be held; therefore

it was garrisoned. But it was not a very large force that was stationed at Presque Isle. Now that the French power was obliterated, and that there were no enemies to fear nor peaceful settlers or subjects of Great Britain to protect, the holding of this outpost was regarded as a mere matter of form. The same sentiments prevailed with reference to Fort Le Bœuf, and the same methods were pursued.

But there was a fate hanging over both of these forts of which the too confident English commander had not the remotest idea. There was a foe even more subtle than the French that he would have to deal with, and in the hands of this wily individual the garrisons left in charge of the new English defenses were as little more than nothing. Both Presque Isle and Le Bœuf were to have the bitter experience of fierce and determined Indian fighting, for both of these were soon to fall at the hands of the braves of Pontiac.

Singularly enough, after passing up the lake, at Detroit, Major Rodgers met and had an interview with Pontiac. He was celebrated as a chief of the Ottawa nation and is supposed to have been the principal leader, in the battle of the Monongahela, of the Indians who were the real cause of the defeat of Gen. Braddock. When he learned that Major Rodgers was proceeding up the lakes to take possession for the English, Pontiac set out, with a force of his warriors, to meet him. After his first salutation he sternly demanded of the English officer his business in his (the Indian's) territory, and how he dared to venture upon it without his permission, and added that though the French had been defeated, he had not. Major Rodgers having answered that he came "to confirm peace with his nation and open a friendly acquaintance for the mutual advantage of both," Pontiac replied: "I shall stand in the path you are walking in till morning," intimating to Major Rodgers that he could not proceed without his permission upon full deliberation. After a time Pontiac permitted the detachment to proceed, and, with his warriors accompanied it to Detroit, when he sent messengers to the neighboring tribes, soliciting them, with him, to embrace terms of friendship with the English.

The Ottawas, of which Pontiac was a chief, had from the beginning been strong friends and allies of the French. They were not friendly, on general principles, with the Indians of the Six Nations, though at peace with them. It was a politic peace. The Iroquois was a much too warlike people and too powerful a confederacy for the Indians of the north to provoke—indeed in their wars of conquest the Iroquois had invaded the lands of the Ottawas to a very considerable extent and no doubt would have pushed their conquests further if the barrier of the French had not stood between them. Pontiac and his Ottawa warriors were at Fort Duquesne as the allies of the French, having found their way thither along with the French forces that had traversed the route by way of Fort Presque Isle and the route down the Venango river. Generally

speaking it was a trait of the Indians to take sides with the stronger power. It was not, however, with Pontiac and his braves. He remained true to his French friends, and though he made a pact of peace with Major Rodgers and the English, as the sequel will show, it was only a subterfuge.

It was not long after the deal with the English at Detroit that Pontiac set about developing his scheme—in history it is known as Pontiac's conspiracy—which was intended to completely wipe out all the English in the interior from Fort Presque Isle—and even Niagara—to the farthest post west. And it was done with the consummate skill of a master. The French, adepts in intrigue, could learn from this Indian chief many points in the art which they believed peculiarly their own. Drake, in his history of the Indians, says: "There was more system employed by this distinguished man than perhaps by any other of his countrymen upon any similar undertaking, not excepting even Metacomet or Tecumseh. In his war of 1763, which is justly denominated Pontiac's War, he appointed a commissary and began to make and issue bills of credit, all of which he afterward carefully redeemed. . . . He had also, with great sagacity, urged upon his people the necessity of dispensing altogether with European commodities, to have no intercourse with any whites, and to depend entirely upon their ancient modes of procuring sustenance."

The operations planned by this famous savage covered a wide expanse of territory—Michilimackinac on the west and Niagara on the east were the limits, and Fort Pitt on the south. In all there were a dozen forts, and all were to be attacked practically simultaneously. The organization was so complete that the forces assigned were ample, provided the stratagem of the Indians availed to secure the initial advantage, to completely overcome the garrisons of the forts. Destruction was the purpose and slaughter the intent. Among the posts marked for destruction were the two in Erie county.

Fort Le Bœuf was at the time commanded by Ensign Price and his force consisted of only thirteen men. It was on the 17th of June, 1763, that, early in the day, the Ensign discovered that his small defense was surrounded by the savages. It was easy to decide that his case was hopeless, for he was greatly outnumbered. Surrender, however, was not to be considered, for in that no hope appeared. In the hands of the hostiles nothing short of death could be looked for, and, having taken counsel with his brave followers, it was decided that with nothing but death before them, the best to be done was to sell their lives as dearly as they might. All day therefore he kept up a show of resistance; as good a show as was possible. When night fell, however, along with his handful of followers he contrived to escape through a drain, and, eluding the braves, succeeded after great hardships in reaching Fort Pitt. During the night the Indians renewed the attack on the fort, which, now defence-

less, was easily set on fire and totally destroyed, the Indians believing its defenders had perished in the flames.

There was a different story at Fort Presque Isle. Having utterly destroyed Fort Le Bœuf the Indian force at once proceeded in the direction of Presque Isle, reaching here June 22. There was a force of two hundred Senecas and Ottawas, all fighting braves, and immediately upon reaching the fort fierce hostilities were begun, for the garrison put up a most courageous and stubborn defense. The garrison was under command of Ensign Christie of the Royal American regiment. It is not a matter of record that the garrison expected the attack, and yet they were as well prepared as though, like good soldiers, they had been alert and learned that the savage enemy was coming.

The fort was admirably situated for defense. Standing on the crest of the lake bluff, it could be approached only from the land side, and the most was made of this circumstance. From the account given by Parkman it would seem as though the stockade had fallen into decay or been destroyed or removed. But the fort was in excellent condition. It was a large block house, two stories high, and so constructed that the diameter of the upper story exceeded that of the lower story by several feet, enabling the occupants to fire through openings in the floor upon an enemy who attacked the walls of the lower story. But, though the building was solidly constructed of massive timbers, it had the vulnerable feature of a shingle roof, and this served as a point of attack by the Indians, who exerted their ingenuity to set fire to it. Again and again they were successful, but the besieged were able by the use of water, of which they had a reasonably good supply, to extinguish the flames, for by wise forethought openings covered with planks had been left in the roof. But the fires were frequent and at length the supply of water in the barrels was becoming exhausted.

What could be done? There was a well in the parade ground, but it was out of the question to try to reach that. There seemed to be but one resource, and that to dig a well in the blockhouse itself. A detail of men was assigned to this duty. The floor of the lower story was torn up and while a part of the force kept up an incessant fire to hold the enemy at a distance, the others, with the energy of desperation, were working at the well. It was toilsome work and tedious. Before it was half completed the cry of "Fire" again went up and it was necessary to brave the dangers of being hit by the bullets or shafts of the savages and tear the blazing shingles from the roof.

By this time it was evening. From the earliest morning the beleaguered garrison had kept up the fight, never knowing a moment's rest. Nor were they now to find relief from their toil. All night long from their entrenched positions the Indians kept up their fire in an evident determination to wear out the defenders of the fort. They were able

to do so because of their much greater number, which permitted some to fight while the rest slept.

Morning broke, but with no promise nor hope for the devoted Christie and his gallant band, and yet they held out. All day long the fight raged. Several times the blockhouse was on fire, but fortunately, in each instance the flames were extinguished. Hard by stood the house of the commander of the fort. It, too, was a structure of logs. This the Indians set on fire and it was burned to the ground, but without communicating, as the Indians no doubt intended it should, with the blockhouse. Again night fell, but the firing continued incessantly until midnight, at which hour some one from the ranks of the Indians called out in French for the garrison to surrender, as it would be useless to attempt further defense, for preparations had been completed to fire the blockhouse above and below at the same time.

It seemed a horrible alternative. Ensign Christie demanded to know if there was anyone among the Indians who could speak English, whereupon one attired as a savage stepped forward for a parley. There was little left to choose in the offer that was made. "Surrender and your lives will be spared; refuse and you will be burned to death!" But Christie was not disposed to trust an Indian promise of mercy, even if he believed they were able to set fire to the blockhouse. He resolved to hold out to the last. He answered, however, that he could not give a reply before morning, and he was given that respite.

On the morning of the third day two men were sent out on the pretense of treating with the Indians, but in reality to learn whether there actually were preparations being made to burn the fort. The report confirmed the fears of the garrison, and they decided to surrender on the terms offered, which were that they would be permitted to abandon this part of the country. In spite of the agreement, however, the whites were surrounded as soon as they emerged from the fort, and seized, and after being held in captivity at the Indian camp for several days, were sent to Detroit as prisoners of war. At that time Pontiac himself, with his braves were besieging Detroit, but failed in his enterprise. Christie contrived to escape from his custodians and gained the fort in safety, enduring with Major Gladwin and his force the long and perilous siege that Pontiac conducted in his vain attempt to take Detroit.

There is, however, another account of the taking of Fort Presque Isle by Pontiac's Indians. It was given by Mr. H. L. Harvey, formerly editor of the Erie *Observer,* who was, says Miss Laura G. Sanford in her history of Erie county, a gentleman of research and integrity. Mr. Harvey says:

The troops retired to their quarters to procure their morning repast; some had already finished, and were sauntering about the fortress or upon the shore of the lake. All were joyous in holiday attire and

dreaming of naught but the pleasure of the occasion. A knock was heard at the gate, and three Indians were announced in hunting garb, desiring an interview with the commander. Their tale was soon told. They said they belonged to a hunting party, who had started for Niagara with a lot of furs; that their canoes were bad, and they would prefer disposing of them here, if they could do so to advantage, and return rather than go farther; that their party were encamped by a small stream west of the fort about a mile, where they had landed the previous night, and where they wished the commander to go and examine their peltries, as it was difficult to bring them, and they wished to embark where they were, if they did not trade. The commander, accompanied by a clerk, left the fort with the Indians, charging that none should leave the fort, and none be admitted until his return. Well would it probably have been had this order been obeyed. After the lapse of sufficient time for the captain to visit the encampment of the Indians and return, a party of the latter, variously estimated—probably one hundred and fifty—advanced toward the fort, bearing upon their backs what appeared to be large packs of furs, which they informed the lieutenant the captain had purchased and ordered deposited in the fort. The stratagem succeeded; when the party were all within the fort, it was the work of an instant to throw off their packs and the short cloaks which covered their weapons, the whole being fastened by one loop and button at the neck. Resistance at this time was useless, and the work of death was as rapid as savage strength and weapons could make it. The shortened rifles, which had been sawed off for the purpose of concealing them under their cloaks and in the packs of furs, were at once discharged, and the tomahawk and knife completed their work. The history of savage warfare presents not a scene of more heartless and blood thirsty vengeance than was exhibited on this occasion. The few who were taken prisoners in the fort were doomed to the various tortures devised by savage ingenuity, and all but two who awoke to celebrate that day, had passed to the eternal world. Of these one was a soldier who had gone into the woods near the fort, and on his return observing a party of Indians dragging away some prisoners, escaped, and immediately proceeded to Niagara; the other was a soldier's wife, who had taken shelter in a small stone house, at the month of the creek used as a wash-house. Here she remained unobserved until near night of the fatal day, when she was made their prisoner, but was ultimately ransomed and restored to civilized life. She was afterward married and settled in Canada, where she was living at the commencement of the present (last) century. Captain D. Dobbins, of the revenue service, has frequently talked with the woman, who was redeemed by a Mr. Douglas, living opposite Black Rock, in Canada. From what she witnessed, and heard from the Indians during her captivity, as well as from information derived from other sources, this statement is made.

Though Pontiac's forces were successful against almost all the smaller forts it was quite different with the others. Detroit, though long beleaguered and almost in extremity was at length relieved, and Fort

Ligonier and Fort Pitt, both in Western Pennsylvania were successfully defended by the English. There was vigorous campaigning in this state. For a time Fort Ligonier, ably defended by Lieutenant Blane, was in great danger, but relieved by reinforcements was later placed out of danger by Colonel Bouquet, then on his way to Fort Pitt. The principal part of the work of subduing the Indians in the vicinity of the Ohio was done by Colonel Bouquet, a valiant Swiss soldier at the time in the service of England. In August, 1763, he administered a stinging defeat to the Indians at Bushy Run, in Westmoreland county, and drove the savages across the Ohio for the time entirely subdued, so that for the rest of the year the country, from Fort Presque Isle to Sandusky and south to the lower Muskingum, Indian hostilities were at an end.

But it was not for long. As early as February, in 1764, savage atrocities were resumed. The Indian campaign was no longer directed against the fortified places. The settlements and the isolated farmsteads were now the objects of attack. For relief from these it was resolved to organize a double expedition. Col. Bouquet, who had wintered at Fort Pitt, was to lead an army, composed largely of fresh troops, through southern Ohio. Col. Bradstreet was to head another column by a northern route along the lake.

Colonel Bradstreet had been selected because of his success during the French and Indian war. He had especially distinguished himself by the capture of Fort Frontenac, a post of great strength. His command was carefully organized and included a battalion of New Englanders, five companies of a total strength of five hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Putnam, a man who in the Revolutionary war, soon to succeed, was destined to achieve renown and be enrolled among the immortals of the beginnings of United States history. He was indeed already famous as an Indian fighter and seasoned as a frontier soldier. Bradstreet was an egotistical character, and notwithstanding the fame that had come to him because the fortunes of war had favored him, was greatly overrated. The route of the expedition under Bradstreet was westward along the south shore of Lake Erie; its objective point Detroit first, and then Michilimackinac. On the way up Lake Erie the army encountered a severe storm in the vicinity of Fort Presque Isle and here on August 12, 1764, while awaiting improvement in the weather conditions, a small party of Shawnee and Delaware Indians met the commander, and representing that they had come as commissioners to treat for peace, solicited a conference. Colonel Bradstreet, manifesting a disposition to accept them at their own valuation, his officers, Col. Putnam leading, promptly objected, protesting that all the evidences were against them. Their credentials were lacking. They bore but a single belt of wampum and yet professed they were delegated to conclude an extensive treaty of peace. This was the objection advanced by Putnam and the rest of the officers. It did not serve with the opinionated Bradstreet, who

imagined he saw in the incident an opportunity for a personal triumph. He accepted the overtures and agreed to peace terms, allowing the Indians twenty-five days in which to confirm the agreement on their part by reporting at Detroit. This done, Bradstreet sent a dispatch to Colonel Bouquet, reporting that he had concluded a treaty of peace with the Indians and there would therefore be no need of pushing the expedition up from the south. Bradstreet may have been deceived; no doubt he was. Bouquet was not. He knew at once what the plan of the Indians was, and it turned out that he was right. The Indians at no time meant to conclude a peace, but had adopted the expedient of meeting Bradstreet and making a profession in order to gain a savage advantage.

Bradstreet having, as he imagined, cleared the way toward the settlement of the Indian troubles, pushed on toward Detroit. Nothing was done toward garrisoning Fort Presque Isle, nor does it appear that any special notice or account, was taken of it. As for Colonel Bouquet, he immediately set about prosecuting his campaign with vigor, and it turned out that this was necessary. Even Bradstreet was soon free to admit it. By the end of 1764, however, the savages were completely subdued and Pontiac's war was at an end. The result was that for a period of several years there was peace with the Indians. In this county there were no Indian hostilities after the sanguinary affair between Pontiac's Indians and Ensign Christie at Fort Presque Isle.

CHAPTER VII.—THE TRIANGLE.

A Piece of Debatable Ground and Its Claimants.—How It Came To Be.—It Is Bought by Pennsylvania.

During the period of the Revolution, from 1776 to 1783—that period of travail that was to bring into being a new nation among the nations of the earth; that was to drag tyranny from its pedestal; that was to set in the firmament a new star to shine brighter and brighter as time sped, a guide to liberty; a period that had awakened the whole world and made the despots of the Old World tremble upon their thrones—during that period Erie remained locked in the fastnesses of the great forest, utterly oblivious to what was shaking the political foundations of the world. Forgetting all, itself forgotten, it peacefully slumbered by the side of the fresh water sea that stretched the curve of its horizon before it, no sound to vex it more rude than the pounding of the billows driven upon its strand as the autumn equinoctial gale swept in. To it came no echo of Lexington or Concord, Bunker Hill or Saratoga, Stony Point or Trenton, and to it there came no thrill when the tidings of Yorktown were borne afar by the couriers. To Presque Isle they could not penetrate. In its isolation there was for it no news. When information could by any accident find its way to the garrison by the side of Lake Erie it had become ancient history.

Presque Isle was a British outpost when the War of the Revolution began. It was a British outpost when the great conflict was ended. It continued to be a British outpost after the war was over, and, after peace had been ratified; after the United States of America had been enrolled among the nations of the earth, recognized even by the nation that had for seven years fought to prevent its being an independent state—even then Presque Isle continued to be a British outpost. It was one of the very last of the British possessions in America, won by the American patriots, to be surrended to the new republic. As late as 1785, two years after the treaty of peace at Paris had been ratified, Mr. Adams, minister of the United States at London, complained to the British Secretary of State that Presque Isle and a number of other posts had not been surrendered to the Americans.

But when at length Presque Isle was finally relinquished by the British, it was bettered only in a moderate degree. It became, for a

time no man's land. And the story of how this came to be and to be understood is now to be told.

No sooner was the independence of the United States won than action began with reference to properly defining the boundaries of the state, and the matter came officially before the general assembly of Pennsylvania in September, 1783. It was necessary, however, to have the coöperation of the adjacent states, for, as regarded the western portions of all, there was much doubt and uncertainty. Virginia was under the impression that what is now Erie county was a part of its territory, a belief that had been entertained from the beginning, for it was this impression that had induced Gov. Dinwiddie to send Major Washington an express messenger to Fort Le Bœuf to demand that the French retire. Therefore, now that these states had become commonwealths in the new Union, it was important that their boundaries should be definitely defined; important with reference to legal titles and especially with reference to the execution of civil and criminal laws. In so far as the state of Pennsylvania was concerned—and this had weight with the others—the work of locating the boundaries was based upon the grant of King Charles to William Penn. The terms of description of the grant were brief and extremely simple. The Delaware river was to be the eastern boundary. Then, following that river to the forty-third degree of latitude, that point was to be made the starting point, from which five degrees west on the forty-third degree was to be measured. On the south the starting point was to be where the New Castle circle (the northern boundary of Delaware) crossed the fortieth parallel of latitude and along this parallel the line was to be continued west to the limits of the north line. New York was entitled to nothing south of the north line; Maryland and Virginia had no claim north of the south line, and Virginia had no rights east of the west line. Now the southern boundary had long been settled by the survey made by Mason and Dixon in 1762. It was the northern and western boundaries that remained to be determined.

Though the subject of boundaries came up, as has been stated, in 1783, it was not until late in 1785 that the start was made upon the survey, and that start consisted only in determining the point where the northern line was to begin. There was some doubt when the charter to Penn was granted whether the Delaware extended as far north as to the forty-third degree. The commissioners, David Rittenhouse on the part of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Holland on the part of New York, found that it did, and in December of 1785 marked the place where the survey was to start, doing nothing more because it was so late in the season. In 1786 Andrew Ellicott was appointed commissioner for Pennsylvania and James Clinton and Simeon Dewitt commissioners for New York. During the year 1786, ninety miles of the boundary line was surveyed and next year, 1787, the survey was completed, the line being 259 miles and 88 perches from the starting point on the Delaware river to its termination at Lake Erie

five or six miles east of where the western boundary line reaches the lake. This new boundary line was permanently marked by stone monuments placed a mile apart, and lettered, on the one side to indicate New York and on the other to indicate Pennsylvania. The location of the western line was determined in 1786, Andrew Ellicott serving as commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania.

This survey of the state boundaries settled one thing, but it unsettled another. The question immediately arose, if not in one form, then in another, where is Presque Isle—in what state is it located? For this comedy of errors, or of misunderstandings, came up. It turned out that there was a tract of land claimed first and last, by no less than four states, Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts. As to the claim of the first, it was effectually settled by the survey. The survey on the other hand, seemed to establish the title of New York to the piece of territory. However, there was a better authority. The royal charter, in the case of New York as in that of Pennsylvania, was the declared law. This charter defined the western boundary of New York to be the meridian of the western end of Lake Ontario, and the surveyors agreed that the western end was just outside of Burlington Bay, and this fixed the boundary line just twenty miles east of Fort Presque Isle. The claims of Massachusetts and Connecticut were also based upon royal charters. But these placed no western limits upon the territory granted. The triangle, therefore, belonging neither to New York, Pennsylvania nor Virginia was logically a part of the territory of either one or the other of these New England states. In this troublesome situation the United States government effected a settlement of the difficulties by becoming owner, Connecticut, however, reserving to itself the territory west of the Pennsylvania line and between the lake and the forty-first degree of latitude, a tract of country to this day known as the Western Reserve.

After the survey, when it came to be known that the Triangle which had been in dispute was held by the United States government, there arose a strong desire on the part of Pennsylvania interests to secure it as part of the state. Gen. William Irvine had been sent to the northwest by the state authorities to examine and report upon the qualities of the lands of that section and make report. When this was done and it came to be known that the state had no harbor on the lake, and that the triangular tract was in every way desirable, there arose a strong desire to possess it. This was especially manifest in Philadelphia where the progressive citizens, eager to extend whatever commercial advantages offered, saw in the possession by the state of so fine a harbor as Gen. Irvine described, determined upon securing it. Accordingly an organization was effected, the state authorities enlisted in the measure, and at length a contract was made between the delegates of the state of Pennsylvania and the United States government for the sale of this tract of land to Pennsylvania. The act under which the title was authorized on

the part of the state was approved by Governor Mifflin April 13, 1791. The patent from the United States to the state of Pennsylvania, was signed by George Washington, President; and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, April 23, 1792. The consideration was $151,640.25, and it was paid in continental certificates.

But there was another title to be cleared up. The Indians of the Six Nations claimed ownership, control or right over the land that was to be disposed of. In the Indian claim there was nothing specific—no metes nor bounds—it was in a general way as their land the claim was made, and notwithstanding the indefinite character of the claim set up by the aborigines it could not be ignored. Accordingly negotiations were opened with the Indians which resulted in a conference on January 9, 1789, at which time the representatives of the Indian Six Nations signed a deed transferring the land. The price paid for the land to the Iroquois was $2,000 by the state of Pennsylvania and $1,200 by the United States.

Even this was not the end of claims that were against that triangular piece of territory. It turned out that objections arose with reference to the transaction of 1789, as there were Indians who claimed they had not been represented in the deal, whereupon the trouble was straightened out at the end of a pow-pow, and a new deed was given bearing date February 3, 1791. Both of these deeds were signed by Cornplanter, one of the most famous Indians in the history of that race, and by Half Town and Big Tree, also important chiefs in the Iroquois confederacy. No sooner had this second settlement of the land claim been made than a dispute arose between representatives of the Senecas and other tribes and trouble seemed to be brewing. The upshot of it was that $800 more was paid when a final release was executed, which became recorded as a quit-claim deed.

With this the title of Pennsylvania to the Triangle was fully cleared up. "Thus we have for the Triangle, settlements and considerations made by the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Virginia, and by direct conveyance from the United States to the state of Pennsylvania, reinforced by a deed relinquishing all rights and claims, except for hunting, from the Six Nations of Indians, and subsequently by another quit-claim deed representing Indians who appear to allege dissatisfaction or bad treatment. The title of Pennsylvania to the Triangle seems to have been acquiesced in and regarded as complete and sufficient as a basis of all subsequent titles."*

Though the part of the county south of the Triangle came to Pennsylvania through no such tribulation as has just been recounted, there were aspects in the acquisition of that not without interest. Of course it was embraced in the charter given by Charles II to William Penn, but was not part of the territory purchased from the Indians in 1768—or previous to the war of the Revolution, that is to say, in Colonial times.

* Dept. Int. Affairs, Report 1906.

It was acquired after Pennsylvania had become a sovereign state of the American union. It came about this way:

A conference by commissioners of the United States and commissioners representing the state of Pennsylvania was held at Fort Stanwix, in New York (now Rome, N. Y.) at which negotiations were made and perfected by which the Indians conveyed to the state of Pennsylvania the territory north of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, and extending from a point in Armstrong county, generally in a northeasterly direction to a point in the state boundary line near the center of Bradford county, including all land from this line north to the New York state line and westward to the line of Ohio, which it will readily be understood embraced the land up to the old state line in Erie county. The deed to this land from the Indians is dated October 23, 1784.

The Indians whose title was supposed to be transferred or passed by the above deed, were those known as the Six Nations. But there were other Indians who claimed rights and ownership in Pennsylvania. The Wyandottes and Delawares, after the assignment by the Six Nations had been made, came forward with their claims to the whole, or a large portion of the same territory. No claims were more difficult to adjust than Indian claims of this character, unless the simple method of buying off all claimants were adopted. Indeed there was no other way to get around trouble, trouble of the most serious kind. For a dissatisfied Indian was not slow to become a hostile Indian if he felt himself in any way aggrieved. Accordingly another conference with relation to the same territory was held at Fort McIntosh (now Beaver, Pa.) where on January 21, 1785, the Wyandotte and Delaware Indians conveyed their title or claim to the state of Pennsylvania.

Hence, for the land south of the old state line in Erie county there was first the charter of Charles II to William Penn bearing date March 4, 1681, by which the commonwealth derived title on its establishment through the Divesting Act of 1779; then the title so obtained was reinforced by the deed of purchase from the Iroquois or Six Nations, dated October 23, 1784, and by a second deed from the Wyandottes and Delawares, January 21, 1785. It is interesting at this point to note the fact that, whatever title or claim the people of the white race may have had to the territory of Pennsylvania, every foot of it was purchased from the Indians, the original owners of the soil. In some instances, as has appeared, the land was purchased twice over.

The purchase of the Triangle and its addition to Pennsylvania naturally rendered the survey of that portion of the boundary line extending from the southwest corner of the state of New York to the shore of Lake Erie obsolete, but the monument erected at the west end of the line, to mark the completion of the survey, standing originally on the crest of the bluff, was in the course of time carried away by the sloughing of the steep clay hillside as the frosts left the soil in the spring.

It was regarded as too important a landmark not to be perpetuated. Accordingly the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania at the session of 1905 passed an act appropriating $500 for the erection of a new monument to mark the end of the old state line which would at the same time stand as a record of the historical events associated with the place and the county. It stands near the shore of the lake in Springfield township about half way between the eastern and western boundaries of the township.

The work of properly locating the new monument was entrusted by Secretary Brown of the Department of Internal Affairs to Mr. J. Sutton Wall, chief draftsman and surveyor of the Department. It was important of course that it should in fact represent the termination of the line, and a careful survey was made by Mr. Wall with that purpose in view. The old stone, which had been a slab from a rather thick and hard stratum of the shale which crops out near the water's edge, had entirely disappeared having it is believed been picked up by the gatherers of stone for pier-filling when the Conneaut docks were in course of construction. The new monument, it was desired, should occupy a position where there would be no danger of its sliding down the bluff and yet be on the line of the original survey. The assistants of Mr. Wall in the work of choosing the location were O. P. Eaton and J. C. Wilson of Corry, Charles Bovee of North Springfield and Ralph C. Benedict of West Springfield. Careful search under the guidance of Joseph R. Hewitt of Springfield township resulted in finding the last of the milestones, the 259th. It was found in a broken condition, between the properties of Henry Kenuth and C. G. Kimmel.

According to the report of the survey of the original boundary, the last stone or monument had been placed eighty-five rods west of the 259th milestone. Measuring from that milestone, west 85 rods, Mr. Wall found that in the year 1906, when his survey was made, the location of the stone would have been about half way between the edge of the bluff and the waters of the lake, indicating that not less than one hundred feet of the land of the top of the bluff had been carried away by the sloughing or sliding of the land, since the original monument had been placed, in 1787.

For the new monument a site was selected on the summit of a small ridge or knoll, five hundred and sixteen feet west of milestone No. 259. There twenty feet square was staked off and subsequently bought by the state, in the center of which the monument was to be erected. In April, 1907, the work of erecting the monument was entrusted to the care and superintendence of Mr. Benedict. A substructure of broken stone and concrete was made and upon this the monument was erected, the work being completed on the 23d of April, 1907.

This monument was formally dedicated at a mass-meeting, composed principally of citizens of Erie county, including Senator Sisson

and the members of the House of Representatives on September 10, 1907, an appropriate date, being the ninety-fourth anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie, where Commodore Perry, in command of a fleet, the best part of which was built at Erie, won the most notable naval victory up to that time, capturing an entire British fleet.

The dedication proved to be an auspicious occasion. Not only was there a large and representative gathering, but the people assembled there came impressed with the proper spirit, ready to enter into the doings of the day with appreciative interest. By common consent the chief feature of the program had been assigned to Hon. Isaac B. Brown of Corry. As secretary of Internal Affairs at Harrisburg, he had taken especial interest in the enterprise of preserving the terminal mark of that historic survey. Becoming deeper interested in the project as the details of the work progressed, he had taken to a study of the history that the monument proposed to be erected would recall to a thoughtful mind, with the result that he had accumulated an extensive store of historical facts. He was therefore made speaker of the occasion. His address was a historical review of the country round about, history that the monument was intended to stand for and commemorate. It is therefore, not the last milestone in the old state line, but marking the place where that line terminated is a monument of the events associated with the coming of the white race into the county of Erie and into western Pennsylvania.

This monument is a monolith of New England granite, equally four sided with a pyramidal top. On each of the four sides there is a bronze panel securely fastened. These bear proper inscriptions, which are:

Northern side: "The lands north of this line and easterly to the western line of New York, purchased from the Indians January 9, 1789, and February 3, 1791, and deeded to the state of Pennsylvania by George Washington as President of the United States, and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, March 3, 1792."

Southern side: "Lands in northwestern Pennsylvania included in the Charter to William Penn of March 4, 1681, purchased of Six Nations, October 23, 1784, and from the Wyandotte and Delaware Indians, January 21, 1785."

Eastern side: "Easterly 516 feet from this monument stood the last milestone, the 259th from the Delaware river."

Western side: "Erected in 1907 by the State of Pennsylvania to mark the location of the old State Line established in 1786-7."

There may seem to be a discrepancy between the terms of the grant of King Charles to William Penn and the survey as actually made in 1786-7, that survey being on the 42d parallel; for it will be found in the original grant that the language used is, that the territory is bounded "east by Delaware river . . . unto the three and fortieth degree of

north latitude." This is the explanation: The grant is to the degree, not the parallel; and the forty-third degree begins at the forty-second parallel. The Triangle, then is in the forty-third degree.

CHAPTER VIII.—READY FOR THE SETTLERS.

GRIEVOUS INDIAN TROUBLES AT LENGTH DISPOSED OF.—PROVISIONS MADE BY WHICH LAND COULD BE ACQUIRED.

The ownership of the Triangle having been determined, it would seem as though nothing remained but to open the land for settlement in order to bring this way a population that even in those early days had turned its face westward, following the star of empire. This the State proceeded to do with all the expedition that could be expected. As early as 1791, the year after the commonwealth of Pennsylvania had adopted its first constitution, a favorable report on a proposition to open up a route from east of the mountains to Lake Erie was received and acted upon by the state legislature. Just after the constitution had been adopted Timothy Matlack, Samuel McClay and John Adlum were appointed commissioners to proceed up the Sinnemahoning and cross to any stream that might discharge itself into the Allegheny river nearest the mouth of French creek, up which stream they were to proceed to Le Bœuf, and thence, over the portage road to Presque Isle. It was the report of this commission that was received by the legislature in 1791, and the result was the passage of an act appropriating 100 pounds for the improvement of French Creek from its mouth up to the road leading to Presque Isle. This was part of an act designed to improve the navigable waters of the state and to open roads.

Two years later there was organized the Pennsylvania Population Company, whose managers were John Nicholson, John Field, Theophilus Casenove and Aaron Burr. This company undertook to stimulate settlement, but their efforts were for the time thwarted by the Indians.

It had been supposed that, with deeds in fee and deeds of quit-claim, which had been secured from the Indians, all doubts about the title had been set at rest. But they were not. The Indians were possessed of peculiarly fine ideas of their rights, and, without any comprehension of white men's laws it was no easy task to satisfy them. As a rule the white man was impatient with what appeared to be their vaccilating disposition, while the Indian, failing entirely to understand the newcomers, was suspicious that every overture was an effort to overreach him. The result was in every instance a long drawn out dispute, in which the white man, undertaking to enforce his law, was opposed by the only law

the Indian knew—the law of force. Few people, even at this late day, can fully appreciate what the exact relation was that existed between the two races at that time. The white man then certainly did not, and the Indian could not. The fact of the matter is the white man who was the product of many centuries of education and culture, was dealing with a man of the stone age. It was as though the ancestors of the race then come into the life of this continent, were pitted against their descendants who for far more than a millenium had been making steady progress upward. In much that was possessed of the attributes of manhood by the white man, the Indian was as a child. He knew nothing whatever of civilization. He had no written language. Even his hieroglyphic record was restricted to the totems that designated family or tribe and the commonest objects of nature about him. His only history was in traditions which lived but so long as the particular family concerned endured.

What wonder, then, that, when it came to the weighty negotiations that involved their parting with their ancestral rights, they were slow to comprehend and reluctant to consent? With no ideas beyond what had been their mode of living, how could it be expected they could understand what a new mode involved, or believe that a better could obtain? They could only see in the new system a deprivation of their means of livelihood, a change that would bring hunger and suffering to them. Their lands were theirs to hunt over. From the chase they obtained sustenance for themselves and children. Deprived of these they could not live. And then, when it came to the final test, they knew of no resort but that which had obtained among them from the beginning, so far as they had knowledge—the law of force.

It was this attitude of the Indians that caused the delay in the settlement of this part of the country after all the obstacles of the white man's law, as between claimants among the white men, had been removed. Moreover, it seemed at the time as though the Indian was receiving encouragement in his opposition to the settlement of the country—that his dissatisfaction was being stimulated; for the evidences seemed to show that representatives of the British government were stirring up discontent among the Indians. Cornplanter, one of the noblest of the American savages, and friendly with the Americans, was himself dragged into the plots and schemes of those who were endeavoring to stir up dissensions and discourage the occupancy of the territory on the south of Lake Erie. These representatives of the British, establishing themselves at Buffalo Creek, called frequent conferences with Indians. Gen. Wilkins, in 1793, reporting on the Indian situation from Fort Franklin, said, "The English are fixed in their opposition to the opening of the road to Presque Isle (from Le Bœuf), and are determined to send a number of English and Indians to cut them off." Their idea, it would appear, was to claim the Triangle lately acquired by Pennsylvania, as,

being territory not included in the royal grants, either to New York or Pennsylvania, therefore the property of Great Britain. And in furtherance of this scheme or plan, the Indians were urged on to defeat the efforts of the Pennsylvania authorities to secure peaceful possession.

Old Cornplanter was loyal to his American friends. He favored the transfer made by the Indian nations through him. But Joseph Brant was opposed and he stirred up a strife that threatened to be violent. Brant was one of the most remarkable Indians that ever lived. He was probably the first of his race to receive a high-grade education. He was a college graduate; had learned all the arts and graces of civilization; but when he had attained the highest point that the school education of the day could give him, he threw it all at his feet, and, putting on his dress of buckskin returned to the woods and the ways of the tribe in which he had been born. It was Brant who led in the fight against adopting a treaty of peace and he pertinaciously resisted its adoption. Cornplanter was trusted by the white people. They had had experience of his fidelity; but of the other it was different. There had been no massacres by the Indians here up to this time, nor in the immediate vicinity of Erie, but with Brant breathing out threatenings none were willing to take the risk that seemed to be involved, not even with assurance of the friendship of Cornplanter.

The outcome of the Indian troubles that were now in evidence was a decision to send forces for the garrisoning of Fort Franklin and Fort Le Bœuf. There had been a force at Fort Franklin but it was deemed inadequate under the more threatening condition of affairs. Capt. Denny was sent with a force to occupy Le Bœuf, but directed to proceed no farther. Accordingly he established himself there and built two small block houses.

In the Triangle matters were at a stand-still. No white man attempted to become a settler. The Pennsylvania Population Company had appointed Thomas Rees a deputy surveyer for land in the Triangle, which in 1792 he entered in his book of record, and next year he made an attempt to go out and survey them; but, proceeding by way of Buffalo Creek, he was halted there and informed by the Indians that if he went to Presque Isle to make his surveys he would be killed. This discouraged him for that season. The next year, 1794, he did come; and prosecuted his work. But he did it alone. He saw no white man, and, living in constant fear of the savages, made what haste he could to reach Fort Le Bœuf, where there was a garrison under Major Denny. Early in 1795, Deacon Hinds Chamberlain of Le Roy, N. Y., in company with Jesse Beach and Reuben Heath, made a journey along the south shore of Lake Erie. He reports: "At Presque Isle we found neither whites nor Indians—all was solitary." Under such a state of affairs it became a necessity that the conditions applying to contracts for the purchase of land in the Triangle should be changed.

Now there were a number of ways by which the public land of the Triangle could be secured by settlers and these may be profitably set forth here. First there was the Actual Settlement Act, passed by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth in 1792, immediately after the Triangle had been acquired. This act provided that the land would be sold to any person who would cultivate, improve and settle the same, or cause them to be improved and settled, at seven pounds and ten shillings for every one hundred acres, with allowance of six per cent for roads, etc., but no one settler was allowed to claim more than four hundred acres. The definition of actual settlement was set out with care. "No title shall vest in the lands unless the grantee has, prior to the issue of his warrant, made or caused to be made, or shall, within two years next after the same make or cause to be made an actual settlement thereon by clearing, fencing and cultivating at least two acres for every one hundred in one survey, and erected a house, and resided or caused a family to reside on the same for the five years immediately following; and in default thereof new warrants shall be issued to actual settlers." In view of the Indian troubles, however, there was a notable modification in the terms made which "provided, that if any such actual settler or grantee shall, by force of arms of the enemies of the United States, be prevented from making such settlement, or be driven therefrom, and shall persist in his endeavors to make such actual settlement, then, in either case, he and his heirs shall be entitled to have and to hold such lands in the same manner as if the actual settlement had been made." However, the lands actually settled and improved were to remain chargeable with the purchase money and interest, and if the grantee neglected to apply for a warrant for ten years after the passage of the act, unless hindered by death or the enemies of the United States, the lands might be granted to others by warrants reciting the defaults.

It was almost simultaneously with the passage of the Actual Settlement Act that the Pennsylvania Population Company, already mentioned, was formed at Philadelphia. Altogether this company acquired 890 warrants, partly in what is now Erie county and partly in Crawford, and these holdings embraced the whole of the Triangle except the town plot of Erie, the State Reserve, the Garrison Reserve and Irvine's reservation—the last named in what afterwards became Harbor creek township. For the purpose of inducing settlers to locate here these offers were made: A gift of 150 acres each to the first twenty families to settle on French Creek, and a similar gift to the first twenty to settle in the Lake Erie territory; a gift of 100 acres to the next fifty families, after the first twenty to settle on French creek, and a similar gift to the next fifty to settle in the Lake Erie territory. Settlers were privileged to select whatever lands they desired, and if ten acres were cleared and a comfortable house built on the land, in which they resided,

they were to have a deed in two years. In case they were driven off by the Indians no part of the two years was to stand against them, but no title was to vest in any person who abandoned his land before receiving a deed. Thirty thousand acres of land was offered for sale to actual settlers at one dollar per acre payable at the option of the purchaser in three years, with interest the last two years, but no tract was to exceed 300 acres. The first agent of the Pennsylvania Population Company was Thomas Rees, Esq., who was succeeded in 1796, by Judah Colt, who continued to transact the business affairs of the company in this county until it was dissolved in 1814.

The Holland Land Company early acquired a large amount of land in Erie county. It was composed of a number of wealthy men living in Holland, and soon after the close of the War of the Revolution, bought of Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, vast bodies of land in western New York and northwestern Pennsylvania. Besides the land purchased of Morris and what was acquired in this county the company had large holdings in Crawford. Those in Erie county were all south of the old state line. Major Alden was the first agent of this company and was succeeded by William Miles. In 1815 H. J. Huidekoper, a member of the corporation, came from Holland to take charge of the company's affairs and established himself at Meadville, being the original of that notable family.

The third land company to be interested in the settlement of Erie was the Harrisburg and Presque Isle Company, formed at Harrisburg in 1796, for the purpose of settling, improving and populating the country near and adjoining to Lake Erie. Among those who joined to form this company were Richard Swan, Thomas. Forster, Samuel Laird and William Kelso, names later to be prominently identified with affairs in Erie.

These were the great land companies that, it turned out, were to be the means of bringing settlers into this section of the country. They had troubles, some of them, at the beginning, for it early appeared that the Actual Settlement act had, perhaps inadvertently, been nullified, the discovery being made that all the available land in the Triangle had been disposed of by the state to the Pennsylvania Population Company. This necessitated the passage of an act by the Legislature, in 1794, to provide that no further application should be received at the land office for unimproved land in the Triangle, and that no warrant should issue after June 15 of that year for any land within the Triangle except in favor of persons claiming by virtue of some settlement and improvement having been made thereon, and that all applications remaining in the land office after that date, for which the purchase money had not been paid, should be void. However, applications might be received and warrants issued until January 1, 1795, in favor of any persons to whom a balance might be due in the land office on unsatisfied warrants issued

before the 29th of March, 1792, for such quantities of land as might be sufficient to discharge such balances.

Out of the legislation, of 1792 and of 1794 the difficulties above alluded to, grew, for when proclamation was made in 1795 by the governor, declaring that the Indians had been conquered and that the northwestern section of the State was open for settlement, a considerable number of people immigrated, some buying from the land agents, and others setting up claims on the ground that the land companies had forfeited their claims. The claims of the latter were controverted by the land companies, who set up the plea that the hostility of the Indians had prevented them from making the improvements called for by the act, which act also made allowance for such a contingency. The land companies were sustained by the courts, the Holland Land Company also successfully maintaining its title in the United States courts, being a foreign company.

Besides the tracts of land taken up by the land companies above mentioned there were others set off by the State which should be mentioned. During the progress of the Revolutionary war, in 1780, a promise was made "to the officers and privates belonging to this State in the Federal Army," that they were to be given certain donations and quantities of land, according to their several ranks, to be surveyed and divided off to them, severally, at the end of the Revolutionary war. The tenth of these Donation Districts was located within Erie county and began about a mile east of Waterford and extended eastward to the Warren county line. It was surveyed on the part of the State in 1785 by David Watts and William Miles. There were but few of the Revolutionary soldiers who moved onto them, the great bulk of the patents having been disposed of to speculators.

Then there was the Moravian Grant. This land was voted by the State in 1791 to the "Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the heathen," in recognition of its services in maintaining at its own expense missionaries among the Indians. In Erie county two tracts were located, the "Good Luck" tract of 2875 acres in Le Bœuf township and the "Hospitality" tract of 2797 acres in Springfield township. William Miles was the first agent of the Hospitality tract and John Wood of Waterford was the first agent of the Good Luck tract. (In 1850 these tracts were sold to N. Blickensderfer and James Miles).

There were four state reservations: The Irvine Reserve of 2000 acres in Harborcreek township was donated by the Commonwealth to Gen. William Irvine as a special reward for his services in the Revolution. The Erie State Reserve began at the head of the bay, extended south three miles, thence east eight miles, then north three miles to the shore of the lake, and included all land within those boundaries except what had been originally set apart for the town of Erie. The Waterford

Reserve consisted of 1800 acres in Waterford township and 400 acres in Le Bœuf. The Garrison tract was laid out at the eastern end of the town of Erie on the shore of the bay and lake and included about one hundred acres, and is the only state reserve in Erie county that remains to this day the property of the commonwealth. Upon it stands the Pennsylvania Soldiers and Sailors Home.

Finally there was, by act of the legislature in 1799, held back from each of the reserve tracts of Erie and Waterford 500 acres "for the use of such schools and academies as may hereafter be established by law."

Above has been given an outline of the disposition made by the State, of the public lands, prior to and soon after the beginning of the first settlement of the county. Through the various legislative acts enumerated it will be seen how titles to the land of the county originated. It will show how preparations had been made for the coming into Erie county of the hardy pioneers who were to make an opening right here in the Great Forest of North America.

For the Indian troubles were now at an end at and in the vicinity of Presque Isle, if only the settler could be made to feel satisfied of that fact. It had been a protracted and difficult task to reach a basis satisfactory to the Indians, and there is no doubt it would not so soon have been reached but for the activity and friendliness of the great chief Cornplanter. He was tireless in his efforts to have peace established. He was a loyal friend to the whites, whom he had come to understand, and finally succeeded in satisfying his people, although having been charged before a council with having accepted a bribe for the sale of Presque Isle. When, therefore, a conference to be held at Canandaigua had been appointed by the President, with Timothy Pickering as the sole representative of the Government, for the purpose of establishing a firm and permanent friendship with the Six Nations, it was agreed to by the Indians, who came in force. The meeting was held in October, 1794. The result of the conference was that a large tract of land west of the Phelps and Gorham purchase in New York was reserved to the Indians, with $14,500 in goods, whereupon fifty-nine sachems signed a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship with the United States. Thus was the remaining obstacle in the way of the inaugurating of a final settlement here removed.

CHAPTER IX.—COMING OF THE PIONEERS.

THE SURVEYORS AT WORK.—ARRIVAL OF COL. REED AND HIS FAMILY AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT BEGUN.

And now the stage has been cleared for the beginning of a new drama of human interest. That which had preceded was essentially of the military sort, and before that, what might be denominated of the border kind. But the new one is the domestic drama that, in its working out, has many a thrilling situation, introducing, to be sure, more than one military scene, and more than one spectacular effect. Indeed as we shall see, even the "grand transformation" of the mimic stage is here to be put on with great effect.

It is now 1795, in the great American forest. It is three full centuries since the Cabots made the civilized world acquainted with the western continent. It is three hundred years since the Europeans came to know of the existence of that stupendous expanse of woods that stretched from the tropic waters of the Gulf to the billows of the Artcic sea. Three hundred years! And yet the scene of our narrative upon the shore of Presque Isle bay and the terraced hills of the interior, is the same forest primeval, inviolate, save for the mere thread the ambitious French had stretched between the lake and the river. Most impressive must the view have been to the first comer, as, scanning the country to the south from the point of vantage of the frail embarkation of the time upon the lake, he beheld that grand panorama of arboreal verdure, impressive in its vast extent as it steadily unfolded during his progress westward and as steadily continued unchanged. It was as though it had never before been seen by man, for, as creation might have left it, it still remained.

But the change was impending. A new race in this part of the continent was about to appear, a race as unlike that which had preceded it as could well be. The French after an occupancy of six years, in a day burned behind them all their works, and no trace remained. Those who are now to take up the work and assume the duties of ownership, to have and to hold, after six years will have made marks not so easily obliterated. For they are of that people who had come into this western world to establish homes, and while they pursued commerce and trade

and the industries of their time, held superior to these the homes they were to establish.

It is not easy to determine from the evidence available, just at what date the earliest settler in Erie county arrived, nor is the day of the month, nor even the month of the year 1795 reliably set down which marks the date of the arrival here of the earliest settlers. Nor can it be told from any records extant which part of the county is entitled to claim the honor of receiving the first settler. There had been a garrison maintained at Le Bœuf for some time, rendered necessary by the fear of the Indians, and it would appear as though, under the protection of that body of military there might have been found someone daring enough to have taken up land and set about establishing a claim. So far as can be learned this was not done before the year 1795, and during that year there appears nothing to show at what time in that year immigration began. Statements appear in the histories that "early in the year" a detachment of soldiers arrived to erect blockhouses; "early in the year" Captain Grubb escorted the surveyors here; "early in the year" Thomas Rees came on to engage in the work of surveying the land of the Pennsylvania Population Company. Careful and inquiring search, however, places the date of all the arrivals above mentioned—and they were the first of the permanents—after mid-summer; that is to say, none of them before the latter part of June.

It appears, from what he wrote at the time, that in the year 1795 Deacon Hinds Chamberlain of LeRoy, N. Y., looking for a place to buy desirable land cheap, made a journey to Presque Isle, having as companions Jesse Beach and Reuben Heath. The narrative of his trip bears no date or dates, so that it is not possible to state how early in the year their visit here was made. This party of men were the first arrivals here, but, according to the story as told, they were not here much if any before mid-summer day. Mr. Chamberlian writes:

"At Presque Isle we found neither whites nor Indians—all was solitary. There were some old French brick buildings, wells, block houses, etc., going to decay, and eight or ten acres of cleared land. On the peninsula there was an old brick house forty or fifty feet square. The peninsula was covered with cranberries.

"After staying there one night we went over to Le Bœuf, about sixteen miles distant, pursuing an old French road. Trees had grown up in it, but the track was distinct. Near Le Bœuf we came upon a company of men who were cutting out the road to Presque Isle—a part of them were soldiers and a part Pennsylvanians. At Le Bœuf there was a garrison of soldiers—about one hundred. There were several white families there and a store of goods. Myself and companions were in pursuit of land. By a law of Pennsylvania, such as built a log house and cleared a few acres acquired a presumptive right—the right

to purchase at five dollars per hundred acres. We each of us made a location near Presque Isle.

"On our return to Presque Isle from Le Bœuf we found there Col. Seth Reed and his family. They had just arrived. We stopped and helped him build some huts; set up crotches, laid poles across, and covered them with the bark of the cucumber tree. . . . James Baggs and Giles Sisson came on with Col. Reed. I remained for a considerable time in his employ. It was not long before eight or ten other families came in."

This narrative of Deacon Chamberlain is informing but not instructive in so far as it relates to the dates of the advent of some who were undoubtedly among the very earliest settlers here. It would appear from the Deacon as though no others but the Reed party were here. But there were others.

Undoubtedly the first comer was Thomas Rees. He had been here the year before as a surveyor. He came in 1795 also as a surveyor, accompanied by a force of assistants, but this time, as it turned out, he was to become one of the settlers in the Triangle. He came early. He erected a tent or marquee on the high ground near where the French and English forts had been, and with this temporary shelter, at once his office and his dwelling, pursued his occupation as surveyor. For a time he was alone, except for his force of assistants, and it was during this period that there "dropped in" upon him a small party of travelers who claimed his hospitality for a day or two. It was Louis Philippe of France and his younger brother and an attendant. They were prosecuting a journey through the wilds for recreation and having recuperated on the hospitality of Mr. Rees, proceeded eastward under the care of an Indian guide provided by their host.

The next arrivals at Presque Isle were the commissioners sent out by the state to locate the town of Erie. These commissioners, Gen. William Irvine and Andrew Ellicott, were appointed in pursuance of an act passed by the state legislature in April, 1795, and, for their protection as well as for that of the settlers, they were escorted by a company of state troops under command of Capt. John Grubb. They reached Erie in June, or early in July, the exact date being uncertain, though the probabilities are it was during the latter part of June. The great majority of those who formed this expedition were transients—enlisted men whose only interest lay in the duty placed upon them as soldiers of the state. There were exceptions to this last statement, however, especially notable being that of the commander, Capt. Grubb, who became a permanent settler and rose to a position of honor, influence and distinction in the county, in which he lived until his death in 1845.

The first permanent settlers who came with the expressed purpose of making their homes in the Triangle were Col. Seth Reed and his family, with others who accompanied him. Col. Reed was a soldier

of the Revolution and was in command of a regiment at Bunker Hill. He was a native of Uxbridge, Mass., a physician, but upon the close of the Revolutionary war decided to remove into the west. At first he located in Ontario county, N. Y., where he acquired a large tract of land, but after a time, becoming impressed with what he had heard of the region on the south shore of Lake Erie, decided upon a change of location. At Buffalo he met John Talmadge, who had fitted out a small sailing craft to run between that port and Erie, and engaged passage for his party. They arrived here the last day of June or the first day of July in the evening. Coming into a strange land, with rumors of Indian depredations still current, they were in fear and camped on the peninsula. They were themselves in turn objects of fear, for, discovering the campfires on the peninsula, the small garrison of Capt. Grubb judged that a band of hostile Indians had landed there with the intention of making an attack, and extraordinary precautions were taken to guard against a night surprise. The next morning a boat bearing a flag of truce put out from the shore, and soon the mystery was cleared up. Col. Reed, his family and the others of his company were given a cordial welcome and immediately crossed over to the mainland. Col. Reed's was the first family to settle in the Triangle, and the house he soon afterwards erected, a log structure, was the first house built in Erie. Moreover, it was the the first hospice, for it was given the name of the Presque Isle Hotel. To this day, from the date of the first settlement of Erie, there has ever been a hotel with which the name of Reed has been associated. The house Col. Reed built was near the mouth of Mill creek on its left or west bank. The members of his family who came to Erie at that time were his wife and sons Charles John and Manning. His other two sons, Rufus S. and George, came by way of Pittsburg, in September. The coming of Mrs. Reed with her husband was an inspiration to others of the gentler sex. In September along with Rufus and George Reed, there came Mrs. Thomas Rees and Mrs. J. Fairbanks. During the same year James Baird and children became settlers at Erie.

Settlement during the year 1795 was not confined to Erie or the lake shore. Throughout the county the progress had begun, and it is a source of marvel at the present day that those pioneers had the splendid courage and hardihood to settle down in the midst of the dense forest, miles away from any others of their kind, and hew out of the wilderness a place of abode. Earlier even than the coming of the Reed family, first settlers in the Triangle, was the advent of William Miles and William Cook, who about the first of June, made a settlement in Concord township, near the Crawford county line, and brought their wives with them. At Waterford the same year (Waterford that year was laid out by the state commissioners) Amos Judson, James Naylor, Lieut. Martin and Martin Strong settled. Capt. Strong came by way of Presque Isle, or Erie, the last of July. The first settlers in Millcreek, as the township is known today, were John W. Russell, George Moore, David McNair.

In Le Bœuf, Capt. Robert King and family, William and Thomas Black and Thomas Ford and wife settled. In Wayne, Michael Hare and Messrs. Rideau and Call; in North East, James and Bailie Donaldson; in Conneaut, Jonathan Spaulding; in Girard, James Blair, and in McKean, James Talmadge, the skipper who brought Col. Reed to Erie, were the first settlers. All these were immigrants to the county of Erie in the year 1795. It was a small beginning, but it was an actual beginning.

The fears of Indian hostilities were not by any means laid by the beginning of 1795, notwithstanding official proclamations. Too often had treaties with the savages been made only, it would seem, to be soon broken, and though it appeared as though the conclusion of peace reached at Canandaigua was morally certain to endure, people continued to take council of their fears. Nor was it any wonder, when it is considered that taking up a home in the new country that was here being opened up involved isolation remote from any friendly assistance, and with no means of ready communication. It is but necessary to consider for a moment such a case as that of Jonathan Spaulding, settled alone in the trackless and almost impenetrable forest west of Albion, twenty miles away from the nearest military post (Waterford) and ten miles distant from his nearest neighbor, Mr. Blair at Girard. It surely did call for masterful courage to become a settler in the wilds of the great American forest in those days.

Nor were the times of alarm yet entirely past for in the first year the settlement was thrown into a panic of fear by the report that two men had been massacred by the Indians at a place a short distance south of town that was being then surveyed. The greatest excitement and apprehension prevailed in the garrison, and every precaution was exercised and expedient employed that military experience could suggest, in order to be fully prepared in case of an attack by the savages. The story of the massacre is that two men, Ralph Rutledge and his son on the road between Le Bœuf and Erie, had been attacked by Indians a little more than a mile away from Erie and killed. The father, it developed, was dead when the discovery was made by passers-by, but the son though scalped was still alive, but died soon afterward. The scene of this tragedy, was by tradition located about where Turnpike street crosses the railroad, near the Union Depot, and for years the spot was viewed with superstitious fear and called Rutledge's grave. Undoubtedly there was error in locating the scene of the tragical occurrence at that place, for it was a long distance from the French road, which was the only known route between Le Bœuf and Erie, and it was upon that road that the murder was committed. At that early day there was a dense hemlock wood bordering Mill creek in the neighborhood of the so-called Rutledge's grave, and the spot being remote from travel, if the men had been attacked and murdered there, there was not one chance in a thousand that their bodies would ever have been found. It is far more likely that the scene of the murder was at the upper end of Parade street which was

the thoroughfare into the interior from Erie, and the only traveled road.

However the crime was committed and no doubt the people of that time knew its location well, but made no other record of the fact than that it occurred upon the road. Later, however, the murder of the Rutledges cut an important figure as affecting the business of the time. There arose disputes about the rights of landed interests, under the settlement acts. The Pennsylvania Population Co., which had not been able to comply with all the conditions imposed, cited this outrage as evidence that the country had not been pacified and set up a claim for an extension of the probation in accordance with the terms of the act. Rival claimants charged that the murder was not the work of Indians, but of the Population Co., which benefited by it. In the end, however, it came to be generally regarded to be the work of the savages.

It has been said that it was the killing of the Rutledges that brought about the erection, that year, of the American defenses at Erie, but this is a mistake, for there was not a sufficient lapse of time between the discovery of that tragedy and the beginning of the work on the blockhouses and stockades. As a matter of fact, they were almost coeval. Undoubtedly the soldiers detailed for that work were already on their way if not on the ground when the murder was discovered.

In was in July, 1795, and toward the latter part of the month when a detail of Gen. Wayne's soldiers, under command of Capt. Russell Bissell arrived here, and began the work of erecting military defenses. The earlier forts had occupied sites on the high ground near the bluff on the west of the Mill creek valley. The French fort was not far distant from the east line of Parade street, the finding of ruins having established this fact, and it is quite likely the fort built during the English occupancy, that was taken in Pontiac's war, occupied practically the same site.

The American defenses, however, were built on the high ground east of Mill creek, the tract to this day has been known as the Garrison Ground, and is now a part of the grounds belonging to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home. It was admirably fitted for a place of defense, with the steep bank fronting on the north, the almost equally steep slope from Mill creek on the west and the abrupt bluff of the rather wide ravine or valley of Garrison run on the east. There was but one side, therefore, open to attack. This piece of ground was made ready for the purpose to which it was to be put, under the direction of Capt. Bissell, a skillful Indian fighter if not military engineer. He cut down all the timber, back a considerable distance, and erected on the cleared space an extensive stockade that contained within it two houses—(by some authorities there were three). All of these houses were built of logs and the principal one was a blockhouse of the usual American backwoods design, two stories high with the upper story much larger in diameter than the lower one, in order that in case of a close siege the enemy might be fired upon from above if an attempt were made to force an entrance through the door or set fire to the building at its base. Besides

cutting away enough timber to make room and material for his fortification, Captain Bissell was a sufficiently experienced Indian fighter to know that it was best to push the woods back as far as possible in order that there should be no screen through which the savages could make a sheltered approach. To secure this end he caused ten acres of ground to be cleared and cultivated, manifesting double good sense by this provision for the maintenance of his garrison.

Happily there was no real need of the defenses built by Wayne's soldiers. The Indians had been fully subdued by the vigorous campaign of Mad Anthony in the west, and the peace of Canandaigua was of a character to give the authorities, at least, full assurance that all trouble with the aborigines in this part of the country was at an end. In one respect, however, the erection of the fortification was valuable, and even necessary. It imparted a sense of security to the settlers, already on the ground, and to those who contemplated moving in. The hardships of a pioneer in the forests of America were alone enough to daunt any but the most courageous. The hazard of Indian depredations added was too much for even the hardy first settler to willingly accept. Therefore the construction of the fort and its occupancy by a garrison of sufficient strength became a much needed guaranty for the purpose of ensuring the settlement of the country.

It has been stated by writers of the history of the Triangle that the detail of United States troops for the building of a fort at Presque Isle was sent here early in the spring of 1795, and that the work was begun immediately. This, however, is not in accordance with what has been stated by a number of persons who visited this section during the summer of that year. Deacon Chamberlain, who landed at Presque Isle in the latter part of June found no one here, neither whites nor Indians, and Captain Martin Strong, who landed at Presque Isle the latter part of July, on his way to Le Bœuf, where he was to serve as an assistant surveyor, writes that at that time the soldiers were at work felling trees for the stockade. A month later another of the newcomers reported that work on the defenses were still in progress. It is therefore more than probable that the fort was not completed until the end of the summer.

In August, 1795, Judah Colt, then in Canandaigua, learning that the land in the Triangle was open for purchase and settlement, decided to come this way, and in company with Augustus Porter, set out for Presque Isle. They traveled by horseback to Buffalo, where they took passage with Captain William Lee in a small vessel which Mr. Colt calls a shallop, and, reaching here, found signs of activity. On the high ground that commanded the entrance to the bay the United States troops, he says in his autobiography, were erecting a fort while on the west Gen. Irvine and Andrew Ellicott were engaged in the work of laying out by survey the town of Erie. They had come to buy land—Mr. Colt and Mr. Porter—and, well pleased with the appearance of the

country, whose vigorous growth of timber gave evidence of fertile soil, each bought 400 acres. That the early impression was a lasting one is proved by what followed, for Mr. Colt became in time not only a permanent settler but one of the most prominent and influential men of the county. He is not reckoned among the very first settlers, and yet he is really entitled to be included among those who came here in the first year of its permanency.

Above the statement is made that the American fort commanded the entrance to the bay, and this is literally true. At that time there was no channel from the lake into the harbor such as we of today know. That is purely artificial and was constructed, many years after the period of which we are now writing, as a straight short cut in from the outside. Long after Erie came to be settled the bay continued to be entered by a somewhat shallow tortuous channel that, leading in from the lake passed the foot of the garrison bluff at a distance of 150 yards or so, and before reaching the mouth of Mill creek turned northwestward, almost in the direction of Misery bay, into the deep water of the main bay. This channel was not much above six feet deep, and was not wide, and in the course of time was to prove a troublesome feature. But this will appear in its proper place. When, in the course of events the important improvement of a direct entrance had been constructed and the old channel was abandoned, it gradually filled up and a broad beach formed outside. Pools or ponds remained that for a long period were known as the pike ponds, but they gradually filled up, first by the growth of rank vegetation and then by its decay and the gradual encroachment of soil carried in by the streams and the wind which drifted the sand. After the Pennsylvania Soldiers' and Sailors' Home had been established the work of filling-in was hastened to completion by Major W. W. Tyson who converted the flat into a fertile garden to supply the Home. The sole remaining relic of Capt. Bissell's original work on that defense of 1795 is the well dug within the stockade, which is still serviceable at times by means of a modern pump, from which the blue-coated veterans of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home can quench their thirst.

It is interesting to note that not a few of the names that became identified with Erie county on that first year of the permanent settlement have endured until the present time. The name of Rees is still an honored one in Erie, and Reeds of the fourth generation after the Colonel are yet living here. The name of Miles has all these years been prominent in the western part of the county. Judson and Strong are still Waterford names, and have figured in distinguished fashion in the years that have passed. The Kings and Blacks of Le Bœuf have not died out, while Spaulding continues to be a name well known and respected in Conneaut township. Captain John Grubb has none of his name in Erie county today but of his blood there is a numerous progeny of excellent people.

GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE
(From portrait in Erie Public Library.)

CHAPTER X.—DEATH OF GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

The Fort That Mad Anthony Built and How It Came to Be the Place of His Burial.

There is not on the entire coast, east or west, certainly not within a half-score miles of Erie either way, a spot at once so charming as a view point and so strong as a site for military defense, as the piece of ground that was selected by Captain Bissell upon which to erect the American Fort Presque Isle in 1795. It is so to this day, whether considered as a coign of vantage or a place upon which to erect a fort in case it became necessary to guard the entrance of the harbor. At the time the fort was first built, it will be easy for anyone well acquainted with the locality to understand, the view from that eminence must have been wonderfully fine. Then there was at no time a curtain of smoke to obscure the wide sweeping arc of the horizon, nor to dim the perspective of the lovely panorama stretched out to the east along the coast, where point succeeded point, jutting out into the blue of the water, each succeeding timbered promontory of softer hue until the last is dim and blue in the distance. Directly out from the site of the fort, stretched the low lands of the eastern end of the peninsula, separated from the mainland by the winding channel. And the charm of that peninsular landscape was fine indeed, notwithstanding its level character. Nearer the bluff there were pools or small ponds margined by the rank growth of rushes and cat-tail flags, where the soldier blackbirds mustered in the summer time, or the stately blue heron stalked about on his stilts as he occupied himself at his fishing or expanded his marvelous stretch of wings as he sought a new location for his piscatory pursuits. Beyond, the ponds are larger, and the fringing growth of more permanent vegetation—the willow peculiar to the peninsula, and the cottonwood coming on. The largest of the ponds to be seen is in later days to be known as the lake pond, and the still larger body to the west and separated by a mere spit of sand will in time acquire the name of Misery Bay. And further still is seen the stretch of sand lying like waves thinly covered with a grass that raises its tall culms and panicles of golden plumes high above it. And yet farther the wide flat beach upon which the surf rolls thunderous in the northwest gales or whispering in the summer calms. Out of this shining sand the summer gales

form fantastic shapes, drifting it into ridges and dunes, changing constantly even where the tall, blue-bladed sand grass establishes a precarious hold. West of that, beginning in the northern bight of Misery Bay the peninsula woods begin, frequently opened up, however, to give place to many a lakelet peacefully sleeping protected by a growth of sturdy forest trees. The eye sweeping to the west takes in the Bay—Presque Isle Bay—with its high wooded bluffs on the mainland side and the wide-extending curve of the peninsula on the other, gleaming and scintilating in the golden light of the western sun. Duquesne was right when he pronounced it the "finest in nature."

It is the year 1796. The fort is yet barely a year old, but already has monotony settled drearily upon its garrison, the tedious rounds of duty become tiresome. For idleness is not happiness in perfection, and even the joy of drinking in the beauties of the scene is not a joy forever. Better to the men of that garrison would a brush with the Indians be than to be forever working without a purpose. But into the life of this garrison came an incident. It is to be marked in the records of the nation's history. It was the coming of Gen. Wayne.

General Wayne had proved, in the war of the Revolution, to be one of Washington's ablest lieutenants. It had come to be the rule to give him the brunt of the battle, for none better than he could be depended upon to inspire his troops with the courage and determination necessary to make the stand or to force the fighting. The remarkable charge at Stony Point was evidence of this, Wayne's soldierly scaling the steep declivity and carrying the works in a bayonet charge without firing a shot, while the enemy poured volley after volley of musketry and charges of grape and canister upon the impetuous continentals from the heights above. It was one of the grandest charges in all history and a triumph that properly made General Wayne a popular hero.

Therefore when, the war over, trouble arose with the Indians of the west, President Washington naturally selected as the man who should command the force that was to reduce the savages to subjection and punish their British allies, his trusted lieutenant General Anthony Wayne. General Wayne, though having retired to private life, promptly accepted the place and at once set about preparations to retrieve the disasters of St. Clair out in what is now western Ohio and eastern Indiana. He was so successful in his plans that he brought on an action with the savages at Fallen Timber on the Maumee river on Aug. 20, 1794, and achieved a complete victory. It was such a crushing defeat for the Indians that, far and near, they yielded and sued for peace, and Wayne, having been commissioned by Washington, met the conquered red men and made treaties of peace with them, treaties of such a character that they were ever afterwards observed,

and the splendid territory long known as the west, and later as the middle west, was opened up for settlement. Wayne's victory gave this nation Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky.

The treaty work of Wayne occupied most of the year 1795. He visited the east, and in Philadelphia and other cities was received with many marks of enthusiastic admiration. Returning to the west to complete his labors, he concluded them in the summer of 1796, and then, his duties at an end, turned his face homeward.

It was in the fall of 1796 that Wayne set out upon his return to his home in Chester. It was a journey through the wilderness no matter which direction he took from the scene of his labors in the west, with little to choose. He decided upon that route which enabled him to use the transportation facilities of the lake, and embarked upon a small vessel at Detroit for Presque Isle, intending to proceed thence across the country to his home in the eastern end of the state. Upon his journey down the lake, however, he was seized with the gout, a disease with which he had previously been afflicted, and upon reaching Presque Isle was so ill that he was compelled to take to his bed, being accommodated in the second story of the blockhouse. A summons was sent to Dr. J. C. Wallace at Fort La Fayette, for there was no medical aid to be procured in Erie. As a matter of fact there was but a handful of people here at the time and they were sturdy pioneers who thought they had no use for a medical man. Dr. Wallace had been surgeon under Wayne during his Maumee campaign, and the general, taken seriously ill and evidently appreciating the gravity of the situation, dispatched an aide to summon the doctor. It was a long journey, too long to be traversed within the necessary time. When Dr. Wallace had reached Franklin he was met by another courier, bearing the intelligence that General Anthony Wayne was dead.

The general died on Dec. 15, 1796, in the little blockhouse of the fort that was the sole work of military defense for this out-post on the frontier. He had anticipated the coming of the end, and calmly set about whatever preparations could be made, directing among other matters and things considered, that his body was to be interred in the basement of the blockhouse, at the foot of the flagstaff; and there he was buried.

It is interesting as illustrating one of the inaccuracies of accepted history, to note the error in statement with reference to the death of General Wayne that has been made by his biographers. Both Headley and Duyckinck state that Wayne died in a rude hut at Presque Isle and was buried on the lake shore. It was quite a different matter in reality. The soldier died within a military fort and was buried beneath the pole from which floated the flag of his country. His was a soldier's death and a soldier's burial, and the site of his grave was of his own selection, the little fort becoming his mausoleum.

For thirteen years the body remained entombed within the block-house that stood on the hill commanding the harbor entrance. The post of Presque Isle had become the borough of Erie and had begun to attract people to it from other parts of the country, but the growing population did not affect Garrison hill. There the grave of Mad Anthony remained undisturbed—until after the thirteen years succeeding his death. Then in 1809, came Colonel Isaac Wayne from Chester county—a son of General Wayne—and his errand was to convey the remains of his father back to the old home and there bury them along with those of his kin.

It was not easy traveling then for it was a wilderness that occupied practically all of the state; a wilderness of forests and mountains, without roads or bridges or means of communication other than the blind trail through the woods. Colonel Wayne drove to Erie from the east on a sulky with a single horse. He was under the impression that it would not be a difficult matter, after the lapse of thirteen years, to remove what had been left of his father's body. The work of decay, it was natural to believe, had greatly reduced it. It could easily be packed on the back of the sulky and thus carried to Chester.

But it turned out vastly different. When it was disinterred, to the surprise of everyone who had to do with it, the body was found to be in an almost perfect state of preservation, one foot and part of one leg alone having been affected by decay. It was a dilemma that presented itself to Colonel Wayne with this condition of affairs revealed. It was out of the question to remove the body as it was found. In his difficulty Colonel Wayne called in Dr. Wallace, his father's old surgeon, for advice. What can be done to carry out the purpose of the journey? was the question that was asked. The surgeon declared he could provide a remedy for the trouble, and he was given a free hand.

Taking the body he proceeded to separate the flesh from the bones. It was no easy matter even for a skilled anatomist such as Dr. Wallace was, and it became necessary at length to dismember the remains and boil the parts in a large kettle until the flesh was soft enough to separate from the bones. It was a gruesome proceeding, and one not pleasant to think about, and Colonel Wayne declared, when he learned what had been done, that if he had known what the actual state of affairs was he would at once have had the body reinterred and a monument erected over the place where his father was first buried.

The work of Dr. Wallace proceeded until the skeleton of the Revolutionary hero was stripped clean, then putting the viscera and flesh back into the coffin along with the knives and other implements that had been employed in the work of dissecting, that was returned to the original grave in the basement of the blockhouse, while Colonel Wayne proceeded eastward with the bones of his father, which were eventually buried in St. David's church at Radnor, Delaware county, close by the

Chester county line. It is a grim, and even horrible tale, this of the boiling of the body of the heroic Wayne, and is so much out of the common that some are not ready to believe it. But yet it is a fact. In the lobby entrance of the museum of the public library may be seen the kettle in which General Wayne's body was boiled. It is a mammoth affair, similar to those used in olden times in the manufacture of potash or "black salts."

The method employed for preparing Wayne's body for removal in reality gave him two graves, for more in weight and more in bulk was reinterred in the Erie grave than was taken away. That this was not the judgment of the people generally is to be believed in view of the fact that the burial place was so lightly regarded and in time so utterly neglected. In the course of time the blockhouse became so dilapidated that the doors hung by a single hinge, and the place that was at one time the principal defense of Erie became a cowshed—and yet it was the burial place of General Wayne.

One night a lot of hoodlum lads of Kingtown, playing around the old blockhouse, either by accident or in the spirit of mischief set it afire. It was burned to the ground. In the course of a short time every trace of it had disappeared and its original location was a matter of pure guess work—if, indeed, anyone cared so much about the old structure as to do any guessing.

In the course of time, however, there arose one who did care to do some guessing, and who cared to do a great deal more. It was Dr. Edward W. Germer. The doctor was a good deal of an antiquarian. He was also well posted in historical matters, and not averse to yielding admiration to anyone of heroic proportions. Dr. Germer was long health officer. He was the pioneer health officer and a mighty good one he was too. Long ago there used to be a brick yard at the foot of Ash street, or rather just south of the P. & E. railroad on Ash street. Right alongside this brick yard there stood a plain old-fashioned two-story frame house. Whether it was a farmhouse of other days or a dwelling erected by the maker of bricks I never learned. When it was best known to east-siders it had an evil cognomen. It was called the pest-house. It was the city hospital for treatment of contagious diseases, established through the efforts of Dr. Germer and maintained by him through arrangement that never was quite clear.

Dr. Germer had for his chief assistant, as keeper of the pest-house, a Mr. Katzmeier, and when business in the hospital was dull owing to the absence of smallpox, Dr. Germer found plenty of work for Mr. Katzmeier and his son to do. Dr. Germer was an ardent admirer of the hero of Stony Point, he knew the story of his death and burial, and he was acquainted with the fact that his body had, according to common report, been removed to the eastern part of the state. Dr. Germer, however, held that notwithstanding what had been done there

was still a grave of General Wayne on Garrison hill and to find this grave was the task he assigned his man Katzmeier. After a vast amount of excavating at length they struck a promising trail. There were a variety of things thrown out with the dirt excavated—fragments of tinware, potsherds, scraps of leather and such things as accumulate in a rubbish heap around old houses. At length there was found a place that seemed as though it might have been a grave, the sides being more compact than the centre. It was followed downward and at length there was uncovered a piece of decayed wood covered with leather and studded with brass headed tacks. The doctor carefully dusted and cleaned it and set to studying the arrangement of the tacks. He could make out, at length:

"A. W.

"Ob. Dec. 15.

"1796."

Translated it meant, very clearly: "Anthony Wayne, died Dec. 15, 1796." The object of his search had been found. Extending his exploration he found the sides and bottom of the coffin, but so decayed that they fell to pieces when touched. Inside, however, he found some knives and other implements, proof of two things: The truth of the story that when the work of separating the flesh from the bones of Wayne's body was completed the knives were thrown into the coffin; proof also of the fact that it was Wayne's coffin that had been found—if proof in addition to the lid were required.

Dr. Germer's work and discovery was a reminder that General Wayne had more than one grave. The doctor maintained that after all that on Garrison hill was the most important as being the first place of burial and as containing more of the body than that at Radnor. A movement was then set afoot to properly mark the Wayne grave which brought about the erection upon the spot where the first one stood of a reproduction of the Garrison hill blockhouse. We have it today as one of the most noteworthy structures on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.

The new blockhouse, a restoration or replica if you please, as nearly as could be effected from hints in old woodcuts and sketches made in years gone by while the blockhouse still stood there, was really made possible by the efforts of Dr. Germer. He was undoubtedly the original strenuous man. When he set out to accomplish anything he generally got there—in his lexicon there was no such word as fail. Having found the grave of the famous American soldier he determined it should be suitably marked. He did not rest until it was. And how could it be more appropriately marked than by erecting upon the site of the original an exact reproduction?

The commissioners who erected the new blockhouse were Dr. E. W. Germer, Hon. D. T. Jones and Captain J. H. Welsh. The architect of the blockhouse restoration was Ernest E. W. Schneider.

It is now a little museum of relics of General Wayne. Hanging inside, preserved in a frame and protected by glass, is to be seen what remained of the coffin-lid, with the legend that established its identity beyond doubt: "A. W. ob. Dec. 15, 1796," formed by brass-headed tacks driven through the covering of leather. On exhibition too are the knives that were used in the work of dissection, and a number of other relics that have interest as being connected with the great man who was buried there. Even the grave has been preserved by having the space bricked up.

BLOCK HOUSE
(Burial Place of General Wayne.)

CHAPTER XI.—SETTLEMENT BEGUN.

Where the People Came From, Who Opened Up the Wilderness, And Who They Were.

In those early days there was no chronicler of events, no newspaper, nor any other of the modern means of setting down occurrences as they transpired. Even the journals kept by the few who felt interested in preserving an account of what was being done, were deficient in everything, or almost everything, except matters of purely personal import. It was with the people of that time as with the people of today, the present demands were for something entirely different. There were clearings to be made, houses to be built, food to be procured—a hundred and one things to be done with none too much time in which to do it. During the daytime every minute was employed by the work in hand, and the evening not only found the men and women, busy all day, much more ready to seek their rest than to write up an account of the doings and gossip of the day, but the chances are without any facilities at hand to write a journal if they felt inclined to do so. The fact is, the people regarded life as they were then experiencing it such an every-day, uneventful sort of existence as not to be worth the making a record of. They could not know that, four or five generations later, not only their descendants but an entire community would have read an account of their struggles, homely though they might have been, with deepest interest. So, much that would have been of value to the people of the present time is forever lost.

However, it is known that the permanent settlement of this part of the country had begun, and that every year was adding more to the population. The business of the company that had organized for the purpose of bringing about the settlement of the Triangle did not begin in real earnest until the year 1796, and it was through Judah Colt, who had paid a flying visit to Erie the year before, that this was brought about.

Mr. Colt, it will be remembered, came to Presque Isle in August, 1795, along with Augustus Porter, for the purpose of buying land, and, after arriving here, they did invest in some of the acres that were available. Mr. Colt obtained more than the 800 acres he and his friend had secured. He obtained an excellent opinion of the country; so

good an opinion that he decided it would be a good business venture to secure a large tract. For the purpose of doing so he went to Philadelphia in March of 1796, and there made an offer to the Pennsylvania Population Company of one dollar per acre for 30,000 acres of land in the eastern part of the Triangle. The company declined to sell in so large a quantity. But they were favorably impressed by Mr. Colt and immediately made him an offer to become their agent. He accepted. The terms were that he was to have a yearly salary of $1,500, and all his expenses were to be paid by the company. Immediately he set about the duties of his new position. In April he was at New York where he made purchases of "provisions and sundry kinds of goods, farming and cooking utensils such as are generally wanted in a new country." These were shipped to Albany, across the portage to the Mohawk and, through the lakes to Presque Isle. There were delays enroute. At Oswego there was a British garrison which would not allow the flotilla of batteaux to pass, and an empty boat had to be dispatched to Niagara to obtain from Gov. Simcoe permission to proceed.

On the 22d of June Mr. Colt arrived at the town of Erie; his freighted boats did not reach here until July 1st. Then, as he says in a journal he kept, he "proceeded to business." Mr. Colt was accompanied to Erie by Elisha and Enoch Marvin, brothers-in-law, all of them New Englanders, from Connecticut, though they had for a time been residents of Canandaigua, N. Y. The freight having arrived, Mr. Colt and his brothers-in-law set to work to get affairs to rights. They erected a tent or marquee near the old French fort, and this became their residence through the summer.

It would seem as though the natural place to establish headquarters for the business of disposing of land would be the principal town or settlement. Mr. Colt held different ideas on the subject, and these were founded upon the belief, which proved well founded, that most of the immigrants seeking homes would come overland. He therefore selected a location out in the eastern part of the Triangle near the summit of the divide, in what was afterwards to be known as Greenfield township. This place was called Colt's Station.

Now there were two sections of the east from which the new settlers came into Erie county. A large contingent came from New England. Many of them, to be sure, had halted by the way. This was true of Col. Reed. It was also true of Mr. Colt. Theirs had been a sort of trying-out process; and it was the same with many of their New England fellows. In their migration they had rested for a time, only long enough to acquire the belief that farther west there was better opportunities open to them. It was not so much that they were rovers as that they were real home-seekers, looking for a permanent abode, and that the conditions suited to their mind had not been found in their earlier locations. Even in those early days, with the very imperfect means of

communication that existed, intelligence of the new country that was being opened up somehow extended eastward to where the home-seekers were. So they decided upon pursuing their search, and entered upon it with the faith and courage which have always distinguished the pioneer.

Perhaps an even larger contingent of the first settlers came from Eastern Pennsylvania. These were largely of the Scotch-Irish race, so-called. Originally, they came from the province of Ulster, the northern part of Ireland, and had settled in the eastern counties of the state. No better stock could be found upon which to build a law-abiding, solid community. Along with the Scotch-Irish came quite a sprinkling of "Pennsylvania Dutch." They were in reality Germans originally, become Americanized. There were probably more of this race among the early settlers here than the names would indicate, for it had become to a considerable extent obligatory upon the Germans of the eastern counties that they should Anglicise their names, so that, for instance, Shaefer became Shepherd, Schneider was changed to Taylor, Zimmerman was Carpenter, and so on. But many truly German names appear among the earliest settlers, such as Weiss, Braun, Ebersole, Stuntz, Gudtner, Riblet, and others. It was natural that there should be a large influx from the eastern part of the state, for Philadelphia was from the first much interested in this section, the purchase of the Triangle as an addition to the state of Pennsylvania being largely due to the initiative and subsequent encouragement of Philadelphians. The Pennsylvania Population Company, also, was a Philadelphia concern.

There were, however, a number of influences at work to bring about the settlement of Erie county, besides the efforts of the great land companies. There was the lesser enterprise of the Harrisburg and Presque Isle Company, composed of ten persons, of whom three, Thomas Forster, Richard Swan and William Kelso, became actual settlers among the earliest in the county, Mr. Forster having built the first mill in this corner of the state. These three men came from Dauphin county, a part of the contingent that the eastern section of the state contributed to the opening of the extreme northwest. With these influences at work the county began to fill up.

In 1796 the new settlers were: Erie, Capt. Daniel Dobbins. Millcreek, Benjamin Russell, Thomas P. Miller, David Dewey, Anthony Saltsman, John McFarland. Fairview, Francis Scott. Waterford, John Lytle, Robert Brotherton, John Lennox, Thomas Skinner. Washington, Wm. Culbertson and Alexander Hamilton, Greenfield, Judah Colt, Elisha and Enoch Marvin, Cyrus Robinson, Charles Allen, Joseph Berry, John Wilson, James Moore, Joseph Webster, Philo Barker, Timothy Tuttle, Silas and William Smith, Joseph Shattuck, John Daggett, John Andrews and Leverett Russell. McKean, Thomas and Oliver Dunn. Summit, George W. Reed. North East, William Wilson, George and

Henry Hunt, Henry and Dyer Loomis. Springfield, Samuel Holliday, John Devore, John Mershorn, Wm. McIntyre, Patrick Ager. Venango, Andrew and James Reed, Burrill and Zalmon Tracy.

In 1795 David Watts came to this county, and with William Miles were the first surveyors for the state of the Tenth Donation District. It was on that district in Concord, that Miles and Cook, with their wives, who were sisters, settled in 1795, a month before the arrival at Erie of Col. Seth Reed, thus making them the first white settlers in Erie county. Miles had a romantic history. He was born in the valley of the Susquehanna, which was subject to frequent Indian raids. In one of these he was captured by the savages when a mere child and carried into Canada, where he was spared with the idea of being adopted into the tribe. He was held for a long time but eventually obtaining release returned to his people. His Indian experience turned out to be of advantage to him later in life. He was a son-in-law of David Watts of Carlisle. When Watts came to Erie county to make the survey, for which he was commissioned by the state, Miles was made his assistant. Subsequently Miles laid out lands for a number of settlers and also laid out the village of Wattsburg, which was named after David Watts. He located 1400 acres at Wattsburg and 1200 at Lake Pleasant. Mr. Miles acquired a very extensive tract of land in Concord, and moved later to Union where he built saw and grist mills. A son, James Miles, purchased 1600 acres of land in Girard township, embracing the mouth of Elk creek, and the name of Miles was long among the most prominent in the county.

In the year 1797 the accessions were more numerous than during the preceding year, as was of course to be expected. Washington witnessed a larger influx than any other section, the settlers including Job Reeder, Samuel Galloway, Simeon Dunn, John and James Campbell, Matthew Sipps, Phineas McClenethan, Matthew Hamilton, John McWilliams, James, John, Andrew and Samuel Culbertson and Mrs. James Campbell, a widow. Fairview benefitted next with these: Thomas Forster, Jacob Weiss, George Nicholson, John Kelso, Richard Swan, Patrick Vance, Patrick and John McKee, Jeremiah and William Sturgeon and William Haggerty. To North East came Thomas Robinson, John McCord, James McMahon, Margaret Lowry (a widow), James Duncan, Francis Brawley and Abram and Arnold Custard. In Harborcreek William Saltsman, Amasa Prindle and Andrew Elliott settled; in Waterford, John Vincent and William Smith; in Wayne, Joseph Hall and Mr. Prosser; in Elkcreek, Eli Colton; in Venango, Thomas, John and David Phillips; in Springfield, Oliver Cross; in Le Bœuf, Francis Isherwood, James, Robert and Adam Pollock; in Conneaut, Col. Dunning McNair; in Millcreek, John Nicholson, the McKees and Boe Bladen.

The last named has the distinction of being the first of his race to become a permanent settler in Erie county, and the family he established

still retains an honored place in the community. In the book of entry his name appears as Negro "Boe," and by that appellation he was long known. But later his family name of Bladen had place regularly on the lists as a freeholder and a citizen, while yet even in Pennsylvania, men of his race were held in slavery.

The fresh arrivals during 1798 included William Wallace at Erie. He was the first lawyer to take up his abode in the county. In North East there were more settlers than in any other township during the year 1798, and including a number who founded families represented to the present time. These settlers were: Thomas Crawford, Lemuel Brown, Henry and Matthew Taylor, William Allison, Henry Burgett, John, James and Matthew Greer. The Silverthorns came the same year into Girard, William and Abraham the pioneers of that name. In Conneaut, Elihu and Abiather Crane; in Washington, Peter Kline; in Fairview, John Demsey; in Springfield, Nicholas Lebarger; in Venango, William Allison and wife; in Wayne, William Smith and David Findley; in Elk creek, George Haybarger and John Dietz. Union township was recruited that year by Jacob Shephard, John Welsh, John Fagan and John Wilson, and Waterford added to the list of settlers Aaron Himrod and John T. Moore. Many of these names have ever continued prominent in the affairs of the county, most of them still identified with the townships in which they originally settled.

Among those who entered the county in 1799 to become permanent residents were these: At Waterford, John, James and David Boyd, Capt. John Tracy, John Clemens, the Simpsons and the Lattimores; at Erie, John Teel; at McKean, Lemuel and Russell Stancliff; at Summit, Eliakim Cook.

In thus designating the townships in which the settlements were made it is proper to state that the classification is a latter day matter, for convenience sake. Prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century there were no such township designations. What is now Erie county was Erie township of Allegheny county in 1800 and before that belonged to other and different counties as may be explained in a future chapter. Nor has a complete list of the earliest settlers been given. That would be an impossible task. But out of the total of the earliest to become permanent residents in Erie county have been selected those who, having actually done so, became the heads of families that have figured in the affairs of the county during its history. Nor has there been an attempt to prolong the list beyond what might be as actual first settlers, only five years of the beginning being included in this list.

Immigration into this county was steady and as proportionately large as any other new section of the period could show, but there were practically none of foreign birth for many years after the county was opened up for settlement, the exceptions, as for instance, the Agers of Springfield.

natives of Ireland, having settled first in Eastern Pennsylvania. The real Irish immigrant did not begin to arrive in Erie until about 1825, and the Germans from over seas sometime later, the influx of settlers with German names who appeared contemporaneously with the Irish, being a second migration this way of Pennsylvania Dutch from the region about Lancaster county, and including such well known names as Warfel, Weigel, Mohr, Berger, Brenneman, Metzler and Charles.

During the first five years of the settlement there were a number of instances where changes of residence or location were made. Mr. Colt at first set up his residence at Erie, or Presque Isle, and the year later decided upon Greenfield, where he established a little hamlet called Colt's Station. This was chiefly for business purposes of course, Erie being reckoned as his home. Quite different was the case of Col. Seth Reed. The first of the white settlers in Erie county, he was also the first to be called away by death. But before he died he had removed to the Walnut creek flats about where Kearsarge now is located. Col. Reed, when he came to Erie did not immediately "locate." He built a temporary dwelling which he made to serve as a hotel until a better could be built, which was the next year. No sooner was the new Presque Isle Hotel built—like its predecessor, of logs, but larger—than giving it in charge of his son Rufus, he moved out to the farm he had taken up on the banks of Walnut creek, and there he died in 1797.

Thomas Forster who in 1797, came with Richard Swan and John Kelso to this county and opening business in Fairview at the mouth of Walnut creek, brought his wife in 1799, and taking up his residence in Erie, continued to live in Erie until his death, occupying positions of prominence and trust during the entire period. No citizen of early Erie stood higher in the esteem of his fellows than Col. Thomas Forster.

David McNair located in what became Millcreek township, but entered two tracts, one in the flats of Walnut creek and the other on the northern slope of the first ridge in what was afterwards South Erie, which eventually became his home.

John Kelso, who came from Dauphin county in 1797 with Col. Forster, settling at first in Fairview township and giving a fair start to the hamlet which became known as Manchester because it was the site of so many industries, after a time moved to the region near the head of the bay, still a Kelso neighborhood, and later came to Erie, where in time he rose to eminence, becoming an associate judge, afterwards a brigadier general of militia, and filling, from time to time many positions of public trust.

As Col. Seth Reed's was the first death among the white settlers, the marriage of his son, Charles J., to Miss Rachel Miller, Dec. 27, 1797, was the first espousal among the newcomers. There was then no clergyman of any denomination. The lack of a minister was easily supplied, Thomas Rees, Esq., a justice of the peace, tying the nuptial knot.

The earliest births recorded were that of John R. Black, son of William Black, in Fort Le Bœuf in August, 1795, and Mr. Boardman of Washington township, born in the same year.

It has become a proverbial saying that the life of the pioneer was a life of hardship, and perhaps there has never been a more impressive example of what real hardship actually implied than was afforded by the experience of Martin Strong, who came to Erie county from New England in 1795. He traveled the entire distance on foot, and upon arriving here was compelled by circumstances to accept work of any kind that offered. When he had a chance to work at 50 cents a day, he gladly accepted the offer, though it was to hew planks, or puncheons as they were called, in the woods, these puncheons being used as flooring in the log houses. He continued at this work for several days, until his contract was finished, when, upon making a settlement with his employer he discovered he was indebted for board at the rate of 75 cents per day. He refused to pay the difference, whereupon his compass and chain—for he was a surveyor—were seized and held until he consented to pay the charge and redeem them. It was only the beginning of the hardship he was called upon to endure. Having taken employment with the Holland Land Company as a surveyor, he located on the Summit, in Waterford township, and continued at work until November, when, dreading the approach of winter with its loneliness in the woods and the rigors of the season, he embarked in a dugout canoe of his own construction and proceeded from Waterford down the creeks by the old French route to Pittsburg. There finding no occupation for him, he offered himself to the highest bidder to do any kind of work. He secured a bid of three dollars a month and board, and accepted it, working faithfully for three months, and serving so well that his appreciative employer offered to add fifty cents per month if he would remain longer. This he declined, however, and returned to his Erie county farm and took up the toil of hewing out a home in the wilderness of woods.

The disparity between wages and board in those first years of the settlement has been noted, but it was not without reasonable excuse—unless that the wage scale should be so extremely low. It cost something to live at that time. Wheat, in 1798-99 sold at $2.50 per bushel, and flour at $18.00 a barrel. Corn was $2.00 a bushel and potatoes $1.50. The commonest food of the time was corn meal and potatoes—indeed little else was to be had, pork and flour being among the luxuries. The only meat obtainable was game, and that was not had in daily supply. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the price of board was high; rather that under the circumstances it was so low.

There was no commerce in the early years of the settlement. Every thing that entered into the domestic economies was produced on the farm. Not only the food, but the clothing; and in respect to the latter the whites who came in to conquer the forest were little if any better off for the

time being than the savages. Later there was an improvement in conditions; when the farmers became wool-growers. Then, however, it was an improvement in degree. The clothing was made in the house of the farmer, the wool spun into yarn or thread and woven into homespun on the homely wheels and unhandy looms that were part of the necessary outfit of every pioneer home. It was a long time before food or fabrics were brought in from the outside world, and quite as long before the conveniences of the woolen mill in the locality was available to lighten the toil of the housewife.

Implements of every kind were difficult to procure and many a crude makeshift had to be employed. There was no table-ware of even ordinary china, nor multiplied utensils for kitchen use. The stove was yet a long way in the future, and the household furniture was of the rudest kind, hewn out with the axe and put together without nails. The houses themselves were of the same crude order of construction, consisting of a hollow pile of logs roughly roofed over, with a fire-place in one end. There were no windows of glass; no iron hinges for doors; not a nail was employed in the building. The house even stood without a foundation, and consisted of but a single room which was at once the kitchen, the living room, and the bed chamber. The fire-place was built of bowlders, the chimney built up square of sticks plastered with clay, and clay and moss were used to stop up the chinks between the logs of the enclosing walls. The roof was made of split clapboards held in place by logs laid upon each course and they were not always good roofs—rather, they were sometimes not very poor roofs. The lock on the door was the wooden latch with the string pulled in—when the latch-string was out the visitor might deem himself welcome. If there was any floor better than the ground packed hard from use it was made of puncheons hewn out of the logs in the woods. The sleeping accommodations were mostly shelves, but often a shake-down on the floor. It was in such a home as this that, almost without exception the first white natives of the county were born and grew up; it was surrounded by such poor make-shifts of house furnishing and equipment that the pioneer mothers reared their large families while the multitudinous domestic duties were performed. Few remain who remember those rude pioneer homes, the very difficulties of which gave to the time and the place a healthy, hardy, industrious and frugal race.

Nor were these inconveniencies in domestic life the only hardship to be endured; the only drawback to progress. It was a struggle for existence all along the line and all the time. It is sometimes said the woods abounded in game, and that food was plentiful for that reason. But in this abundance of game there was itself a drawback, because the animals were so very destructive to the farmers' crops. At times the squirrels would become so numerous as to become a plague, and on occasions these and other wild game would feed upon the crops in such numbers as to

nearly destroy it, and the deer would trample down the wheat and sometimes ruin the whole crop. It was in self-defense rather than for sport that hunting parties were oragnized and went out to ruthlessly slay.

But there were compensations. The social life had its pleasures, quaint and curious to us, but interesting when told. The late Lewis Olds graphically described the visiting custom. "The mode of visiting," he said, "was a little different from what it is now. Neighbors and friends went several miles in both winter and summer to visit each other. Nearly all visiting was done with an ox-sled in winter, for every settler had a yoke of oxen. The sled-box, filled with straw, with plenty of blankets or coverlids, as they were then called, made a very comfortable way of riding.

"These old settlers never considered it a visit unless they staid all night; but how were half a dozen or more visitors in addition to the family to sleep over night in one small room without sleeping accommodations? Necessity knows no written law or custom. After a good supper and visit they were ready to go to bed about midnight, and the bed arrangements were quickly made. They took what beds were in the house and spread them out upon the floor as far as they would reach and the rest of the bed they made of straw, generally reaching across the whole floor. The whole bed on the floor was now covered with blankets, reserving enough for covering. These old settlers generally had plenty of coverlids and sheets, for their wives and daughters spun and wove them by hand. I knew one girl in my neighborhood, who was married a little late in life and went west when Iowa was first settled, who was credited with taking with her forty pairs of blankets or coverlids and fifty pairs of sheets, all made with her own hands.

"When the bed for the visitors was ready for occupancy the man and his wife laid down in the centre of the bed on the floor—and like the Indian they did not forget to have their feet toward the large fire-place in which was kept a steady fire whenever the weather was cold. The women visitors occupied the bed next to the wife and the men the side next to the husband. No scandal ever resulted from this manner of sleeping when on a visit. A divorce was seldom heard of in the early settlement of the country."

CHAPTER XII.—LAYING OUT THE ROADS.

THE FIRST OF THE HIGHWAYS.—AND THEN THE TURNPIKES, AND AT LENGTH THE SHORT-LIVED PLANK ROADS.

Naturally the first requisite of the settlers, after having provided a place of abode (too often it was entitled to no better name than a place of shelter, and a rude one it was at that), was a cleared space of ground upon which to cultivate the crops necessary for their sustenance. The clearing was begun just as soon as possible but was prosecuted chiefly in the winter when other farm work was not so pressing. The mode of procedure was first to cut out the underbrush and small timber, and afterwards to fell the high trees. These were cut in lengths convenient to handle, and then logging bees were in order. The neighbors gathered, the logs were piled, and, with the heaps of brush, were burned. The stumps that remained were not all immediately removed. That was too serious an undertaking. But many of the smaller stumps and roots were grubbed out and it cost a prodigious amount of hard labor to get a small area of ground in condition for cultivation. Many a field was devoted to grain, half of the area of which was taken up by the great stumps that could not readily be got rid of, and it must have been a great trial to the patience of the plowman to prepare the soil for the sowing of his crops. The reaping was a different matter. That was comparatively easy as husbandry was conducted in those days. There were no reaping machines. Even the grain cradle was an invention yet distant in the future. To the sickle or reaping hook the stumps offered an indifferent obstacle, and as for the other crops, the corn and the roots, the hoe, even in the condition the ground was in, could be handled with passable facility. But farm work then was hard work under any circumstances. The horse cultivator and the shovel plow had not been dreamed of. It was the brawn of arms and legs and of back that wrested from the earth the bread that was eaten in the sweat of the brow.

Therefore for a considerable period, little was thought of but how to increase the acres of tillage. The solicitude of the settler was for the daily bread. If he could by industrious toil obtain enough for himself and his rising family he was well content. The question of a market for the product of his farm was one which did not greatly trouble him for the time being.

But it was not very long before the question of communication between settlements did come to the fore. Even in the wilderness, where the pioneer had planted his home, and where it was his expectation, for a time at least, to be shut in apart from the great world outside, his social instinct was not entirely suppressed. Therefore the subject of roads came up, introduced primarily by those of the community who had occasion to go from place to place on business, or to have facilities to accomodate the business that it was desired should come their way. These were the land agents, the surveyors and, too, the newcomers who were seeking homes. But the farmer had an interest, too, for he had needs that his piece of ground would not supply, and a need always in a new community is neighbors—for the house-raising, for the logging, for help when the barn is to be built, and for social intercourse with his fellows. Therefore, as time passed the need of roads began to be felt.

In 1795 there was but one road in the county, the road built by the French, more than forty years before. It was not the best road in the world. It was in fact a very poor road. It was for most of its extent merely an avenue cut through the forest, corduroyed here and there where it was necessary to cross boggy tracts, but scarcely any attempt had been made at grading. A small part of it had been improved to the extent of grubbing out most of the stumps, a circumstance that in the course of time obtained for it the name of the grubbed road, later abbreviated into the grub road—sometimes thought to be a name obtained from Capt. Grubb, but erroneously so. Even during the time of its use by the French it was scarcely entitled to the name of road, it was so difficult a thoroughfare to traverse. No doubt it had been the intention of the French to have eventually improved it into a true military road, but it had never advanced beyond being a portage, and most of the supplies carried over it was on the backs of the soldiers and the Indians. It is current tradition that along this road for many years cannon balls were frequently found, and other military relics, thrown away no doubt by the over-laden porters who were toiling under their excessive burdens. It was a mighty poor road, but until 1797 was the only thoroughfare in Erie county, as was stated above.

In the year 1797 the first road undertaken by the permanent settlers was begun. This road was the work of the Pennsylvania Population Company and was built by Thomas Rees in Harborcreek township. At about the same time Judah Colt set about constructing a road to the station of the company in Greenfield township. This road extended from Freeport, as the mouth of Sixteen-mile creek was named, to Colt's station, a distance of nine and a half miles. It passed through what was afterwards North East village. A year later this road was extended south to the Forks of French creek, now the borough of Wattsburg. The interest of Mr. Colt as agent of the Population Company did not really extend any farther than to Wattsburg, for the lands of the company in Erie

county were confined practically to the Triangle and Wattsburg is located on the old state line.

At about the same time that the Population Company's road south from the lake was built another road was projected, this for the use and benefit of the farmer folk at Erie in West Millcreek. Mr. Forster had built a mill at the mouth of Walnut creek, eight miles from Erie. It was the first mill in the county, and the first of several that were in time to occupy that beautiful valley and later, to give the hamlet the name of Manchester. The road projected in 1797 and opened in 1798 was to enable the farmers to get to the mill to have their grain ground. The road to Forster's mill followed the route of the lake road of today, generally speaking, having been located sufficiently far south to avoid the deep ravines that are so numerous near the brow of the bluff.

Contemporaneously two other roads were laid out, one to Conneauttee lake, where Alexander Powers had located, and another to Conneaut creek, in the neighborhood of Albion of the present day, Col. Dunning McNair's station as agent of the Pennsylvania Population Company. A third road was surveyed, to the headwaters of Beaver creek, where Jabez Colt was assistant agent of the Population Company. Nearly all of the earliest roads were the work of the Pennsylvania Population Company, a fact the reason of which is apparent.

These were the only roads up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. But they were not all that had been projected. In those early days there were no other means of communication in the interior, except by wagon roads, and it was early the care of the state to make provision for roads. Not only were all the land titles conferred made conditional upon a percentage of the land sold being reserved for roads, but the legislature planned certain routes of communication, the main route to extend diagonally the length of the state, from Presque Isle to Philadelphia. The first act, of 1791, covered the section from Presque Isle to Le Bœuf, and it was the proposed opening and use of this road by the people of Pennsylvania that stirred up the trouble between the state authorities and the Indians, in which the British took so prominent a part. It was not until these difficulties had finally been settled that the legislature thought it worth while to proceed farther with this road across the state. In 1795 an act was passed for a survey of a road from Le Bœuf to Curwensville in Clearfield county, by way of Meadville and Franklin, the ultimate purpose being to have a road constructed down the valley of the Juniata and the Susquehanna to Harrisburg, Lancaster and Philadelphia. No doubt there were dreamers then who contemplated the splendid enterprise of a stage line from Philadelphia to Erie, a journey by which would have been as serious an undertaking as a present-day trip across the Atlantic—it would have taken a longer time and have yielded a world more of discomfort. The continuous road has become a

706982

reality; the stage service did not materialize, because the railroad "butted in."

But there did come a stage service to Erie, for this town and others on the line in the county were on the direct route of an important thoroughfare that came in time to be much traveled. The great south shore stage route came pretty soon after the main roads were built. These were the Buffalo road on the east and the Ridge road to the west. The former was projected in 1801 but was not a road for travel until 1805, and then it did not follow a direct route from Buffalo to Erie,—as we would regard it today—but, on reaching Wesleyville turned north, following the valley of Four-mile creek to the Lake road, and entered Erie on that thoroughfare. This route continued until 1812, when the court ordered the Buffalo road to be completed through to Erie. The Ridge road was opened in 1805, the same year the Buffalo road came into use. As its name indicates it was surveyed on the first ridge, and this it followed in as nearly a direct course as conditions would permit, through Millcreek, Fairview, Girard and Springfield townships into Ohio. These roads—the Buffalo road and the Ridge road—became the route of travel by stage from Buffalo to Cleveland. But few relics of those stagin days remain to the present. There is one, however, that may sometimes excite the curiosity of the tourist by twentieth century auto car, who notes its name in dingy letters, still legible, through the much-worn paint, and wonders why it should ever have been called what its name proclaims it to be, the "Half-way House." It is an old stage station; a wayside inn, and marks half the journey between Buffalo and Cleveland. It stands on the Ridge road at the corner formed by the road leading down to Trinity Cemetery—the "Head road," of a few years back. It is a long time since it offered refreshment for man or beast, and even fell into ill repute through the occurrence of a wicked crime. But there it stands, a marker upon the road, as it may have stood for most a century, and to this day the smithy, that was a necessity at every stage station, stands by its side, and you can hear the ring of the anvil as your auto rushes by with its trail of dust behind.

The Lake road, as such, was opened in 1806, entering Erie from the east on Sixth street and from the west on Eighth street. A goodly part of the west Lake road is considerably older, for that is the road to Forster's mill that came into use in 1798. The Lake road traverses the length of the county, from east to west, but the section west of the city has always been rather more traveled than the other section.

The most notable of all the Erie county roads, however, is the Waterford Turnpike, famous as the avenue over which passed an inland commerce of remarkable proportions considering the period. This road, conceived by Thomas Forster, was decided upon as a prime necessity because of the extremely bad condition of the French road, and for the purpose of its construction and maintenance a company was organized and

incorporated. The first election resulted in the choice of Thomas Forster, president; Henry Baldwin, John Vincent, Ralph Marlin, James E. Herron, John C. Wallace, William Miles, James Brotherton and Joseph Hackney, managers, and Judah Colt, treasurer. The route selected was up what is now State and Peach streets, following the latter in its bend to the true southerly direction, thence across the second ridge, at Nicholson's hill, and through the town of Walnut Creek, southeastward to Waterford. It was considerably longer by this route than by the French road, but it became necessary to consult the interests of property owners who had stock in the enterprise. Work on the Turnpike was not concluded until 1809, and even then it was far from being a good road, and according to all accounts in no good sense a turnpike at all. In so far as the road itself was designated by the workings upon it, there were places where it was apparently from one to two miles wide, but in reality, was lost in wide expanses of clearing where nothing whatever had been done to the road itself, the travelers being allowed over these stretches to make their own selection of what seemed to be the easiest route. And yet this Turnpike was to become one of the most important commercial thoroughfares of the time in the state. It was the salt trade which promoted this commerce. During the first years of the nineteenth century, salt was not produced in Western Pennsylvania and the country still farther west. It was freighted from Salina in New York State, to Oswego, thence by boat to Niagara, where it was carried past the Falls to Schlosser, loaded in small boats and taken to Black Rock where it was laden upon larger vessels and conveyed to Erie. At this port it was discharged from the vessels and then loaded upon wagons, drawn usually by three yoke of oxen, and hauled to Waterford where it was again trans-shipped and on flat boats built for the purpose was floated down French creek and the Allegheny river to Pittsburg. Not all the salt boats returned, but there was east bound freight by that route: whiskey, bacon, glass, manufactured iron and flour. Most valuable of all the commodities handled, however, was the salt, which came as near to being the circulating medium of the time as anything so bulky could. But its value was not uniform throughout its journey. Every stage of the progress westward in its course, increased its value. It required from four to six months for transportation from Salina to Pittsburg, and of one hundred barrels to leave the springs seventy-five barrels were required to pay the charges. The freight from Buffalo to Erie was 87½ cents per barrel, the storage here 12½ cents; hauling from Erie to Waterford was $1.50 per barrel, and freight from Waterford to Pittsburg $1, per barrel. Frequently it required four days to haul a load of salt from Erie to Waterford, and not rarely a part of a load was set down by the wayside to be returned for, if the road happened to be unusually soft.

Now this road, the property of a corporation, being a private enterprise, was not for public use without pay. Every one who used it was

required to pay toll. There was resistance to this exaction at the beginning, and the question of the right of the corporation to levy toll, and, indeed, the constitutionality of the act, came before the courts. The decision was in favor of the Turnpike company, and thereafter all passers-by paid toll, at the northern end to Robert Brown, just south of the city limits, and at the southern end to Martin Strong, on the summit, about where the Turnpike joined the old French road. The short street extending diagonally from State street to Peach, just north of the railroad, (Turnpike), was a part of the Waterford and Erie Turnpike, and that is how it got its name.

The Wattsburg road was constructed in 1809, and its route was from the French road at Cold Spring, now the southern end of Parade street, the locality even yet known as Marvintown, in a southeasterly direction through Phillipsville to Wattsburg. It is very nearly a direct route, and was continued in use as the main thoroughfare to Wattsburg until the plank road was built.

The Station road as it is known today, was originally the Colt's Station road and was built by the Pennsylvania Population Company to afford more direct communication between the station of the company in Greenfield, as well as to form a part of a main road from Erie to Mayville, N. Y. This road began at Wesleyville where it branched off from the Buffalo road, and was constructed in 1813.

The Lake Pleasant road was opened, at its northern end in 1821-22, extending then from the Wattsburg road, at the Davidson place about a mile east of Erie, to a point in Greene township. In 1826 an extension was decided upon, which carried it past Lake Pleasant to French creek where it meets the road from Wattsburg to Union City.

These were the principal county roads out of Erie up to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. From time to time other country roads were laid out and improved as the growing population required them, and the establishing of a new road in time came to be very much an every-day affair. Today there are, perhaps hundreds of roads, good, bad and indifferent in the county of Erie, and the end of road-making is not yet.

In the year 1850 a pretty general movement for the construction of plank roads arose, and there was no great difficulty experienced in enlisting capital in these enterprises, the common belief being that the stock would yield liberal returns. That year two companies were formed. The first was for the construction of a road from Erie to Edinboro, and it was completed in 1852. It followed the course of the Waterford Turnpike to a short distance south of Walnut creek, and there turned to the right. It is the course of the Edinboro road of the present time and is probably as favorable a route as could be found by which to cross the several ridges that are characteristic of Erie county's topography. Simultaneously the Edinboro and Meadville plank road was

completed, affording direct communication between Erie and Meadville over what in its day was believed to be the most perfect system of country road construction. But the enterprise proved to be a financial failure, notwithstanding the great increase in travel the better road brought about. In 1868 it was decided by the corporation to abandon the road, which was taken over by the road commissioners of the townships through which it passed.

The Erie and Waterford Plank Road Company was organized in 1850, and the road was finished in 1851. Abandoning both routes that had previously been pursued, the plank road corporators were able to find a much more advantageous location for a road. Beginning at the head of State street the survey followed up the course of Mill creek to the upper end of the hamlet once known as the Happy Valley, at a point where the old Erie County Mill was located. By a winding course it passed up out of the valley of Mill creek and turning east, adopted the route of the French road when that thoroughfare was reached, to which it held to the line of Summit township, when it again turned eastward and, crossing a low ridge entered upon the valley of Walnut creek. The route was up this valley by a gentle grade until the divide was passed, when the valley of Le Bœuf creek was entered upon and followed to Waterford. It is today the road of easiest grades in Erie county of all that lead in a southerly direction. But it did not pay the investors, and was abandoned to the township commissioners at the same time the Edinboro road was.

A third plank road was projected in 1851 by the Erie & Wattsburg Plank Road Company, and completed in 1853. Generally it followed the route of the old road to Wattsburg. Like the other enterprises of a similar character the Wattsburg road was a financial failure. It quickly got into bad condition and repairs were not made. There were four toll gates on the road, and notwithstanding it had become wellnigh useless, toll was collected regularly as at first. In 1865 the farmers became exasperated, organized a party of wreckers, and starting at Erie demolished every gate in turn and proclaimed an open thoroughfare. Threats of prosecution were made, but nothing was ever done and the toll system on the Wattsburg road was forever at an end. The road passed into the care of the several townships and, the last lingering plank having long ago disappeared the appellation of the "Wattsburg Plank Road," also soon passed into oblivion.

Allusion was made above, in this chapter, to the staging days on the Buffalo-Cleveland route. The beginnings of this business was in the establishing of a mail route. At first the carriage of the mail was alone considered and this was done by a post rider. The mail service between Buffalo and Erie was begun in 1806, and then there was one trip a week. This continued for a long time before it seemed necessary to extend the service farther west. The regular stage business between

Erie and Buffalo was not begun until 1820, when weekly trips were inaugurated, a stage leaving Buffalo Saturday at noon and arriving in Erie on Monday at 6 p. m.; returning it departed from Erie at 6 p. m. on Tuesday and reached Buffalo at noon Thursday. In the beginning of 1824 a mail-stage made semi-weekly trips between Erie and Cleveland and in 1825 a daily stage was run between Erie and Buffalo and Erie and Cleveland—that is to say, a stage started every day from every terminus but did not necessarily traverse the entire route within the twenty-four hours of that day.

In 1827 a notable stroke of early enterprise occurred in the beginning of a four-horse mail-coach service between Buffalo and Cleveland, and Rufus S. Reed of Erie was among the incorporators of the company. The company carried a daily mail, and it is a pleasure to state that it was a paying enterprise. Parenthetically it will be pardoned if the statement is made here that as a rule anything with which Rufus S. Reed had to do was a financial success.

The mail service between Pittsburg and Erie was begun in 1801, and in accordance with the universal custom of the time the mail was carried on horseback and there was but one trip a week. The route was by way of Waterford and Meadville. When the Waterford Turnpike was opened a regular stage line went into operation, and in 1826 the service was improved so that three trips each way were made every week. Later there was a daily mail and stage service, which continued until the advent of the railroads.

Long after the railroads were in operation, however, there was stage service out of Erie, run regularly between here and a number of the county towns. The stage business between Erie and Edinboro may have yielded some profit, the latter being the normal school town, and a considerable amount of commerce naturally carried on between them. It is questionable, however, whether the stage business between Erie and Wattsburg ever paid. The stage accommodations were not in any sense luxurious, the vehicles consisting, in each case of ordinary "crackey" wagons of two and sometimes three seats, drawn by a single pair of horses. The principal and dependable source of revenue of these stage lines was the contract for carrying the mail. These were what used to be called "star routes"—perhaps in the postoffice department they are still known by that appellation. But neither of these two stage lines is now in existence. The Edinboro stage went out when the trolley line came in, and the Wattsburg stage line ceased operations on or about February 28, 1905.

All the roads, and the stage lines that used them, which have been mentioned above, were simply the main roads out of Erie. No attempt will be made to name or locate the many others. It is proper to state, however, that all of the roads of which mention has been made, are still in existence and extensively used, save one. They have all been greatly

improved,—and goodness knows, they needed that—but none of them are really good roads, save perhaps for a short period each year when travel and weather conditions combine to render them so. Recently, through the stimulus of a state fund derived principally from license fees derived from the owners of automobiles, permanent improvements have been made in spots. The first work of this kind was done in 1906, Springfield township on the Ridge and Station roads where about four miles was macadamized. The next improvement of the kind was made a year later to the Buffalo road from Wesleyville east a mile and on the Station road from Wesleyville east a mile. About the same time the Edinboro road was macadamized from the southern city limits up and over the summit at Nicholson's Hill beyond Kearsarge to Walnut Creek about three miles. A fourth section of macadam was laid on the Ridge road from Weigletown nearly to the county farm; a fifth, on the Wattsburg road, from the city boundary to Greene township line, over two miles; and a sixth from Waterford station on the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad to the borough. These improvements are prophetic of what is surely to be, for the road question is being taken more seriously than ever.

But the exception, noted above! The most ancient of all the county's roads; that which was one of the factors in bringing on the Seven Years War of England; that was a bone of contention between British and American interests for years; that engendered the most threatening Indian troubles of this section; that was the rock of offence to retard settlement, and that after all the difficulties and trials had been settled was the only dependable avenue of communication with the interior—the old French Road; it literally fell by the wayside. It is possible to trace its route here and there. Within the city there is a short section of it that retains its name, though much the greater part within the corporate limits must be content to pass under the name the original character of the thoroughfare suggested as appropriate to the surveyors of the town—Parade street. But beyond, it comes to an abrupt and inglorious end when it reaches the edge of the narrow valley of Mill creek. Beyond that it is lost in the Waterford "Plank" road, which appropriated it as far as to the Summit township line. Then it disappears altogether for a space, to again appear and be of service for a few miles until a second time a boundary line of Summit wipes it out. What matter that the section at the Waterford end of the turnpike once belonged to the French road? For long years all proprietary rights of this character have been reversed. The French road at its southern end is lost in the turnpike, and that thoroughfare the building of which wore out an army of 1500 French soldiers, and that brought brave old Marin to his grave, has disappeared from the map, except for a few dotted lines laid in by pure guess-work. That which was the cause of Washington's perilous winter journey through the wilds of the great forest;

which wiped out the brave Gen. Braddock; which brought on the action in that great theatre that extended from the forks of the Ohio to the Plain of Abraham—that rude thoroughfare from Presque Isle to Le Bœuf is gone, past even the abilities of the most devoted antiquarian to locate it.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE COUNTY ORGANIZED.

THE NEED OF A COURT.—WAGER OF BATTLE CASE.—THE FIRST COURT. —TOWNSHIPS FORMED.—COUNTY BUILDINGS.—A COSTLY FIRE.

In the beginning Erie county was a part of Lancaster county. Originally, in Penn's grant, there were but three countries. Lancaster county extended west to the western boundary of the colony and north to the northern line, thus including so much of Erie county as was then a part of Pennsylvania. Years later there was a new subdivision of the state, and the county of Cumberland was organized so that its western and northern boundaries extending to the state limits, including Erie. Upon third subdivision Bedford county obtained a claim to this corner of the state. Then there was a fourth reorganization, when the county of Westmoreland was formed, so as to occupy the western end of the state, and this arrangement endured until the year 1788, when by act of the legislature that section of the state north of the Ohio river and west of the Allegheny to the Ohio state line was set off as a county and named Allegheny county with Pittsburg as the county seat. Erie county as it is today then became Erie township of Allegheny county, and this state of affairs endured until the year 1800.

It might seem that, with the sparse population of this section up to that time, the arrangement by which Erie was a part of Greater Pittsburg, would be all-sufficient for the people living here. But it was not altogether so. By the year 1800 the population had nearly reached 1500—the census figures are 1468. The area of the county is 772 square miles, and the population was therefore, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, not quite two to the mile. Nevertheless the need of a county organization was felt to a greater or less degree, especially with reference to the administration of justice.

While Erie was still within the limits of Allegheny county an incident occurred which will illustrate the need there was for court service within convenient reach. Among the earliest settlers in the neighborhood of Waterford were two men with their families, one of the name of Vincent, the other named McNair. Both had become possessed of land, or thought they had, in accordance with the permanent settlement act; but it turned out that both were claimants of the same parcel of ground. They got together with reference to the matter and after some discussion

concluded that to carry the dispute to court at Pittsburg would cost more than the land was worth. So there and then they decided to settle the matter by a fist fight, the winner to have full right and title to the land. The fight took place accordingly and Mr. Vincent was victorious. The combat occurred in a log barn not far from the village of Waterford, and, upon losing, Mr. McNair acknowledged Mr. Vincent to be the owner, and withdrew as gracefully as circumstances would permit.

It is interesting to know that this method of settling a dispute was quite within the provisions of the common law as it existed at that time. There was on the statute books of England an act that provided for determining a variety of questions, by what was known as wager of battle—or wager of battel—as it was literally given, though the mode of procedure was different in detail from that pursued by the Erie county pioneers named. According to the law the proceeding and the contest were to take place before a magistrate and wands or sticks were to be used as weapons. In principle, however, the adjudication of the fist was effective to determine the question legally, and the title to the property passed or vested lawfully in Mr. Vincent.

But it was a barbarous method. It had come to be regarded so in England, and though fallen much into disuse there—indeed seemed to be becoming obsolete—it was looked upon as so much of a disgrace to the code that it was repealed about 1818; for a law is law until it is repealed whether practiced or not. The occurrence in this county of the settlement of a dispute by wager of battle will indicate the pressing need that existed to have facilities within reach for the respectable and honorable trial and adjudication of questions of law that might arise. There had therefore developed a movement for better providing the now rapidly growing population with the full rights of citizens. Most of the settlers were poor men, and the expense that attached to bringing questions or matters in dispute before court at Pittsburg was so great as to be prohibitory, thus being in effect a denial of justice. It is proper to state also that the wager of battle was not regarded with general favor as a method of settling land titles.

An act of the legislature, passed March 12, 1800, created the counties of Erie, Butler, Beaver, Crawford, Mercer, Venango and Warren, naming the county seat of each. It turned out, however, that the action taken by the legislature was somewhat premature, for while the people of the northwest corner of the state were in need of better facilities than had been possessed, they were not yet able to afford them. As separate counties they could not sustain the expense necessary to carry on the business of their courts. Accordingly, on April 9, 1801, an act was passed joining Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Venango and Warren as one county for governmental purposes, under the name of Crawford, with Meadville as the county seat. From that time until 1803, to all intents

and purposes the five counties were one, a single set of county officers serving for all and one member of the legislature representing all five.

In 1803 Erie county was organized for all judicial purposes, this being done at the public-house of George Buehler, at the corner of Third and French streets in Erie. Originally there were sixteen townships established: Millcreek, Harborcreek, North East, Greenfield, Venango, Brokenstraw, Union, Le Bœuf, Waterford, Conneauttee, McKean, Beaverdam, Elkcreek, Conneaut, Springfield and Fairview. It used to be maintained by the late Capt. N. W. Russell that an erorr was made when the names were given to the townships of Millcreek and Harborcreek, or rather, when the names selected were applied on the map; because it is evident that Harborcreek more properly applies to the county division upon which the harbor fronts, while the principal stream of Harborcreek—Six-mile creek,—was notable from earliest times as a source of water power which was utilized almost its entire length within the township. The stream called Mill creek would have better been named Harbor creek, because the harbor of the earliest times was at its mouth. However, there was a reversal of appropriate names made on the first of the maps of Erie county, and no objection was ever raised in an official or authoritative manner; so the names stand.

Subsequently changes were made both in the names and by the subdivision of townships. In 1820 Brokenstraw became Wayne and Concord, the former named after the Revolutionary general who died within the limits of the county. In 1826 Amity was set off from Union. In 1832 Girard was formed from parts of Springfield and Fairview and named in honor of Stephen Girard, the great merchant and Philanthropist of Philadelphia, who owned an extensive tract of land in that township and Conneaut. Conneauttee was changed to Washington in 1834, the new name of course in honor of the Revolutionary general and first president. In 1840 Beaverdam took the name of Greene, from General Nathaniel Greene. Franklin was formed in 1844 out of parts of McKean, Washington, Elkcreek and Fairview and named in honor of the great printer, statesman, philosopher and scientist. Summit was formed in 1854 from parts of Greene and McKean. Thus were evolved in the process of time the twenty-one townships comprised by Erie county.

The courts, however, continued for a long time to be of the itinerary or circuit order, as was naturally to be expected. The judicial district was changed from time to time as the convenience or facilities of travel rendered advisable, including by several apportionments as many as five counties. As was noted above, in 1801, there was an act that for the time being joined Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Venango and Warren into one county with Meadville as the seat of justice. The action taken in 1803 and did not change the metes and bounds of the judicial district, but it made Erie the county seat of Erie county, and in its turn the court for the county of Erie of the fifth judicial district was held at Erie. It

was at the court of this district, held in Erie April 9, 1803, with Judge Jesse Moore of Crawford presiding, that Erie county was erected as an independent shire. By the judiciary act of Feb. 24, 1806, Butler, Mercer, Venango, Crawford and Erie became the sixth judicial district. In 1818 Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Venango and Warren composed the district; in 1825, Erie, Crawford, Mercer and Venango; in 1851, Erie, Crawford and Warren; in 1860, Erie, Crawford, Warren and Elk; in 1870, Erie, Warren and Elk; in 1874, Erie county alone, but from 1806 the Erie district continued to be, no matter what the apportionment, the sixth judicial district.

The erection of Erie into an independent county at Judge Moore's court in 1803 brought about a complete county organization, with John Vincent of Waterford, Abiather Crane, of Conneaut, and James Weston of Le Bœuf, as county commissioners. The other county officers at the beginning were: Callender Irvine, prothonotary, the duties of that office then including those of the register and recorder and clerk of the courts of the present time; Mr. Irvine, however, was not commissioned until July 4. Wilson Smith of Waterford was elected sheriff in October, 1903, Alexander Stewart of Crawford, appointed by the governor, serving for Erie as well as for the adjacent county until Mr. Smith had been qualified. Abraham Smith of Erie was elected coroner at the same election. Until 1850 the officer now known as the district attorney was known as deputy attorney general and was appointed by the attorney general of the State, and the first deputy appointed for Erie was William N. Irvine. John Hay was the first treasurer, appointed in 1804 by the commissioners.

At the time of the organization of Erie county, it was still very sparsely settled. The census of 1800 showed a population of 1,468, so that there were few if any more than 2,000 inhabitants in 1803, when it had been decided that it was populous enough to stand alone. While there were a few centres of population, referred to at times as villages, such as Waterford, Manchester and Erie, they were merely hamlets, the county seat itself scarcely entitled to the dignity of being called a village. There was not an organized borough in the entire county. And yet the village of Erie had been spreading out and occupying the ground, a few straggling houses, surrounded by rail fences that enclosed considerable areas of ground, extending as far west as French street. It was in one of these, a public house kept by George Buehler, a wood cut of which is still extant, that on a morning in April, 1803, a horn, blown by the court crier, announced that the Honorable Jesse Moore was about to open the first court ever held in the county of Erie. The house dignified in this fashion, standing on the lot at the corner of Third and French streets, surrounded by its post and rail fence, was in its day the most pretentious building in Erie. Ten years later it was to be further distinguished by becoming the headquarters of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of the Battle of Lake Erie. It was dignity enough for

the time, however, that it was to be in fact the scene of the organization of the most important county in the northwestern part of the state. For a number of years the courts of this county were accommodated in private houses, sometimes at Buehler's, again at Conrad Brown's, across the street, and again at the log house on the corner of Second and Holland streets, used as a jail.

The boroughs all came later. It was not until 1805 that Erie was organized into a borough (it became a city in 1851); Waterford was organized in 1833; Wattsburg, in 1834; North East, in 1834; Edinboro, in 1840; Girard, in 1846; Albion, in 1861; Union Mills, in 1863, and changed to Union City, in 1871; Fairview, in 1868; Mill Village, in 1870; Lockport, in 1870; Elgin, in 1876; East Springfield, in 1887; Corry became a borough in 1863 and a city in 1866.

The population of Erie county in 1800, according to the census report was 1,468; in 1810, 3,758; in 1820, 8,541; in 1830, 17,041; in 1840, 31,344; in 1850, 38,742; in 1860, 49,432; in 1870, 65,973; in 1880, 74,688; in 1890, 86,074; and in 1900, 110,412.

As has been stated, the county at the beginning had to be satisfied to be a tenant, temporarily renting the rooms in which its courts were held, and it was not until after Erie had become a borough that a movement was set on foot to have a court house built. Even then the expense was too great to be undertaken unaided. The state legislature, however, having made an appropriation of $2,000 to assist, the rest of the money was obtained and in 1808 the first courthouse was built. It was erected in the public square, now known as East Park, or the eastern section of Central Park. At that time there was a rather deep and precipitous ravine passing diagonally through East Park, cutting off the southeast corner. The location of the courthouse was on State street, between that ravine and North Park Row. In its day it was regarded as a notable example of architecture, much the best in this part of the state. It was a plain structure of brick with a tower or cupola surmounting it. This building stood until March 23, 1823, when it was burned, and, with it, the records of the county, including those of land titles that had been entered up to that time, were all destroyed. The loss to the county, resulting from the destruction of the records was a grave one, from which many complications have arisen, and the effects of which remain to a considerable degree to the present time. The fire occurred on a Sunday morning, early, and more or less speculation was indulged in as to its origin, the most generally accepted opinion being that it was caused by the janitor emptying ashes into a barrel in the basement.

Meanwhile it became necessary to provide a suitable place in which to hold court, for a term was just at hand. The Academy building had just been completed and the commissioners obtained a lease of one of the rooms for court purposes, to be used until the courthouse could be rebuilt. During the period of two years, in which the Academy figured

as a sort of dual temple—of learning and justice—the tones of the school bell mingling with the mellow tootings of the court crier's horn, might have given the impression to the temporary sojourner that a serial celebration was being observed in the little borough upon the lake shore. A year after the destruction of the first courthouse—in 1824—the county commissioners awarded a contract for a new courthouse, to occupy the same site as the old, and it was completed early in 1825. It was built very much after the plan of the first house, and was provided with a cupola or belfry in which was hung the bell of the Queen Charlotte, one of the prizes taken by Commodore Perry in the battle of Lake Erie in 1813. The bell before it did service on a British ship of war, had been used at Fort Erie, and with patriotic intentions was presented to Captain Finnis for his flagship. When the naval station at Erie was discontinued it was bought by Rufus S. Reed, who presented it to the borough, and, hung in the courthouse tower for more than a quarter of a century, it was used to summon the populace upon every public occasion. After the courthouse was abandoned for a newer and grander building the bell was employed to give notice of fires until it was accidentally cracked, and retired from service, finding a resurrection in 1893, when it was presented to the city and now hangs in the main corridor of the City Hall, useless as a bell but invaluable as a relic of the "brave days of old in Erie."

For years that courthouse was the heart of the town of Erie. Not only was it employed for the accommodation of the court, but every other public or semi-public function occurred at the courthouse. Church meetings, lectures and concerts, political gatherings, assemblages to discuss public affairs—anything in which the people or any part of the people were interested were held in the courthouse, and the bell, calling indifferently upon the entire populace was frequently the only advertisement necessary for the appointed proceedings. The town of Erie, then of a population of less than a thousand and known as "The Sleepy Borough," by its envious neighbors, was not at all different from any other little country town of its size—of the time, let it be added, for the small towns of the present day that are not in touch with the ouside world by daily newspapers that find their way in fresh from the press, are very rare. In 1824 Erie was a rural village. It had some people who were getting on; some who had become rich; but the great majority were the struggling plain people who in their hours of leisure found nothing better to do—nothing that could be done—but to gather in groups in the evening in front of some popular store; in the village tavern; in the office of the *Gazette*, or any convenient place, and exchange opinions, swap stories or perpetrate practical jokes upon one another. The announcement by the ringing of the courthouse bell that there were to be doings there, was therefore always welcome, and whether the character of the meeting was known or not, there was no difficulty in obtaining an audience. Generally,

however, all the people knew beforehand what sort of a meeting was in contemplation. Town talk in those days was exactly what the term would imply. Everybody knew everybody else's business, not excepting that of the stranger within the gates.

Erie became known early as a hotbed of politics. These curbstone meetings (though for that matter the actual curbstone was far away in the future), were great schools of politics. It was a long time before the political boss came to be. There may have been political leaders among the people then—good talkers ambitious to air their opinions and often accepted at their own valuation, but in a good measure every man was a politician and every one in his turn had his say. It continued to be thus for many years, and when, in 1830, Horace Greeley came into town from his father's farm in Wayne township, a tramp printer in search of a job, he became so deeply impressed with this peculiar attribute of the Erie people that, writing of his experience in Erie many years later, he did not omit to speak of it. In those days Joseph M. Sterrett had already become a political leader. This was only natural. He had started the *Gazette* in January, 1820, and, being an editor, was looked upon by the people of his time as a man of authority among them, especially with reference to political matters. In later years office and the emoluments pertaining came to him, but the honors of politics, as politics then were, were his almost from the beginning of his editorial career. Country journalism then was a great institution, and the "power of the press" almost extravagantly potent.

And the publication of the *Gazette,* along with the perennial caucusing at the corner grocery, and in front of the village tavern did wonders toward the development of the town and county. Whatever scandals may have existed in those days, it has not come to the surface that anything of a public nature developed. It is true that when the new courthouse had been completed a defect in the construction of a gable or cornice was discovered, but it was not attributed to jobbery or an attempt made to overreach. The defect was called to the attention of the contractor, and he promptly made it good.

It was true of Erie county at that time as of the Orient in the olden time when it was said, "The poor ye have always with you," but the system of caring for them was different from what obtained later. At the beginning of things in Erie county each township was required to take care of its own poor, and the voters of the township elected two overseers, whose duty it was to make provisions in aid of the indigent. Whether it was a good way to do, or whether it was not does not appear as a matter of record. But it is proper to presume it was not satisfactory, for in 1840 an act went into effect creating a county board of directors of the poor, and that year James Benson, of Waterford, was elected for one year; Thomas R. Miller, of Springfield, for two years, and George W. Walker of Harborcreek for three years. Thereafter

annually one director was elected to serve for three years. At the same time the question of erecting a county almshouse was voted upon by the people. The year before an almshouse proposition was voted down by a majority of 154, but in 1840 the issue prevailed by the close vote of 1,599 to 1,594; so the house was built.

In the year 1832, while John H. Walker was a member of the State legislature, he secured the passage of an act providing for the sale of the third section of reserve lands, of 2,000 acres in Millcreek township, the proceeds to be used for the construction of the canal basin in Erie harbor, but reserving from the tract a hundred acres to be used as a county-farm upon which an almshouse should be built. Commissioners to make a selection out of the reserve tract, for the county-farm were appointed and these, William Miles, George Moore and David McNair, chose the piece of ground on the Ridge road, about three miles west of Erie—a farm, by subsequent additions, of 118 acres. It was upon this farm—now one of the finest in Erie county—that the first almshouse was built, and completed in 1841. While John D. Stranahan of Le Bœuf was a representative in the Legislature—1867-68—an attempt was made to change the location of the almshouse to the southern part of the county, an act with that provision having been passed, but at the next session it was repealed.

In the year 1870 in accordance with the provisions of a new act, all the old directors went out and a new board were elected. These were Lewis W. Olds of Erie, Stephen A. Beavis of Corry, and W. W. Eaton of Fairview. This board proceeded at once to erect a new almshouse, and procured plans. Mr. Olds from the beginning advocated the erection of a commodious brick building, and though there was vigorous opposition from without, his plan prevailed with his fellows of the board and a building far beyond the needs of the time was erected at a cost of $118,000. It was the most expensive public building of the time in the county. The wisdom of Mr. Olds was very shortly demonstrated. From time to time additions and improvements have been made to the building until it will now take its place as a thoroughly modern institution of its kind.

For a long time the boundary line between Erie and Crawford counties was in dispute, and this was settled by the passage of an act by the Legislature in 1849-50, which provided for the appointment of a commission to make a survey and permanently mark the line. In pursuance of the provisions of the act Humphrey A. Hills of Albion was appointed commissioner for Erie county, and Andrew Ryan for Crawford county, and they chose H. P. Kinnear of Warren as the third member. By the commissioners Wilson King was chosen as the surveyor to represent Erie, and Mr. Jagger surveyor for Crawford. David Wilson, Mr. King's deputy, however, did most of the engineering work. The surveyors ran a perfectly straight line from east to west which added a long narrow

strip to the southern edge of Erie county. A number of people who believed themselves citizens and tax payers of Crawford county came in time to know they lived in the county next on the north.

There were a number of other engineering inaccuracies discovered in the county in the course of time. A notable one is "the gore," as it is still known, in West Millcreek. It is a long narrow strip of land lying between the respective surveys of the engineers who laid out the Erie Reserve and those who located the line of the territory granted to the Pennsylvania Population Company, lying next and adjoining on the south, east and west. The existence of this gore was not discovered for a considerable time. It was due to the variation of the two sets of instruments employed. The engineers of the Population Company, starting from the same point on the bluff above the lake on the east line of the present farm of the Sterrett heirs, occupied by Alexander Robinson (the farm just east of Henry Y. Hartt's farm in West Millcreek) that the other engineers did, proceeded south, supposing they were following the other line. In fact they were not, their line running slightly to the west, forming a steadily widening wedge as they progressed southwardly, and the new line taken as a base line, being inaccurate, when the turning point was reached the easterly line was just as inaccurate. An additional mistake was made in the chaining in this later survey, which extended the first line too far south. Near its southern end the divergence was so considerable that out of this gore Capt. John Grubb, one of the earliest settlers, an officer of the military guard of the surveyors, afterwards had articled to him the farm of 400 acres upon which he so long lived. There is a somewhat similar gore east of the city.

Another discrepancy is pointed out in the report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs for 1908. According to the statements contained therein it appears that in 1790 when the western boundary line of New York State was established by Andrew Ellicott, its southern terminus was 50 rods, or 825 feet east of the 225th milestone of the original northern boundary of Pennsylvania. In 1894, however, Thomas Rees, Deputy Surveyor, locating the warrants in the Triangle, made the 225th milestone his starting point, which he recognized as the southeast corner of the Triangle district. A new survey for the correction of the warrantee map of the county was therefore ordered by the Secretary of Internal Affairs.

An account of the building of the present courthouse, begun in 1852, would naturally be included as part of the history of the county, but, located as it is in the city of Erie, it has been decided advisable that the story of that important public building shall form a part of the history of the city. For considerations of a similar nature it is deemed proper that the action taken by the county commissioners to meet the demands of the State at the time of the War of the

Rebellion shall be given an account of in the chapters that will tell of the part taken by the County of Erie in that memorable conflict.

From the beginning the business affairs of the county have been managed by a board of commissioners, three in number, elected by the people. From 1800 to Jan. 1, 1876, each commissioner was elected for three years, but only one in each year, so that the board was a continuous body. It was, however, as a rule of one political complexion. From 1831 to 1876 the commissioners were all of the Whig or Republican parties. The new constitution of 1873, effected a change by providing that the minority political party should have representation on the board. To secure this elections for county commissioners are held once in three years, and no citizen is permitted to vote for more than two candidates, although commissioners may be re-elected. The commissioners' clerk is appointed by the commissioners, and from the organization of the county there have been but ten regularly serving, one other acting pro tem, from November, 1829, to February, 1830. The first clerk, Thomas Wilkins, served twenty-six years; James Skinner served twelve years; G. W. Colton, eleven years; A. J. Sterrett, over eighteen years, dying while in office; G. D. Price, seven years, and A. J. Robison the present clerk, from 1890. The other clerks served for terms varying from two to five years.

Not coming distinctively under the management of the county authorities, but yet a prominent factor in county development during the later years of the county's history, is the Twentieth century innovation in the management of the mail service, now firmly established and invaluable to the farmers, the rural free delivery. This was introduced in 1900, when six routes were established from Erie. In 1909 the rural routes in Erie county numbered about seventy-two, the extensive service due to the active interest taken by Erie's member of Congress, Hon. Arthur L. Bates. The routes, with the year in which they were established, are: Albion, three in 1904, and one in 1907; Avonia, one in 1904; Corry, eleven in 1901; Cranseville, one in 1903; East Springfield, one in 1903; Edinboro, six in 1902; Erie, six in 1900, and two in 1907; Fairview, one in 1904; Girard, four in 1902; Harborcreek, two in 1903; McKean, two in 1903; Mill Village, one in 1904; North East, four in 1902, two in 1903 and one in 1905; North Springfield, one in 1903; Union City, seven in 1901; Waterford, eight in 1901; Wattsburg, four in 1903; Wesleyville, one in 1905; West Springfield, one in 1907.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE WAR CLOUD'S SHADOW.

ERIE IN 1812.—THE UPRISING.—ERIE'S SOLDIERY.—CAPT. DOBBINS AND THE PRESIDENT.—BUILDING OF PERRY'S FLEET.

For a period of years the pioneers of Erie county, contented in the humble homes they had hewed out of the great forest, and long relieved of anxiety from fear of attack by the savages or of any other foe, dwelt in profound peace nor ever permitted their thoughts to turn toward anything that even hinted at grim war. The area of cultivation upon their farms had steadily broadened; new settlers had come in to lend the cheer and comfort of their society; industries had begun in a small way, and commerce had ventured to spread its white wings for its initial flight. But in the minds of the new community planted in the woods there was nothing but what made for peace. Suddenly this was dispelled. War against Great Britain had been declared. Into that great conflict Erie came. The little village upon the lake was destined to play a prominent part in the history of the nation for it was Erie that made possible one of the greatest victories of that war, one notable in the history of the world. Perry's victory on Lake Erie had its working out through Erie.

Consider what it meant—that victory of Commodore Perry over the British fleet in these waters. It was in fact the decisive battle of a war that was the second war of American independence; the contest that compelled Great Britain in fact, as had previously in only shallowest form, to acknowledge the United States a sister nation; that forced from the arrogant Briton a recognition of the full rights of the American nation. The war of 1812 was a confirmation of the status of the United States as an independent nation, and the victory achieved by Commodore Perry with the fleet of vessels built in the harbor of Erie was the severest blow up to that time administered to Great Britain by any foe, because it humbled British naval pride as it had never been before. For the first time in history a British fleet had been utterly defeated by an enemy—previously a single vessel had been compelled to yield, but Perry defeated an entire squadron. The part Erie had in that famous victory was therefore no insignificant one.

But what was the war of 1812 about, and what led up to the famous victory? The late Senator Sill presented the matter in a manner more

terse than any other statement of the case recalled and the liberty is taken of making free quotation from what he once wrote regarding it:

The war of the Revolution left many matters not altogether settled. For example, there was the question of what the Americans had really won. The thirteen colonies occupied a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast. They did not extend west of the Alleghanies. The British therefore contended for the retention of the frontier posts, including Fort Presque Isle, at Erie, with the facility thus offered of inciting the Indians to the massacre of the frontier settlers. There was also the question of the nonpayment of claims or debts due to American citizens from British subjects or Tories who had left this country and sought protection under the British flag; the retention by the British of slaves or persons "held to service," claimed by Americans; the arrogant demand by the British of the right of search of American vessels and the impressment of sailors of alleged British nationality; and that the promise made by King George at the solemn audience, so long deferred, when John Adams, the first American minister, was received by that sovereign as the ambassador of the United States, that, now that independence was acknowledged "the community of race, the identity of lineage and the uniformity of religion should cause friendship between the two countries," was made to the ear to be broken by the sense.

The irritation which had existed between France and the United States, culminating in a declaration of war under the administration of the elder Adams in 1797-98, had been succeeded by disgust at the arrogance of Great Britain, as manifested by her order in council of May, 1806, ordering a blockade of the European coast, from Brest to the Elbe, thus inhibiting American commerce, which evoked, in the way of retaliation, Napoleon's decree of Berlin, Nov. 21, 1806, declaring a blockade of the British Islands, followed in course by a second order by the king and council forbidding trade between the United States and any European country under Napoleon's power, which again excited retaliation on the part of the French in the Milan decree of Dec. 7, 1807, in which Napoleon declared "denationalized," whether found in continental ports or on the high seas, any vessel which should submit to search by a British vessel, or should touch at or set sail to or from any port of Great Britain or her colonies. Under the effects of these acts American commerce was swept from the seas, causing universal distress to the United States, enhanced as it was by the embargo proclaimed by President Jefferson, inhibiting all commerce through American ports and also, the unhappy incident of the attack of the British ship Leopard upon the American frigate Chesapeake, and the incident of the Little Belt. These, with the continued effort to assert the claim to right of search of American vessels and the seizure of American sailors, became intolerable, and nothing during this period was more irritating than the conduct of the British minister, who was the same person who had been minister to Denmark to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet before the bombardment of Copenhagen. Here he was called Copenhagen Jackson, and he was just as irritating at Washington; and when, upon the

meeting of congress in 1811, the wrongs and indignities suffered by the United States were elaborated in a ringing report of a congressional committee, that congress—of which Henry Clay was speaker—upon the urgent recommendation of President Madison, on the 18th day of June, 1812, declared war against Great Britain, and though still loaded with the burden of debt caused by the Revolution, and its people, impoverished by the paralysis of commerce which had so long existed, found that no other course was practicable on the part of the United States than to enter upon a war on sea and land.

The declaration of war in June, 1812, found the nation altogether unprepared to enter into a contest with so powerful a nation as Great Britain. We had no army or navy. We were still prostrate under the burden of debt incurred for the Revolutionary war. There were no railroads to afford swift transportation—indeed, even the turnpike roads that were passable were few and very far between. Steamboats came many years later; there were no canals. Communication was difficult and travel slow and laborious. It was therefore no small task that the Americans addressed themselves to when they undertook to redress grievances by the science of war, and war with the most powerful nation on the earth.

Britain, on the other hand, offered a striking contrast. Rich and powerful, possessed of a strong and well organized army and the greatest navy in the world, flushed with victories, and having wide resources; besides having the advantage of such a splendid avenue into the interior as the St. Lawrence and with Canada available for massing her forces, the tremendous advantage she possessed, observable now, was undoubtedly apparent then.

And yet the United States, believing its cause to be a just one and the necessities of the situation pressing, did not hesitate, having decided upon war, to enter into it with all the ability it possessed. It was a discouraging experience that marked the opening of that great contest. Save on the sea, where the Americans proved more than a match in the engagements that had taken place, disaster was the order of the day. The American army was repeatedly worsted, and well nigh placed out of the fight.

It was a very sparsely settled country that bordered the southern shores of the Great Lakes in the year 1812, and the means of communication were lamentably deficient. This was true not only of this particular locality but of the entire northern frontier. The postal service amounted to practically nothing at all, and it is worthy of note that the information of the declaration of war at the American capital was first received by the American settlers through Canadian dispatches sent to their several posts. When Mackinaw was taken in July, the first intelligence the garrison there had that a state of war existed was when a heavy force of British and Indians that had landed upon an uninhab-

ited part of the island the night before, captured the American defenses without firing a gun.

At the time of the capture of Mackinaw, Captain Daniel Dobbins, in command of a merchant vessel named the Salina, was at that post. He had with him Rufus S. Reed and William W. Reed, the former and Captain Dobbins being owners of the vessel. They were taken and held as prisoners, and the Salina, along with another that had been captured were made cartels to convey the prisoners and non-combatants to Cleveland. When they arrived at Detroit they were taken possession of by General Hull, and again they fell into the hands of the enemy on the surrender of that important post. Now Captain Dobbins, who had sailed the lakes extensively for a number of years, had during the peaceful times that had preceded, made the acquaintance of Col. Nichols of His Majesty's service, and through the friendship that had resulted, in the hour of need obtained from the Colonel passes for himself and the two Reeds, and they accompanied Col. Lewis Cass and Capt. Saunders, who were in charge of paroled prisoners, across the head of the lake in open boats, to Cleveland. It was a perilous passage of three days, but the entire party reached their destination in safety. At Cleveland Capt. Dobbins obtained a small sloop and navigated it down the lake to Erie. All along the coast the inhabitants were thrown into a state of alarm at the sight of the vessel, for the news of the surrender of Detroit by Hull had spread.

Upon his arrival at Erie, Capt. Dobbins found Gen. David Mead here, and was commissioned by the General to bear dispatches to Washington. It is proper at this point to relate what was doing in a military way at Erie. Upon the breaking out of the war Gov. Snyder had organized the militia of the State into two divisions, and the western division was under the command of Major General Adamson Tannehill of Pittsburg. Gen. David Mead was of his staff, and the brigade of which the Erie county militia was a part was placed in command of Brigadier General John Kelso of Erie, with Dr. John C. Wallace in command of the Erie regiment. Among the officers of the Erie regiment were Captains Andrew Cochran, Zelotus Lee, James Barr, William Dickson, Robert Davidson, Warren Foote, John Morris, and Smith and Donaldson. There was a military company in existence in Erie at the outbreak of the war, commanded by Capt. Thomas Forster, which immediately tendered their services to the President, and were accepted. They did not form a part of the Erie regiment, but, as will be seen later, performed an important part in the work in hand.

Active duty was entered upon immediately by the Erie troops. Capt. Barr's company was sent to Sandusky and remained there through the winter of 1812-13. Capt. Cochran's company of Springfield kept guard along the western coast of Erie county, and Capt. Foote and his company were assigned to keep sentry at the head of the peninsula.

Before the close of June Gen. Kelso ordered out his brigade for the defense of Erie and the brigade was mobilized on the John Lytle farm near what is now Waterford station on the P. & E. Railroad. Upwards of 2,000 men were gathered there from Erie, Crawford, Mercer and other western counties. Later in the season 4,500 men were ordered to march to Buffalo, which was menaced by the enemy, and the western Pennsylvania force remained the winter through. Meanwhile Erie was in a state of continual alarm. The British had, for those times, a powerful squadron of vessels on Lake Erie, and every place upon the coast was in continual fear lest they should be bombarded by these ships. Erie was in especial fear. On August 25 these ships appeared off Erie, and immediately expresses were sent over the county conveying the intelligence. Gen. Kelso took prompt action, and on Sept. 4 obtained an order from the government that the State field pieces be sent to Erie. Because they were slow to arrive Gen. Kelso, through Gov. Snyder, sent a message, signed by prominent citizens, urging that efficient action for the protection of Erie be speedily taken, and on Sept. 16 the General was notified that one brass piece and four 4-pounders were on their way to Erie. Later, because of the absence of the troops at Buffalo, Gen. Kelso was ordered by Gov. Snyder to employ volunteers, if practicable, for the defense of Erie.

Meanwhile an altogether different line of action was being taken up. It was related above that Gen. Mead had commissioned Capt. Dobbins an express messenger to Washington bearing dispatches. These gave the first authentic information to the President of the surrender of Mackinaw and Detroit. Immediately a cabinet meeting was called before which Capt. Dobbins appeared, and to the President and his advisers gave a full account of the situation on the frontier. Particular stress was laid upon the fact that the enemy was possessed of a powerful fleet, with which the government had nothing that could cope. The great need on the lakes, Capt. Dobbins suggested, was a naval force strong enough to meet the British. The suggestion met with approval. Then the question arose with reference to the most suitable point for a naval depot on the lakes. Capt. Dobbins at once named Erie, and pointed out its many advantages. The suggestion was adopted. He was offered a sailing master's commission in the navy, which he accepted and he was then ordered to Erie with instructions to immediately begin the construction of gunboats.

Upon his arrival at Erie Capt. Dobbins was ordered to report to Commodore Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, whose jurisdiction included Lake Erie as well as Lake Ontario, or to the commanding officer at Black Rock, for further instructions, which order he obeyed, receiving from Lieut. Elliott at Black Rock a reply to the effect that in his opinion Erie was not a safe or suitable place for naval construction and directing that nothing be done until Com. Chauncey should be heard from.

Upon receipt of Elliott's letter Mr. Dobbins at once wrote a rejoinder in which he set forth the advantages of Erie, and very soon afterwards proceeded to Buffalo himself, and though he did not find Lieut. Elliott there, feeling the importance of the situation, employed a skillful ship carpenter, and returning to Erie, late in October began work upon the gunboats.

At that time there was a stream of considerable size that emptied into the bay between what are now Peach and Sassafras streets, and at its mouth there was a wide beach. The stream was called Lee's run. On the beach at the mouth of Lee's run, some little distance west of the village of Erie, Mr. Dobbins established his navy yard. The site of that navy yard is now occupied by the gas works. Erie at that time had a population of approximately 500. There were few mechanics among them and no ship carpenters. However, under the superintendence of the carpenter enlisted at Buffalo, every man who could swing an axe or handle a saw was put to work. The few house carpenters the village boasted of were impressed into the service, and all sorts of expedients were resorted to in order to provide tools and appliances for the work. Much of the material had to be got out of the trees uncut, and most of the timbers and planks had to be sawn by hand. It was a rather discouraging prospect, and the winter overtook them while at work, but operations were not permitted to lag for a moment. Progress was being made every hour. And at that, it will be remembered, the work was progressing without instructions from either Com. Chauncey or the commanding officer at Black Rock. Mr. Dobbins, however, knew his ground, and felt the necessity of the case. Besides that, he appreciated the fact that during the winter season he had a far better chance of pushing the work without being molested by the enemy than during the season of navigation. So the work went on.

About the first of January, 1813, Commodore Chauncey, accompanied by Henry Eckford, naval constructor, arrived at Erie on an official visit. They were so well pleased with the character of the work and the progress made that they commended Mr. Dobbins, and, satisfied as well with the advantages offered by Erie, gave instructions to get out timber and prepare for the building of two "sloops of war." While this added greatly to the amount of the work appointed to be done at Erie, it was quite to the liking of Mr. Dobbins, because the decision of the Commodore vindicated his judgment when to the President and his cabinet Mr. Dobbins had declared Erie to be the most suitable place on the great lakes at which to establish a navy yard and build vessels that should be employed to oppose the British.

Mr. Dobbins (he had ceased to be Capt. Dobbins when he accepted the more dignified, because naval, billet of sailing master) was in charge of affairs at Erie when Com. Chauncey or the officers immediately under him were absent, and had even higher warrant than a com-

mander's orders for exercising his own discretion, for his instructions with reference to building a fleet for Lake Erie were first from the President. When, therefore, he received orders to get ready to build two larger vessels, he first chose the location at which they should be built. For two reasons he decided best not to build them at the new navy yard. In the first place he was not sure there was water enough to launch them, at the mouth of Lee's Run, and secondly, it would be preferable to do the work far enough up the bay so that they could not easily be discovered by the enemy, or if it became known they were being built, it would be a much more difficult matter to get at them and the chances of successfully resisting such an attempt would be greater. A place exactly suited to the work in hand was found on a strip of beach, sufficiently wide for the purpose, at the mouth of Cascade creek. The spot was about a mile west of the village and the water there was deep. This place was without delay decided upon. In relation to the city of today the shipyard of the sloops of war was directly at the foot of Cascade street.

At that time Cascade creek was a stream of rather large volume, approaching in size Mill creek, and flowing through a valley of greater breadth than most of the streams that empty into the bay, was discharged over a stratum of hard shale rock in one of the most beautiful little water falls imaginable, the heighth of the cascade being about ten or twelve feet. The exact location of the cascade was to the east of the lines of railroad that now extend down from the junction. Within recent years the surveyors of the railroad, the better to serve the interests of the road, cut a new channel for the creek so that it skirts the western side of the railroad right of way. This explanation is parenthetical and substituted for a foot-note.

Immediately upon selecting a location a large force of men were set at work to get out the material, this being Mr. Dobbin's interpretation of the Commodore's order to prepare for the building of the sloops of war. The material was obtained from the trees then standing in the forest hard by. The best kind of oak timber grew in abundance, and it was easy to select the choicest of stuff. With a sailor's knowledge of what entered into the hull of a ship, not only was care exercised to have the right sort of material for ribs and planking and ceiling, but natural knees and other special parts were carefully selected. And the work was pushed and so much celerity exercised that the keels were ready to be laid and much of the timber was ready when Mr. Noah Brown, master ship builder from New York, with a gang of twenty-five carpenters arrived about the tenth of March. On the fourteenth of March Mr. Dobbins, writing to the Department at Washington, reported the keels of the larger vessels ready to lay and the gunboats ready for calking.

But all the while there was a harrassing care on the mind of Mr. Dobbins. There was the fear of the prowling spy and the secret incendiary of the enemy. A need quite as great as the mechanics to forward the construction of the vessels was an adequate force to protect and guard. The chief reliance from the beginning had been upon Capt. Thomas Forster and his company of sixty volunteers, supplemented by such of the workmen as could be detailed for guard duty. For a considerable period, and during practically all of the winter of 1812-13, Capt. Forster's company constituted the only protection of the town of Erie and the vessels on the stocks.

Commodore Perry arrived at Erie March 27, 1813, and at once assumed command. He established his headquarters at the Buehler house, on the corner of Third and French streets., The defenseless condition of the town and vessels at once claimed his attention and he immediately sent for General Mead who called out a sufficient military force for a guard, and in a short time a thousand militia were in camp, ultimately reinforced by several hundred volunteers from the interior of the State. They were encamped on a tract of ground from which the timber had been cut to supply material for the shipbuilding operations at the yard below, and which was then and for years afterward known as Stumptown. It was located on Peach street and west to the side of the ravine, from the brow of the bluff southward.

While there was plenty of material of one kind at hand, though crude, in the standing timber, there was a plentiful lack of other things, most notably iron. All the stores in the village were ransacked and everything convertible found its way into the smith's forges to be hammered out into bolts and spikes and nails. But the stock was soon exhausted and Pittsburg was drawn upon. Nor was there a sufficient force of workmen. Perry wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, and carpenters and blacksmiths were ordered on from Philadelphia. Mr. Dobbins was dispatched to Black Rock for seamen and such arms and ordnance as he could transport, and on March 30, Sailing Master Tayler arrived with twenty officers and seamen from Sackett's Harbor. Perry was not idle a minute, nor did he overlook a single item of detail. He made a trip to Pittsburg where he made arrangements to have canvas for the sails, cables, anchors and other supplies sent on from Philadelphia, and also succeeded in obtaining four small field pieces of artillery and a quantity of muskets besides engaging the service of Capt. Wooley to supervise the casting of carronades and shot. Returning to Erie about the tenth of April, in conjunction with Gen. Mead he had a redoubt thrown up on the elevated point where the land lighthouse stands, another on Garrison hill, and another on the bluff in Stumptown overlooking the navy-yard.

Meanwhile he was busily engaged getting together the armament of his ships. During his absence at Pittsburg it had been possible to

get from Buffalo only a single 12-pounder gun because of the floods. Mr. Dobbins had charge of transporting the ordnance from the station at Conjaquade creek, below Black Rock, and found it to be an exceedingly difficult task, difficult in the overland passage, and perilous after navigation opened, alike from the storms and the menacing enemy. But at last the greater part of the guns, including a number of 32-pounders, weighing 3,600 pounds each (great guns in those days), were safely got through to Erie.

On the twenty-third of May, Perry took his departure for Buffalo, accompanied by Mr. Dobbins, his errand being to bring up from Black Rock the vessels that had there been converted into ships of war, and which were to serve as part of his squadron. Com. Chauncey was engaged at the time in preparations for a sortie upon Fort George, and offered Perry the command of the seamen and marines that might land. The young commander eagerly accepted, and in the capture of that post on May 27 bore a conspicuous part.

The fall of Fort George was a fortunate circumstance, as it vastly aided Perry's present enterprise which was to get the vessels he had come for up the river and into the lake. The British had for the time being retired from the Niagara. The work of getting the vessels out began on May 28, but it was not until June 13 that they were above the rapids and ready for the trip up the lake to Erie. The flotilla consisted of: Brig Caledonia (prize), armament two long 24-pounders and one long 12-pounder; schooner Somers (formerly the Catherine), two long 18-pounders; sloop Trippe (formerly the Contractor) one long 24-pounder; schooner Ohio, one long 24-pounder; schooner Amelia, one long 24-pounder. Perry assumed command of the Caledonia, and Mr. Dobbins was in command of the Ohio, and on the 16th of June got away for Erie. While the flotilla was anchored at Dunkirk on the way up it was learned that the British fleet, on the watch for it, was at the same time anchored off Twenty-mile creek, half-way between Dunkirk and Erie. The enemy was eluded, however, and on June 19, the vessels had crossed the bar and were safely anchored at Erie.

A few days later the whole of Perry's fleet, that was before the end of the season to so signally distinguish itself, was afloat in Presque Isle bay. Capt. Dobbins's gunboats (for he was Captain when he proposed them to the President and his cabinet) were launched the end of April. They were the schooners Ariel and Scorpion, 63 tons each; and the sloops Porcupine and Tigress, 52 tons each. The Lawrence, named by the Navy Department in honor of Capt. James Lawrence who fell while in command of the Chesapeake, was launched on June 25, and the Niagara on the 4th of July. Compared with the war ships of the present time, Perry's vessels were mere toys. The two "Sloops of War," the principal ships of his fleet were in extreme length 110 feet; 30 feet beam, and 9 feet hold, and were pierced for twenty guns, with

two stern ports. Both were built after the same model. Mr. Brown, the master builder, gave the ships the shallow depth of hold in order to have a good heighth of "quarters" or bulwarks and at the same time avoid showing a high side above the water, as well as to secure a light draft. It is the tradition that Mr. Brown said to one of the workmen who was particular in finishing his job: "We want no extras—plain work is all that is required. They will only be wanted for one battle. If we win that is all that is wanted of them; if the enemy is victorious, the work is good enough to be captured."

The work of fitting and arming progressed now with rapidity, but Perry had before him the most difficult of all problems to solve, namely, the manning of the fleet. His dependence was upon Commodore Chauncey, but from him he got practically no assistance. He endeavored to obtain soldiers who, if they could not be converted into sailors might serve as marines, but no sooner did a detail reach Erie than they were immediately ordered away again. He endeavored to enlist landsmen, but without success. From time to time a detachment would arrive but when the ships were fully ready to sail, on July 25, they were only partially officered and manned. From the Department at Washington and Gen. Harrison, in command of the army at the western end of the lake, he had frequent letters urging a prompt forward movement, but it would have been suicidal to have proceeded as he was. To further aggravate the situation the British fleet repeatedly appeared in the offing and at one time made so bold as to approach and send their compliments, to which the gunboats, running down to the entrance, replied. Men were sent from New York by way of Sackett's Harbor, but did not reach Erie. By August 1st Perry had succeeded in enlisting about 100 landsmen from among the troops and his chief marine officer Lieut. John Brooks, had enlisted about forty as marines. These enlistments, with what had been received from time to time made a total of about 300 men, enough, Perry concluded to cope with the enemy before they got the Detroit, their new ship, out.

On Sunday, August first, the squadron was moved down to the entrance and early in the morning of Monday preparations were made to get the large vessels over the bar and out into the lake. Placing all the other vessels in a position of defence, the Lawrence was kedged down to the bar. Her armament was removed and placed on the beach and rolled up on timbers, and everything that could be done to lighten her was done. The "camels" were got alongside. These camels, an invention of Mr. Brown, were oblong decked scows, provided with valved openings in the bottom. When the camels were laid alongside the valves were opened, permitting the scows to sink until the decks were at about the level of the water. Heavy timbers were thrust through the portholes of the ship, projecting over the camels. These were blocked in place, and then the valves were closed and the water pumped out of

the camels. Thus the vessel was lifted and floated over into the deep water outside. Then without delay her guns were got aboard and she was again in trim. The same method was pursued with the Niagara, and on August 5, the entire fleet was outside and in readiness for the work for which it had been called into existence.

Commodore Perry has achieved deserved renown for the splendid victory he won from the British fleet on Lake Erie. Quite as important was the service he rendered before his ships crossed the harbor bar, service that called upon him for the best of his energies; for patience under all sorts of discouragements and trials, even to enduring the censure of the Department at Washington for delay that he strove hard to prevent but was powerless to avoid; for tireless industry that never considered the time or the season when work was to be done; for loyal zeal that was an inspiration to everyone with whom he came in contact, and to whom he was known; for his splendid example of honesty and uprightness; for his spirit of optimism that was communicated to everyone associated in the work. Services such as have been mentioned are overlooked when rewards of merit are distributed, but without them in getting forward the preliminary work there would have been no victory on the Tenth of September.

CHAPTER XV.—THE NON-COMBATANTS.

THE WOMEN WORKED WHILE THE MEN FOUGHT.—THE PANIC OF SOME.—COM. PERRY'S BATTLE FLAG.

Erie at the time of the building of Com. Perry's fleet was a straggling little village of about five hundred inhabitants. This statement applies only to the permanent residents. The town, begun on the west bank of Mill creek, had gradually spread westward, occupying the ground in a sort of tentative way to the edge of the next ravine. That was located a short distance west of French street, and the lower end is visible to this day. All the streets from Parade to French had been located. They were part of the survey of 1795, made by Irvine and Ellicott, but the town of Erie was not a built-up place; only an unpretentious little community of scattered houses. It had no definite boundaries, though French street was, generally speaking, its western limit. There were houses farther west. Capt. William Lee lived in a house at about the foot of Peach street and it was from the Captain that the little run in the gully hard by got its name. At the foot of State street General John Kelso had built a house in which he lived There is a Kelso house standing there to this day.

Now this little community was a community of peace, and, like every other peaceful little place, had a fear and horror of war. In Erie it began to be acute when rumors of the attack and capture of other posts found their way in from the outside, and when at length soldiers began to arrive, and, later the ships of the enemy paid occasional visits, panic seized upon many and not a few fled from what had come to be regarded as imminent peril. Even the family of the General were among the fugitives, feeling sure of safety from British cannon only when they had found asylum at Reed's tavern in Waterford.

Among the settlers, however, there were not a few possessed of Spartan courage; who bravely determined to hold their ground until there was actual evidence of trouble. Some even went farther than that. There were families that spared the head of the house for the garrison at Erie, while the women staid at home to look after the farm, and besides, to render whatever assistance was within their power. Nor were the women unincumbered in this work. In the woods families grew up, and on many farms that boasted only a few acres of clearing in the forest

there were troops of little ones, children of tender years, left alone with the mother to care for the farm and themselves, while the father was doing duty as a soldier at Erie. Stories of these days and of situations such as referred to have come down to the present, and I was so fortunate as to meet an aged lady who could relate a story of that stirring time. Mrs. Dowler, of Maple street, tells a tale of what occurred when her mother was a little girl.

Her mother, Mrs. Chandler Munn, well known to what remains of our older inhabitants, when a child, lived with her parents on a farm a short distance out on the Buffalo road. It was on the road then newly opened from Wesleyville westward. Mrs. Munn was then but a little girl, but the events of the time made a deep impression upon her mind. When the necessity arose, her father broached the subject to his wife. They needed him at Erie. Their home was in danger from the enemy and it was his duty to go and repel an attack if it should be made. And would she consent that he take up arms and be a soldier in defense of their home? Yes; she consented. Cheerfully as circumstances would permit, she bade him go.

But then the thought of the situation his wife and family would be left in came up and he considered and debated it first with himself and then with his wife. Isolated as she was, with no telling what danger might menace, and with their brood of little ones, what could she do? There was only one recourse that suggested itself to his mind. They must pack up and go over to Waterford. He proposed this to his wife. She promptly declined it. No. He must shoulder his rifle and join the meagre force at Erie. She would remain. If there was danger from the British she would have sufficient warning, and it would then be time to retreat. And so the father went down to the fort.

She was a prudent woman and full of true heroism. Left alone, she neither repined nor lived in idleness. Her first course was, with a generalship worthy a seasoned campaigner, to organize her little force and prepare for whatever emergency should arise. The older of the children were schooled upon the duty each was to perform in case there should be a sudden flitting necessary. Then the wagon was placed ready for immediate use, and care was taken to know it was always in order. The oxen were not permitted to stray—they were kept where at a minute's notice they could be yoked into the wagon. Carefully, as the commander of a garrison might with the troops under his command, the mother drilled her little flock.

Meanwhile the father was doing duty at the fort. It stood on Garrison Hill, now a part of the Soldiers' Home grounds. There was a mere handful of men and they were principally raw recruits from the village and the country round about. They had come from near by and farther. Some were from Meadville and places at a considerable distance; more were from near by. They were few in number, but they

were of the right stuff. They were the brave pioneers who had set out to clear up and build a country. Used to the hardships of the wilderness; made expert in the use of their rifles by a life that called them not infrequently to battle with wild beasts; schooled in courage and self-reliance, though few in numbers they still formed a force of no contemptible strength.

One day a British ship appeared in the offing. She was reconnoitering the shore. From the fort it could be seen that she was making close observations, undoubtedly to determine how large a force the Americans had. The commander of the fort decided to aid them in their computations. He marched his men out in companies and battalions; then countermarched, and repeated the manoeuvre in such a fashion as to make it appear that he had a large force at command. Down the hill and back again each company as it disappeared behind the fort, wheeling to repeat the manoeuvre, it seemed as though there might be a thousand men in garrison at Erie. After an hour or two the vessel hauled her yards and bore away up the lake. The scheme of the astute commander had been effective, for the British did not return. The soldier's service at Erie was not one of great peril, neither was it one of hardship, and realizing the condition of the fort, he thought of his loved ones back in the wilderness as yet in safety.

Meanwhile the daily rounds at the farm went on, each remembering the duty demanded should an emergency arise. One day a wayfarer, carrying his rifle over his shoulder, stopped at the clearing. He was bound for Erie to take service for the American cause. Could he be served with food and drink? Cheerfully the request was granted. Then ensued the natural conversation, concerning the situation of affairs. Like most of the recruits, he carried his own rifle, that being part of what was volunteered in his country's behalf. It transpired in course of the conversation that the new recruit confessed he was not supplied with all the ammunition necessary. He had no bullets. At once the mother rose to the occasion. She could supply the want. Taking her best pewter platter she proceeded to melt it, and, in a little hand-mould, cast a supply of bullets which the new recruit packed away in his pouch and took his departure for the fort to join the modest little garrison.

Steadily time was passing. Spring was moving into summer. For their living the family on the farm had to depend upon what the farm would produce. The land must be tilled, the crops planted and properly attended to and the business of the little establishment looked after. With the father gone the force was short-handed, and the outlook by no means serene. Had he been at home and working even to the extent of his ability the struggle would have been hard. How much more difficult was it, therefore, with none but the wife and family to perform the labors of the field. How very much more difficult was it with the added cares and apprehensions incident to the conditions that prevailed,

demanding that time should always be given to keeping everything in readiness for the dread emergency. All the while, as the work in the fields or about the house, or in attendance upon the stock was kept up, ears were constantly alert for the sound of booming guns that should announce that the bombardment of the American garrison by the British had begun.

For all the people were alive to the situation. They knew that the Americans were entirely destitute of anything like a naval force. Out in the country, as well as at the garrison, it was known that the hope of the Americans was anchored upon the fleet of vessels then being built on the shores of Presque Isle bay. They were also aware of the fact that the British knew of their situation and were making preparations to strengthen their maritime force; and they believd the British purposed an early attack upon the little town. The beginning of that attack was the signal for the yoking of the oxen, the hasty packing of the household valuables and the toilsome journey along the wretched roads through the woods across the hills to a place of safety at Waterford.

Work was steadily progressing on the American ships, and as they neared completion another difficulty presented itself in addition to the many that had been encountered in the work. It had been a task of the gravest proportions to build a war fleet in the wilderness so far from a source of supplies. Nothing that entered into the construction of ships was available in sufficient quantity save only the timber, and that existed only in the standing trees. Grim determination, however, had prevailed, and at last when the summer was about half over the ships were launched, and progress was being rapidly made toward their equipment. But the principle need was yet unsupplied. Men were necessary. The energetic young commander was driven almost to despair by his inability to secure an adequate force, and strenuous efforts were put forth. Recruits of every sort were welcomed, landsmen as well as sailors. Slowly these came in. More than one stopped at the little farm house as they tramped towards Erie, and more of the family pewter was moulded into bullets to provide the defenders with the necessary ammunition with which to make their defense effective.

The summer began to wane. In the course of time the fleet was sufficiently manned, the ships had been floated over the bar and the brave little American fleet had set out to meet the enemy. It was not the end of the care and anxiety. On the contrary, the sailing of the fleet produced an intensity of the feeling of concern. It even amounted to apprehension. For weeks at a time absolutely nothing was heard from Perry. Apprehension became keener. One day a sail was sighted in the offing. All eyes were strained to make her out. Slowly she approached and at length it was possible to identify the vessel. It was the schooner Ohio, commanded by Capt. Dobbins.

Was she the bearer of evil tidings? Had she come back to report that there had been an engagement and that she herself was all that remained of that proud little fleet of vessels that had gone forth to offer battle to the enemy? Anxiously the eyes ashore continued to study the approaching ship, and endeavored to read the story she was coming to tell. As she approached nearer it could be noticed that she was still trim and intact. There were no torn nor punctured sails. Every spar was in perfect condition. There was no damage to her hull. At length she came to anchor, and it was learned that all was well with the fleet. The Ohio had returned for necessaries. The rest of the vessels under Perry's command were in first-class shape. They were looking for the enemy.

One day early in autumn, the people, as usual alert and eager for intelligence of the fleet, were astir as had become the custom, and were scanning the horizon in every direction for some sign of a sail. It was a calm and pleasant day, the 10th of September. It seemed like summer, and there was a sound in the west that betokened a storm. A low rumbling as of distant thunder was heard. And yet it was not like thunder either. There were no intervals of silence. Besides, the weather conditions in the west did not favor. The rumbling continued, but it did not become louder as it would have if a thunder storm were approaching. Nor was there any accession to the clouds in the direction whence the sounds proceeded. What was the cause of the phenomenon? For what seemed a long time the sounds continued. At length they ceased. Was it the noise produced by a battle? If so, how had it resulted?

The noise produced by that engagement on September 10, 1813, was as though it were a proclamation of emancipation to this entire region. One who actually heard it stated that the cannonading on that day was distinguishable, as distant thunder, as far east as Dunkirk. It suggested thunder, but yet was unlike thunder, for it was continuous.

Perry had met the enemy, and he had lowered the ensign of his proud enemy. The little fleet built out of the forest that surrounded Erie had gone forth to meet the flower of the greatest navy on the earth and rebuked the arrogance of a power that sought to destroy the young republic. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," was his dispatch, but the thunder of his guns had sent the proclamation in advance to all the lake region. The people of Erie quickly learned the news and at last people felt free to seek their nightly repose assured it would not be disturbed by the cannonading of an enemy.

Out at the little farm on the Buffalo road there was even greater rejoicing than in the village of Erie. The long and painful task was at an end, and the full reward of patriotism had come. Perhaps the pewter bullets had not been necessary to decide this issue, but a loyal woman's will and wish were moulded into every one. And there was more than

that which entered into the bullets. There was part of the courage and fortitude of that wife who, sending her husband to the front, took up a man's place on that homestead in the woods and there did as true and efficient work in her country's behalf as though she had been a man and with rifle on shoulder had stepped in time to the fife and drum on the march to meet her country's enemies on the battlefield. It was not only her caring for her brood of little ones and keeping the farm business going; it was not only her ready sacrifice of her husband's services; it was not only her moulding bullets for the recruits who passed that way. It was the splendid example of patriotism she presented that undoubtedly imbued her husband and the stranger recruits who passed that way with a heroism such as made the victory of Perry possible and kept the flag of liberty in the sky of freedom.

That heroic mother was Mrs. Lowry; she was the ancestor of a numerous progeny. Her sons and daughters numbered nine, and all were characteristically prolific. They were of leading families in this portion of the country. Senator Morrow B. Lowry was of that line. The Barrs were connections—four Lowry brothers married four Barr sisters, and many relatives survive still in Erie and vicinity.

In the year 1813 there stood where Walther's block now stands, at the corner of Eighth and State streets, a house of logs which was the Laird residence, and all the land, from about where the Olds block now stands, south to Ninth street was part of the Laird homestead. A hospitable home was that of the Lairds and they were widely acquainted. The home was, however, isolated. It was beyond the pale of Erie, out in the country, and away from such sources of information as were available at that period. It was a time of intense anxiety at Erie. There was a state of war, and Erie was a scene of activity in connection with that war. There was a fleet of vessels under construction and the people were in a state of apprehension and dread, living in constant fear of an attack by the Birtish who had a large fleet upon the lakes and who were known to be disposed toward employing the savage Indians to aid them in their land forays. As a matter of fact their system of intrigues with the Indians was one of the express causes for the declaration of war in June, 1812.

The people of Erie were fearful that the British, who knew the ships for Perry's fleet were being built here, would land a large force above or below Erie and, approaching from east, west or south, would attack the little town, murder the inhabitants and destroy it. Many expected nothing less, knowing the custom of the British of enlisting the aid of the red men. It is true there was a force of militia at Erie, but the people here knew how inadequate it was, if the British did not, and this knowledge of the exact condition of affairs added to, or gave grounds for, the apprehension that prevailed.

One day in the summer of 1813 Mrs. Laird was standing before her door, no doubt considering in her mind the troublous state of the times and the dangers that seemed to menace, when she heard, proceeding from the woods to the south, a yelling that could not be mistaken for anything else than the cry of the savages. She waited, however, for a few moments to be sure she heard aright. Again the horrid yell was repeated and this time it sounded nearer. They were approaching, and rapidly. What could she do? This was the thought that first took possession of her, for there were two duties that instantly rose before her mind: She ought to give notice of the approach of the Indians, and she ought to save her own life. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. But she was a brave woman, and no doubt was ready to take great risks for the benefit of the people in Erie. She resolved upon performing the higher duty, and with this purpose in view advanced to look up the road to see what her chances were of getting to the settlement in advance of the savages.

Too late. They were already in view. There was a large company of them and many were mounted. They were painted in grotesque fashion and wore their feather head-dresses and as they proceeded their yells were accompanied by wild gesticulations and the flourishing of weapons, and Mrs. Laird's blood froze in her veins with the fear the dreadful sight produced. She quickly recovered, turned, and almost flew to her house, which she entered, having barred the door behind her, waited in the keenest apprehension for the attack she was sure the Indians would make upon her unprotected home.

Attentively she listened as they approached, nearer and nearer. At length she could see them. Onward they proceeded until they were opposite the house in the road. But they did not stop. They did not even look toward the house, but gesticulating and wildly shouting they passed away toward the village.

Fear began to give place to curiosity as they disappeared from view, and she at length summoned courage to emerge and follow, seeking information. It did not take long to learn that the band was composed of friendly Indians; that it was Chief Cornplanter and a company of his braves come to Erie to offer his services to General Mead in defense of the American cause.

It was a happy relief from what had been a period of terror, for Mrs. Laird was sure for a time that there was nothing in store for her but a cruel death at the hands of the savage Indians.

But not all of the dwellers in Erie were panic-stricken when wars and rumors of wars were rife. Even when the British fleet temporarily blockaded the port and seemed to be threatening the town, there were many who yet had the courage and faith to remain at the post of duty. Not alone the men. There were women as well who seemed to be fear-

less; at any rate had faith to believe that the defenders of the American cause who had gathered here would be able to successfully defend the place and its inhabitants. It is a tradition that there were even gay times during that period, especially among the young people; that there were gatherings in the evening and modest social functions, for the youth of that date differed not greatly from the youth of any other age, and a uniform was attractive to a girl in 1813 as at any other period, and the boys of the town of Erie were jealous then just as they are now when the uniform enters upon the scene.

It will therefore be apropos to speak of another leading incident of these stirring times, an incident that has to do with the pioneer families of Erie and of the house that in its day was an historical landmark. This incident is the construction of the flag which became the fighting standard of Commodore Perry.

When it came time to christen the two brigs that were to be the principal ships in the Lake Erie fleet, one was called the Niagara and the other the Lawrence, in honor of the gallant commander of the Chesapeake. Perry having decided to make the Lawrence his flag-ship, a party of Erie ladies organized to make a suitable flag and hit upon the appropriate design of a blue standard bearing the words of Lawrence's dying orders to his brave but defeated crew: "Don't give up the ship." The ladies were organized and the work directed by Mrs. Margaret Foster Steuart, who was assisted by Dorcas Bell, wife of Captain William Bell, an officer of the revenue service, and his two daughters and by the three daughters of Captain Thomas Forster. The work was done in one of the large rooms of the house of Thomas Steuart. This house stood on Fourth street between French and Holland. It was built of logs, and was the largest dwelling house of its construction in Erie, with considerable architectural pretentions. The room in which the work was done was quite spacious, and like all such rooms in those pioneer times was provided with a wide-mounted fire-place in which great logs were burned. Though it was summer time, the cheerful glow of the wood fire at night lent its charm to the scene, for it is tradition that there were merry times at that flag making. The young officers of the fleet were regular callers, ostensibly to see how the work progressed and offer suggestions. That romance was not foreign to these gatherings is proved by the fact that all the young girls of that happy party subsequently married naval officers, thus laying the foundation of Erie's reputation, justly earned by subsequent events, of being the mother-in-law of the American navy.

That flag saw heroic service. It floated over the grave young commander of the American fleet until the Lawrence, becoming disabled in the fierce fight of September 10, it was hauled down and carried to the Niagara, where it was again hoisted to the main truck and floated until it became the standard of victory—until another terse message was written to adorn its page in history: "We have met the enemy and they are

ours." The original flag is now in the museum of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Some four or five years ago a replica of the original Lawrence flag was made for the Perry Day celebration by the daughters of Frank H. Steuart, great-granddaughters of Margaret Foster Steuart, who made the flag of 1813, and it is now to be seen in the museum of the public library.

The old Steuart log house has passed away, having given place to aid in making a path for modern progress. Though homely in aspect, and a true representation of the pioneer in America life, its contribution to the history of this nation,

"In the brave days of old,"

was neither insignificant nor without interest even in these modern times. It furnished a chapter in the story of Erie's patriotism, that has been illustrated upon every occasion of demand by prompt response when the country called for service.

CHAPTER XVI.—PERRY MEETS THE ENEMY.

THE GREAT FIGHT.—THE FLAGSHIP LAWRENCE KNOCKED OUT.—THE SHIFT TO THE NIAGARA.—THE VICTORY WON.

Perry had gotten his squadron safely over the bar, but it was not without hazard. As a matter of fact there was for a time, while the work was in progress, extreme peril. The Lawrence was the first of the ships to be lightered across the shallow part of the channel. Her guns had been taken out and placed upon the beach, disposed in such a manner that they could be handled with facility when the time came to return them to their places on the vessel. It was of the utmost importance to keep in mind the fact that contingencies might arise, and the sagacious young commander never lost sight of the possibilities. As it turned out, just such a contingency as was regarded possible actually happened except that the attack did not take place; but the failure of the enemy to make the attack, as afterwards learned, being due entirely to conditions of the weather. It all came about in this way:

The Lawrence having gained the outer water and been equipped again with her armament, the smaller vessels—all but the Niagara—were navigated through and anchored, close in-shore around the Lawrence. The Niagara had been kedged up to the edge of the bar, and her guns were being removed to the beach, when, right in the midst of this work, the ships of the enemy were seen to be approaching. It was a hazy morning, early, and the wind was from the southeast. From the top of Garrison Hill the British ships could be seen standing in toward Erie, not distinctly as if the weather had been clear, but plainly enough to be made out. Immediately the intelligence was communicated to Perry. There was hurry and bustle. Perry expected an attack; he felt sure that his movements had become known, and the enemy, understanding the exact situation, had come with the intention of utterly destroying his squadron. He therefore made hasty preparations to give them as warm a reception as possible. If necessary he would run the Lawrence ashore under the guns of the battery on Garrison Hill, where a field battery had also been planted, and thus save her. He had also mounted on the beach many of the Niagara's guns, which had been landed, and the heavy guns of the smaller vessels. Undoubtedly, whatever the result, there would have been a warm time. After standing off and on, reconnoitering for an hour or

more, the British fleet bore off and headed across the lake. This was so unexpected a result that Perry called Mr. Dobbins to make inquiries as to what the appearance of the coast from the offing would be. The reply was that in the hazy condition of the weather the shore line would, at the distance the enemy were, show very indistinct. It satisfactorily explained the circumstance, but the incident put spurs in the side of the active young commander, and "hurry up" was the order of the day.

Perry, however, was too sagacious to let the British fleet sail away without learning something about it. Therefore he dispatched the Ariel, Lieut. Packett, to follow at a distance and learn if possible their destination. On the return of the Ariel Packett reported that they had gone to Long Point. It was afterwards learned that this was true, and after landing a courier, they bore up the lake, and did not appear outside the Detroit river until September 10. It was also learned, in the course of time, that the enemy had been deceived by the haze at the time that reconnoitre was made, and also, that, observing they were followed by the Ariel, the landing at Long Point was made more for the purpose of deceiving the American scout than of landing the courier. But at the time both sides were deceived.

The work of preparation, stimulated by that early morning call of the enemy, went on without abatement, so that by evening of the 5th of August the American commander had his ships ready, and, determined not to be idle while waiting for officers and men, and concluding he could cope with the enemy before they got out their new ship, made ready to sail for Long Point, where he believed he would be able to find his foe. His vessels being but half-manned he accepted a supply of volunteers from the army, and at 4 o'clock on the morning of August 6, set sail. The squadron on this initial cruise comprised the Lawrence, Com. Perry; Niagara, Lieut. Daniel Turner; Caledonia, Purser Humphrey McGrath; Ariel, Acting Lieut. John Packett; Scorpion, Sailing Master Stephen Champlin; Somers, Sailing Master Thomas Almy; Tigress, Master's Mate A. McDonald; Porcupine, Midshipman George Senat. The Ohio and Trippe were left behind for the want of crews. The Amelia was condemned as unseaworthy. The course taken was to Long Point, and nothing being seen of the enemy there, the cruise was continued to Port Dover, and along the coast as far as Grand River, without making any discoveries, so the squadron returned to the anchorage at Erie.

Immediately preparations were made for another cruise, the 7th and 8th being occupied with the work of taking on provisions and stores. But Perry hesitated upon entering on a cruise up the lake. The responsibility of encountering the enemy with his ships but half-manned was one too grave to be accepted off-hand, especially as the probabilities were the British squadron was now reinforced by the new ship Detroit, and he was earnestly discussing the situation with Purser Hamilton at his headquarters ashore, when Midshipman John B. Montgomery reported

at his door and handed him a letter from Lieut. Jesse D. Elliot, then on his way to join the squadron with a number of officers and ninety men. This intelligence was as welcome as sudden and unexpected. Immediately he proceeded aboard his ship and despatched Lieut. Packett with the Ariel down the coast to meet the reinforcing party and hasten their arrival. The Ariel returned on the 10th, and the officers and men were at once distributed among the ships of the squadron. Perry's heart was light. The force of seamen was not yet altogether adequate, but he was now supplied with competent and reliable officers and the men were greatly superior to any he had yet received. At the same time new commissions were received, through Commodore Chauncey. Perry and Elliot were made of the grade of Master-Commander. (Perry has been alluded to in these chapters as Commodore. He did not, in fact, attain to that rank until some time later, but, known universally since the great sea-fight as Commodore Perry, it seemed proper, even while alluding to earlier events, to identify him with his historic title.) Messrs. Holdup, Packett, Yarnell, Edwards and Conkling were promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, all having previously acted as such.

Mr. Dobbins, being ordered to engage pilots, selected Azial Wilkinson, James Lee and one other whose name is not of record, and on the morning of August 12, the squadron set out for the head of the lake. The squadron consisted of the following vessels: Lawrence (flagship) eighteen 32-pound carronades and two long 12-pounders, Com. O. H. Perry; Niagara, same armament, Capt. Jesse D. Elliot; Caledonia, three long 12-pounders, Purser Humphrey McGrath; Ariel, four long 12-pounders, Lieut John Packett; Trippe, one long 32-pounder, Lieut. Joseph E. Smith; Tigress, one long 32-pounder, Lieut. A. H. M. Conkling; Somers one long 24-pounder and one long 12-pounder, Sailing Master Thomas C. Almy; Scorpion, one long 24-pounder and one long 12-pounder, Sailing Master Stephen Champlin; Ohio, one long 24-pounder, Sailing Master Daniel Dobbins; Porcupine, one long 32-pounder, Midshipman George Senat.

On the 16th the squadron arrived off Kelly's Island, without having seen the enemy, and the next day anchored off Sandusky, when Perry dispatched an officer to Lower Sandusky to inform Gen. Harrison of his arrival. On the 17th Gen. Harrison and staff, accompanied by twenty Indian chiefs, visited the squadron, the Indians being greatly impressed, as was the purpose, by the show of strength. The result of the conference was a decision to make Put-in Bay the rendezvous of the squadron, and in that safe harbor the vessels lay until the 25th when a cruise to Malden was made, with a hope of tempting the enemy to come out. But it could not be done. The new ship Detroit was not ready. The ships could be seen by the Americans, but because of the powerful battery on Bar Point, it was decided imprudent to make an attack on the British then.

A new danger now menaced the American fleet. Sickness set in, consisting of bilious fever, dysentery and chills, affecting mostly those from the seaboard, and being due to the change of fresh water, as well as to the bad quality of the provisions. Perry was himself taken down, and a number of his officers, including Surgeons Barton and Parsons, the latter however, with wonderful fortitude, continuing his work though it was necessary to carry him on a cot to visit the sick.

On the 31st a welcome reinforcement of fifty volunteers including several officers and a surgeon, W. T. Talliaferro, was received from Harrison's army. They were mostly Kentuckians, and had been boatmen on the western rivers, and soon made excellent marines. The force now numbered 490, all told, and the work of drilling proceeded with assiduity, resulting in an excellent degree of proficiency. Perry became convalescent after confinement for a week, and as soon as he was able to take the deck again, became impatient to bring on action. For a second time he visited Malden, and although it was discovered that the Detroit was now fully equipped, the American challenge was not accepted.

Perry then sailed for Sandusky to communicate with Gen. Harrison and there found letters from the Department that contained so much of rebuke and censure that on the first impulse of the mortification he felt, he wrote a letter applying to be detached from the command on Lake Erie. However, on sober second thought, he laid his first letter aside and he wrote vindicating his conduct and rebutting the charges of extravagance and unreason that had been brought against him. Some changes of officers now took place. Lieut. Smith was ordered to the Niagara and Lieut. Turner to the Caledonia; McGrath was also sent to the Niagara in his legitimate capacity as pursuer, and Lieut. Holdup was placed in command of the Trippe. On August 22, the Ohio had been sent to Erie for provisions, and returned on September 3, but was immediately dispatched on a similar trip as the stock of provisions was not only inadequate, but having been hastily cured, soon became putrid in the unusually warm weather that then prevailed. She did not return until after the fight.

And now the events of a tedious though busy campaign were rapidly approaching a culmination, although the impatient and impetuous Perry was almost of the opinion that the summer would end without bringing about the meeting he was so eager for. Projects for forcing matters were discussed, and abandoned because of the lateness of the season, and there was perplexity in the problem however it was considered. But a change came almost with startling, certainly with unexpected, suddenness. Three men, friendly to the Americans, made their escape from Malden, and sought an opportunity to communicate with Perry. Their story was a thrilling one. The forces at Malden, he was told, were suffering from lack of provisions, a condition of affairs that had brought

about a council of the military and naval commanders. It was determined that the British squadron must immediately sail and give battle to the Americans, or effect communication with their depot of supplies at Long Point. It appeared they were in extremity.

The men also brought valuable information regarding the British naval force. Their flagship, the Detroit, Commodore Barclay, was armed with nineteen long guns; the Queen Charlotte, Capt. Finnis, seventeen carronades; the Lady Prevost, Lieut. Com. Buchan, thirteen long guns; the brig Hunter, Lieut. Bignall, ten guns, mixed armament; the Little Belt, three guns; the schooner Chippewa, Master Campbell, one heavy gun. The force consisted of 32 officers and 490 men, including troops serving as marines, and volunteers. It thus appeared that the two forces were singularly evenly balanced. But the British had some advantages. Their soldiers serving as marines were veterans, while the marines of Perry's fleet, obtained from Harrison's army and at Erie were raw recruits. Their men, being just out of port, were all in health; there were a hundred on the sick list in the American squadron.

And then there was a striking contrast between the commanders. Perry, aged 27, was not only a young but an inexperienced officer, who had never been in a single engagement, ship against ship, much less squadron against squadron. In fact he had never seen any war service except in the Mediterranean during the trouble with Tripoli, and during a short time while in command of a gunboat flotilla at Newport, R. I. Situated as he then was with a squadron and armament hastily gotten together, he was besides hampered by the sickness prevailing among his officers and crews, and he himself was but just out of a bed of sickness. On the other hand Commodore Barclay was a seasoned veteran, who had served under the great Nelson in the battle of Trafalgar, besides other naval combats, and was now in command of a squadron that with three exceptions had been in active service under Capt. Finnis as cruisers for more than a year, and Finnis was an experienced officer second in command to Barclay. But Perry was young and filled with energy, courage, initiative and spirit, and was unusually well endowed with wisdom, and confidence in himself. Moreover he had the faculty of inspiring his men with his patriotic confidence. He was like a great commander of many years later: he did not know when he was beaten.

It was on the 9th of September, in the evening, that he received the intelligence that necessity had driven the British to decide upon action, and he summoned his officers on board the Lawrence to apprise them of the situation and give his final instructions, for he now expected to meet the enemy next day. He claimed the honor of fighting the enemy's flagship with the Lawrence, and assigned the Niagara to meet the Queen Charlotte. He showed them his fighting flag, made by the ladies of Erie, inscribed with the dying words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," wrought in letters of white upon a blue ground. It was to be a signal to

close with the enemy. He gave them counsel and advice, and they then took their departure for their own vessels to get all in readiness for what was expected on the morrow.

The morning of the tenth of September, 1813, broke calm and fair. It was reckoned early fall as the computations by the calendar go, but in temperature, and the hazy calm that prevailed it was as summer. The air scarce stirred, only enough to mark a catspaw here and there upon the smooth surface of the yet sleeping lake that surrounded the little island, an indenting bay of which sheltered the American squadron. At the moment the scene was an embodiment of peace, and even the strokes of the ships' bells as they noted the passage of time appeared to be softened in the cool of the morning, partaking in the indistinctness of their sounds something of the quality the haziness of the early atmosphere imparted to the sight.

At length, lifting above the eastern horizon, the sun rose. It seemed to clear away the haziness off toward the northwest, for almost simultaneously with the sunburst, came the call from the lookout at the masthead of the Lawrence: "Sail, ho!" Immediately there was a stirring below and Lieut. Forrest, the officer of the deck, calls back: "Where away?" "To the northward and westward; in the direction of Detroit river," answered the lookout. The news was communicated to the commander of the squadron, and at once all was stir and bustle. The word was passed to the other vessels of the squadron, and the orderly bustle spread to every one. Orders were called and with cheerful alacrity the sailors sprang to their post, laying hold upon the halliards as the anchors were buoyed by others of the crew. Soon all were under sail.

The vessels of the enemy had been slowly but steadily lifting above the horizon line, for they were favored in making their way out of the narrow passage of the Detroit river by a light southwest breeze that had sprung up with the sun. While the sailor men were busy with the work of getting the ships under way and putting things in readiness for the encounter which now was near at hand, the officers were watching the movements of the enemy's ships as they very gradually drew nearer. There were six of them. Presently from the masthead of the Lawrence was displayed the signal ordering the vessels to get under way. In half an hour the whole squadron was beating out through the narrow passage. There is a small island in front of the entrance, called Rattlesnake island and Perry was putting forth every endeavor to pass to windward of it so that he might obtain the weather gauge on the enemy, a very important and desirable consideration. It was a difficult maneuver in the light wind, and after losing much valuable time with little hope of accomplishing his desire in the end, Perry, even with the prospect, in consequence of having to endure the smoke of the enemy's guns, of being at a disadvantage, gave orders to go to leeward of the island, "for I am

determined to fight the enemy this day." Scarcely was the order given than the wind died away completely, and in another minute was blowing from the southeast. As it stood he was not only enabled to pass the island to windward but Perry had secured the wind of the enemy.

It was now ten o'clock in the forenoon, and the Americans had emerged into view of the British, who were now tacking, from behind the heights of Put-in Bay island. Immediately the enemy hove-to, the squadrons at the time being eight miles apart. The formation of the American line was with the Niagara in the lead, as it was expected the Queen Charlotte would lead the other squadron, and the Niagara was assigned to engage the Queen. It was, however, discovered that the British line was formed differently, and accordingly a halt was made for consultation. Through Capt. Brevoort, the marine officer of the Niagara, who was well acquainted with the vessels of the enemy and their armament (except the Detroit), it was ascertained that the arrangement of the enemy was as follows: The schooner Chippewa led; next the flagship of the squadron, the Detroit; then the brig Queen Charlotte, followed by the brig Hunter, the schooner Lady Provost, and last, the sloop Little Belt. They were sailing in close order on-a-wind. Perry quickly changed his line, placing the Lawrence in the lead, to meet the Detroit, with the Scorpion and the Ariel on her weather bow—being fast sailors, they were to be employed as dispatch boats to carry orders if necessary, and to support any portion of the line that might require it; the brig Caledonia to meet the Hunter; the Niagara, to engage the Queen Charlotte, and the rest of the vessels, namely, the schooners Somers, Porcupine, Tigress and Trippe, to engage as they came up wherever they might seem to be useful.

It was now half-past ten o'clock and there was a three-knot breeze, and the line being formed all bore away for the enemy in truly gallant style. At this juncture Perry brought forth his battle flag, and mustering his crew aft and unfolding the flag, mounted a gun-slide and addressed them: "My brave lads, the inscription on this flag is the last words of the gallant Captain Lawrence, after whom this ship is named, namely; 'Don't give up the ship!' Shall I hoist it?" "Aye, aye, sir," was the unanimous response of the men; and then it was hoisted to the truck, the roll was broken and the blue folds were given to the breeze, three rousing cheers were given for the fighting flag and three more for the gallant young commander. Ship after ship of the squadron took up the cue, and cheers passed all along the line in response to the motto, "Don't give up the ship." It was the expectation that by the noon hour the conflict would be on. Accordingly Perry anticipated the dinner hour by ordering the noonday grog served at once, when the bread-bags and kids were also brought forth and lunch was dispatched. The commander now visited every part of the ship, examining every gun and fixture and satisfying himself that the vessel was in a state of thorough preparedness.

Then he passed among his crew, greeting them individually in a most kindly way and encouraging them to do their best. All that a sagacious commander could do was done by Perry to have his ship and force in thorough fighting trim.

The meal over and everything pertaining cleared away there was now a period of almost absolute idleness and a death-like silence prevailed. The breeze had fallen away into nearly a perfect calm and over the gleaming surface of the water the ships moved, without forming a ripple, almost imperceptibly. Grim indeed was the appearance of the flagship now to those borne onward upon her, her decks sprinkled with sand in order to ensure a foothold when blood would flow as the result of the strife and friend made compact with friend to convey messages to loved ones from those who should fall in the battle.

At half-past eleven the wind had died away to almost nothing, but yet the American ships were slowly approaching their enemy who since the appearance of Perry's squadron from behind Put-in Bay Island had remained hove-to waiting for them to come up.

It is a quarter before twelve. The Americans hear the mellow tones of a bugle proceeding from the Detroit, the signal arranged for cheers from the British fleet. Following the cheers the band struck up "Rule Brittania." A puff of white smoke was seen suddenly to arise at the same instant and from the Detroit there came toward the Lawrence a solid shot, describing a parabola, but falling short. The distance, a mile and a half, was too great. But the silence was broken. The battle at last was on. The Americans continued to advance, and in a few minutes more a second shot was fired. It took effect in the Lawrence. Immediately all the long guns of the British fleet opened fire on the Lawrence, and being in close order they were in a position that gave all range of the flagship and the two schooners. Perry now gave orders for the Scorpion to commence firing with her heavy guns, which was done, the Ariel at the same time sending a shot toward the foe, both of which took effect, whereupon the Lawrence and the Caledonia began firing with their long guns as they continued to advance.

Now the condition of the wind was telling against the flagship. As things stood the advantage was all with the British, for, being arranged in compact order it was possible to direct the fire of practically all the long range guns of their squadron upon the Lawrence, which was the only American ship within reach, and she was already beginning to suffer badly from this concentrated fire. As for her ability to return the fire, this was limited. Her broadside armament was of carronades—short-range guns. Had the wind been sufficient to enable her to advance so rapidly as not to give the enemy so much time for long-range practice, she would have been able to take the position that Perry desired, and thus render her broadsides effective. When Perry found that the fire of the enemy was having such disastrous effect, hoping that his carron-

ades might reach, brought his ship by the wind and tried a division of his broadside guns. It was of no avail; the shot fell short. Perry now bore up and in the face of storm of iron ran up to within half musket shot of the Detroit, when he brought his vessel by the wind on the port tack and commenced with her broadside battery in good earnest.

It had been ordered on the night before, at a conference of the officers, that when the battle flag of the commodore was displayed the ships were to close with the enemy, but for some reason, though the blue flag of Perry was flying from the peak and he was himself in the thick of the fight, the Niagara held back, content to use only her long 12-pounders, for she was entirely out of range for her carronades. Consequently, for a time the battle was maintained by the Lawrence, Caledonia, Scorpion and Ariel, the assistance of the Niagara's 12's being almost inconsequent. Presently the Queen Charlotte, finding that she was not able to engage the Niagara, and that therefore she could afford to neglect that ship, passed by the Hunter and in close order with the Detroit turned her broadsides upon the Lawrence, and in this unhappy situation the American flagship sustained the fire of these two heavy ships, besides random shots from the others, for over two hours. By this time every gun on the Lawrence had been dismounted, two-thirds of her crew had been killed or wounded, and she was so badly cut up aloft as to be unmanageable.

It was a dreadful scene of carnage that was presented upon the unfortunate Lawrence. Her surgeon, Usher Parsons, wrote, "For more than two hours little could be heard but the deafening thunder of our broadsides, the crash of balls dashing through our timbers, and the shrieks of the wounded. These were brought down faster than I could attend to them, further than to stay the bleeding or support a shattered limb with splints and pass them forward upon the berth deck. When the battle had raged an hour and a half, I heard a call for me at the small sky-light, and stepping toward it I saw the Commodore, whose countenance was as calm and placid as if on ordinary duty. 'Doctor,' said he, 'send me one of your men'—meaning one of the six stationed with me to assist in moving the wounded. In five minutes the call was repeated and obeyed, and at the seventh I told him he had all of my men. He asked if there were any sick or wounded that could pull a rope, when two or three crawled up on deck to lend a feeble hand in pulling at the last gun."

All hope of winning out with the Lawrence was at an end. She was a useless, helpless, shattered wreck, and there was but one of two things to be done: surrender or desert her if opportunity offered. This would seem to be the situation. It might have been with another. But Perry was different. The British might take by force, but not by surrender, and as for desertion—well, as the sequel shows, he did desert after a fashion. But his desertion was one of the most glorious exploits in

the naval history of the world. Finding that one small boat remained in seaworthy condition, with the enemy's shot still pouring an iron hail into the devoted wreck, he ordered the boat launched and manned, and then, with his fighting flag under his arm, he ordered his crew to pull for the Niagara.

His course of action was prompt. Ordering Elliott to bring up the gunboats, he addressed himself at once to the work of bringing the Niagara into the fight. Was he wise in this decision? Had there been no accidental favoring circumstance, could he have won out? Calm judgment will decide he was wise and determine he was right, for unquestionably he knew the exact situation upon those ships of the enemy and that with a fresh crew and a new armament he could win. However, the story of what happened is to be told. For a brief time there was a cessation of hostilities, during which both squadrons drew up, the battered Lawrence dropping out of the line. It was now a quarter past two o'clock, and a fresh breeze had sprung up, which enabled the Niagara to obtain a commanding position abreast of the Detroit, which she held without other maneuvering until the smaller vessels of the squadron had been brought up.

The time had now come. Running up the signal for close action, the Niagara turned and headed for the enemy's line. The intention of Perry was to break through the line, delivering a raking fire as he passed. This purpose the enemy, observing Perry's maneuver, understood, and to prevent being raked the Detroit drew up. At the same moment the Queen Charlotte undertook to pass the Detroit to leeward so as to offer a broadside to Perry as he passed, but the Niagara came down so rapidly, reserving her fire until the very last, that the British leaders were taken unprepared, and were both swept by the starboard broadside of the Niagara before either could send a shot in reply, while at the same time the port broadside was poured into the Lady Prevost and the Chippewa. So sudden was the act of the Niagara that the British were entirely disconcerted, and by an error in navigation which was the result of Perry's impetuous dash, the Detroit and the Queen fouled and were again raked by the vigilant Perry, followed by like treatment from the Caledonia which came in upon the heels of the new flagship. The British were now at the mercy of the American squadron. Rounding to, the Niagara poured broadside after broadside into the enemy, the smaller vessels of the squadron contributing their share toward the destruction. So fierce was the American onslaught that fifteen minutes after the Niagara had rounded-to, an officer appeared at the taffrail of the Queen Charlotte with a white handkerchief fastened to a boarding-pike which he waved as a symbol of surrender. The battle was over.

CHAPTER XVII.—AFTER VICTORY WAS WON.

RETURN OF THE SHIPS WITH THEIR PRIZES.—WHAT BECAME OF THEM. —THE STORY OF THE EXECUTION OF BIRD.

The victory had been won by the Americans after one of the most notable sea fights in history. The battle had raged for nearly four hours, practically all of the time at short range, the fighting on both sides of the most heroic order, and the victory for the gallant young commander a decisive one. When the smoke of the conflict had drifted away revealing the positions occupied by the ships, it was found that they were intermingled in such a manner as to indicate the nature of the final act of the contest. The Niagara lay close under the lee of the Detroit and Queen Charlotte, the Caledonia, Trippe and Scorpion, which had followed the Niagara, being hard by. A little distance to the westward lay the Chippewa and Lady Prevost of the British squadron, with the Somers, Tigress and Porcupine abreast of the Hunter. All were in close proximity. Away to the west, where she had drifted helplessly, lay the bruised, battered and disabled Lawrence that had fought with such grim valor, the flag again floating from the splintered stump of a mast, hoisted when the shout of triumph was raised from the decks of the victorious American ships.

The first duty to demand the attention of the Commodore now was to communicate the result of the action upon which so much depended. Having been ordered to act in conjunction with Gen. Harrison, the first dispatch was indited to him—a dispatch which has become classic. Using the back of an old letter with the top of his cap to write upon, he wrote:

U. S. S. Niagara, Sept. 10, 1813,—4 p. m.

Dear General: We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem.

O. H. Perry.

A few minutes later a more formal note was composed to be sent to Hon. William Jones, Secretary of the Navy, and although it was in keeping with official traditions, it can hardly be considered as happy as the note to Harrison, which was an inspiration. To the Secretary, using the fly leaf of the letter that served for the other dispatch, he wrote:

U. S. Brig Niagara, off the West Sister
Head of Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813,—4 p. m.

Sir: It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies of this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

I have the honor to be, sir

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

O. H. Perry.

These hastily prepared dispatches were at once sent by schooner to the headquarters of Gen. Harrison at the mouth of Portage river, about twelve miles distant.

And now there fell to young Perry a much less pleasant duty: to take possession of the ships his valor and that of his men had won. As yet he did not know what the effect of his firing had been, nor could he have judged to what a state of extremity he had reduced his brave enemy. On board the Detroit he found Commodore Barclay grievously wounded. This gallant officer had suffered the loss of an arm in an engagement under Lord Nelson. His remaining arm had been taken while commanding in the fight he had just lost. On the same ship First-Lieut. Garland was mortally wounded and Purser Hoffmeister was severely wounded. On the Queen Charlotte Capt. Finnis and Lieut. Gordon of the marines were killed and First-Lieut. Stokes and Midshipman Foster wounded. On the Lady Prevost Lieut. Com. Bignall and Masters-Mate Gateshill were wounded; on the Chippewa Masters-Mate Campbell was wounded. The British casualties were forty-one killed and ninety-four wounded.

The casualties on the American vessels were:

Lawrence.—Killed: John Brooks, lieutenant of marines, Midshipman Henry Laub, Quartermaster Christian Mayhen; Wounded: First-Lieut. John Yarnall, Second-Lieut. Dulaney Forrest, Purser Samuel Hamilton, Midshipmen Thomas Claxton and A. Swartwout. The total of the losses on the Lawrence were twenty-two killed and sixty-one wounded; besides which there were thirty-one sick and unfit for duty.

Niagara.—There were no officers killed, but First-Lieut John J. Edwards, Acting Master Webster and Midshipman John C. Cummings were wounded. The total of the losses on the Niagara were, two killed and twenty-three wounded, while twenty-eight were on the sick list.

Midshipman John Clark of the Scorpion was killed. The casualties of the other vessels of the American squadron were: Caledonia, three wounded; Somers, two wounded; Ariel, one killed and three wounded; Trippe, one wounded; Scorpion, two killed. The total losses of the squadron were, twenty-seven killed and ninety-three wounded.

Perry's duties in connection with taking formal possession of the ships of the enemy being over, he now repaired to the shattered hulk that had been his battleship, on the deck of the Lawrence, that had been beaten but had not surrendered, to receive the British officers when they should come to formally surrender. The details of this incident are best told by Surgeon Usher Parsons:

"About four o'clock a boat was discovered approaching the Lawrence. Soon the Commodore was recognized in her. He was returning to resume command of his tattered ship, determined that the remnant of her crew should have the privilege of witnessing the formal surrender of the British officers. It was a time of conflicting emotions when he stepped upon her deck. The battle was won and he was safe, but the deck was slippery with blood and strewed with the bodies of twenty officers and men, some of whom sat at table with us at our last meal, and the ship resounded with the groans of the wounded. Those of us who were spared and able to walk met him at the gangway to welcome him on board, but the salutation was a silent one on both sides—not a word could find utterance."

Dr. Parsons at a later date (during his address in Cleveland on Sept. 10, 1860, when the Perry monument there was unveiled) gave additional particulars of what occurred after the Commodore boarded his brave but battered ship. "Perry walked aft, when his first remark was addressed to his intimate friend Hambleton, then lying wounded on the deck. 'The prayers of my wife,' said he, 'have prevailed in saving me.' Then, casting his eyes about, he inquired, 'where is my brother?' This brother of the Commodore was a young lad of thirteen years, a midshipman. He had been a close companion of Perry's and was well known and much beloved, both on shipboard and on shore at Erie. He was an active lad, of a sunny face, alert, and possessed of the heroic spirit. When the Commodore left the Lawrence to bring up the Niagara the boy had been left behind—it may be that in the great haste of the departure, not being present, he was at the moment out of the mind of the heroic commander, intent upon the critical undertaking he was entering upon. At any rate having returned to his ship the thought of the brother was one of the first to come into his mind. The lad, during the action had played a very strenuous part. He had acted as aid in running with orders to different parts of the ship—for you must know that in the din and uproar of battle orders can hardly be heard three feet distant. A general stir was made to look him up, not without fears that he had been knocked overboard. But he was soon found in his berth asleep, exhausted by the exercise and excitement of the day." He was uninjured though exposed a hundred times in places where nothing short of a miracle saved him from harm.

Shortly afterwards the British officers arrived, one from each of the defeated vessels, and as they advanced with the hilts of their swords extended to Perry for his acceptance, it was with great difficulty that they picked their way across the deck, strewn as it was with the wreckage and carnage of the fight. Commodore Barclay could not appear. He was too grievously disabled. Lieut. O'Keefe of the Forty-first Royal Regiment represented the wounded Commodore and carried his sword. Commodore Perry received the humbled officers graciously and with becoming dignity, requesting them to retain their side arms; and inquired with deep solicitude after Com. Barclay and the wounded officers, tendering them every assistance at his command, but regretting his inability to furnish a medical officer as he had not one to send.

In the evening, as the sun was set and the western sky still tinged with the crimson glory that distinguishes the early gloaming in this lake country, there was a solemn ceremony performed; the burial of the brave lads whose lives had gone out in the fierce fire of that conflict. Each was lashed in his hammock, with a shot at his feet, and while the burial service of the Episcopal Church was being read by the chaplain, they were lifted overboard and sank to their eternal rest.

On the morning of Sunday, the 12th, the funeral of the officers of both squadrons took place on the shore at Put-in Bay. In this solemn ceremony those who had before been enemies joined, in the presence of death become comrades and messmates. Both squadrons had been sailed into the bay of the island, and anchored together, and when the ceremony was about to be entered upon the flags of both nations were displayed at half-mast. The bodies of the dead officers were each placed in a boat, and then with measured stroke the crews rowed them ashore, while the bands of both fleets joined, played a funeral dirge, minute guns being fired alternately from the Lawrence and the Detroit. Arrived at the shore, the crews of both the American and the British ships—the latter for the time being losing their character of prisoners of war—massed and formed in procession to the spot chosen as the burial place of the dead. There the Episcopal Church service was read, and the military salute was fired over the graves and, honored as became heroes who had died in line of their loyal duty, they were at rest, surrounded by that inland sea upon which they had nobly put forth their best and given their all for what to them had seemed to be the right. There were three buried from each squadron: Lieut. Brooks and Midshipman Laub of the Lawrence; Midshipman Clark of the Scorpion; Capt. Finnis and Lieut. Stokes of the Queen Charlotte, and Lieut. Garland of the Detroit.

From the dead Com. Perry now turned to the living. First, he was required to dispose of the prisoners of war now on his hands. Nearly a hundred of these were wounded; many of them seriously. Among those badly wounded was Commodore Barclay unable to leave his bed

on the Detroit. Toward him the American Commodore exercised the tenderest solicitude and care, the due of one brave man to another. No military hero ever bore into battle a nobler badge of valor than that Com. Barclay carried into the Battle of Lake Erie—an empty sleeve. It was a mark of distinction he obtained at Trafalgar, under Lord Nelson But, unhappily, his bravery in the battle of Lake Erie, bestowing another badge of the same kind, totally disabled him for the rest of his life. He gave his remaining arm. No wonder that Perry entertained such tender feelings for the stricken commander of the fleet that had opposed him. For his use the flagship of the British squadron was reserved.

Of the other wounded there was a sorting out. Those but slightly injured duly cared for then became as ordinary prisoners of war, and with the prisoners were turned over to Gen. Harrison, who dispatched them under escort to Chillicothe, Ohio. Meanwhile the Lawrence had been carefully overhauled and put in a passable state of repair. To the Lawrence were moved all the badly wounded of both fleets, save Com. Barclay, and the gallant old craft was dispatched to Erie. It was on the 23d of September that she was discovered rounding the eastern end of the peninsula. The entire populace turned out to witness her arrival. Slowly the badly battered brave old boat limped the few remaining fathoms of her journey and at length cast anchor just outside the entrance. There was a disposition to cheer, for she was the first of the ships that had gone out from Erie to meet the enemy, to return—the first tangible evidence to the people that there had been a battle and a victory won. But there was also a strong disposition to shed tears, when the awful story of the fight was read from the scarred hull. The true errand of the Lawrence was at once communicated, and there were immediate preparations to receive and properly care for the charge that had been given to the people of Erie. Hospitals in Erie were a long, long way in the future, but such as they were every facility the town possessed, was placed at the disposal of the invalids, and no distinction was paid. The appeal of suffering humanity to duty went not disregarded. The citizens did nobly for the wounded out of that great battle.

Perry's duties were not yet at an end. He had been assigned to support and act in conjunction with General Harrison and in the discharge of this duty there was still much to do. He now proceeded to reorganize his fleet. Having sent his old flagship to Erie, he transferred his flag to the Ariel and set about making the necessary arrangements for transporting Gen. Harrison's army to the Canadian mainland. His victory over the British squadron had given the Americans command on the lake, but the work was not complete until the army had done its part. A fleet of transports was therefore organized, which consisted of the Niagara, Caledonia, Somers, Ohio, Trippe, Scorpion, Ariel, Tigress and Porcupine of the American squadron, and the Hunter, Lady Prevost,

Little Belt and Chippewa of the British, and with this fleet, after having dispatched the Lawrence to Erie, he sailed on the 19th for Camp Portage.

General Harrison's army had been strongly reinforced. He had called upon the "Veteran of King's Mountain," the venerable Gov. Shelby of Kentucky, for volunteers, and the redoubtable hero, though in his sixty-sixth year, responded with alacrity, placing himself at the head of a force of 3,500 mounted men that the patriotic state, alive with enthusiasm had promptly put in the field. With such men as Henry, Desha, Allen, Caldwell, King, Childs, R. M. and J. Johnson, Trotter, Adin, Crittenden, McDowell, Walker and Barry as subordinates, Gov. Shelby set out to join Harrison. At Tiffin they heard the news of Perry's victory, and this put spurs in their sides, and they hastened their pace, arriving at Camp Portage Sept. 15. Four days later transportation was in readiness. All with the exception of Col. R. M. Johnson's regiment, which was to proceed around the head of the lake, took the boats. In due time they were landed in the vicinity of Malden which post it was found had been evacuated by Gen. Proctor. Perry, at this juncture, finding there were no activities to engage him with the ships, volunteered under Harrison, and with the army hastened in pursuit of the British, who were overtaken at length. The battle of the Thames was the result, in which Gen. Proctor was defeated and Tecumseh, his chief Indian ally, was killed. Detroit had also fallen into the hands of the Americans, and the victory was now complete. Returning to Detroit a reorganization was again effected. Gov. Shelby's volunteers were disbanded. A portion of the squadron was made ready to transport the remainder of the army to the lower end of Lake Erie to assist in the operations on the Niagara frontier, and the Ohio, Somers, Scorpion, Tigress and Porcupine were left under the supervision of Col. Cass, in command of the Department of Michigan to transport prisoners to Camp Portage.

At Detroit Perry found letters from the Secretary of the Navy, highly complimenting him upon his splendid services, and announcing his promotion to the rank of Post Captain; also granting him leave of absence to visit his family in Rhode Island. There being nothing now to detain him, Perry took Harrison and his staff on board the Ariel, and set sail. A call was made at Put-in Bay where Perry found Barclay much improved and able to be moved. The meeting was most cordial, and the American officer with pleasure informed Barclay of his success in obtaining a parole for him to return home. The wounded officer with his attending surgeon were then taken on board the Ariel, when she set sail for Erie. Being a fast sailer, she passed the rest of the squadron, which had preceeded her, and as the Ariel came into view off the point of the peninsula, a throng of citizens assembled and fired a salute of welcome. Perry and Harrison were received with great enthusiasm at the landing place. The invalid British officer was assisted up the hill by Perry and Col. Gaines, and was accommodated as his guest at the shore

quarters of Perry. In the evening there was such a demonstration as the village of Erie had never seen before. There was a torch-light procession, with suitable transparencies, and the wildest cheering was kept up incessantly. But "the bravest are ever the tenderest." Perry had always in mind his invalid guest, and requested that the demonstrations near his quarters should be characterized as much as possible by quietness, and the appeal was not in vain. Next day Perry sailed away from Erie, not, however, without paying a farewell to the brave Lawrence. At every point on the way to his home the gallant young hero was feted, and Perry's name became a synonym of valor throughout the land. He never returned to Erie.

Some time afterward a board of officers from Lake Ontario, assisted by Henry Eckford, naval constructor, made an appraisement of the prizes taken by Perry, their valuation being $255,000. Of this amount one-twentieth went to Com. Chauncey, $12,750; Perry and Elliot were each awarded $7,140 (as no part of the prize could be awarded Perry for his general command, Congress made him a special grant of $5,000); $2,295 was awarded to each commander of a gunboat, lieutenant, sailing master and captain of marines; the midshipmen got $811 each; the petty officers $447 each, and each marine and sailor received $209.

The two principal ships of the enemy wintered at Put-in Bay. They were too badly crippled to be moved eastward during the stormy weather of Autumn. Of those left at Detroit with Col. Cass, the Ohio came to Erie to winter, the Somers, Scorpion, Tigress and Porcupine taking up winter quarters at Put-in Bay. Of those that went east with the troops, the Ariel and the Hunter were driven ashore at Buffalo and wrecked; the Trippe and the Little Belt, laid up at Black Rock were burned by the British when they invaded Buffalo that winter. The Niagara, Caledonia, Hunter and Lady Prevost were brought to Erie, so that there were, with the Lawrence and the Ohio, six vessels that spent the winter at this port. The harbor of Erie then was not as the harbor of Erie is now; not even as it was a few years subsequently to the year of the great victory off Put-in Bay. There were no docks nor other works of shelter for ships. Even the navy yard was useless as a shelter; it was but a collection of sheds on a piece of beech at the mouth of Lee's run. The only good anchorage that offered shelter was the small deep bay that made into the peninsula from its southern shore and near its eastern end. It was then nameless. This little bay was made the anchorage of the portion of the American squadron that was to winter here under the command of Capt. Elliot, and during the winter the lack of a name was supplied. From their bitter experience, isolated in what in summer time is a charming bit of water, but in winter is the reverse, it was called Misery Bay, and by that name it has been known ever since.

Now there was a bitter controversy that grew out of the engagement of September 10, 1813. It was the general opinon, freely expressed, that Elliot had failed in his duty by not supporting his commander during the engagement. Perry himself accused Elliot of something very near to treachery for holding the Niagara back, instead of supporting the Lawrence in accordance with the plan agreed upon before the battle was begun. So heated did the controversy become that it almost led up to a courtmartial of Elliot. At this late day the circumstances of that fight viewed in the dispassionate light now possible, there certainly does appear to be something that would call for a better explanation than ever was given, why the Niagara held aloof, even refusing to engage the Queen Charlotte, so that the latter ship was permitted to join the Detroit in its attack upon the Lawrence. It is therefore not strange that at the time contention between partisans ran high. During the winter a dispute, growing out of this matter led to a dual between Midshipman George Senat, who commanded the Porcupine, and Acting Master McDonald, which resulted in the death of young Senat. The fight took place near the corner of Third and Sassafras streets. Young Senat was a social favorite in Erie, and was engaged to marry an Erie lady.

But the war was not yet over, nor had rumors of war died out. In December the British crossed the Niagara and burned Black Rock and Buffalo, and it was reported, that flushed with victory they were pursuing the fleeing Americans and intended to move on Erie, burn it, and destroy the vessels in the harbor. This called the militia into renewed activity. Gen. Mead, with a force of 4,000 men established a garrison here, occupying barracks in Stumptown—west of Peach street and north to the bank of the bay. Happily there was no British invasion back of the rumor. Most of the citizen soldiers remained through the winter, but there were no other alarms at Erie, for rumors of British invasion of American territory had ceased. The only interest Erie had in the war with Great Britain from that time forward was in connection with the movements of the naval vessels.

In April Capt. Elliot was detached from his command at Erie and ordered to Sacketts Harbor, Capt. Arthur Sinclair being assigned to the command of the Lake Erie squadron, with instructions to prepare an expedition with the expectation of recapturing Mackinaw. In the meantime Mr. Dobbins, relieved from cruising duty was ordered to proceed with the Ohio and stores, to Put-in Bay, to assist in refitting the prizes Detroit and Queen Charlotte, and to navigate them to Erie. This duty was accomplished when they arrived here on May 1, and were afterwards taken across the bar and moored in Misery Bay. On the 25th of June, Capt. Sinclair sailed with his fleet of eight vessels for Mackinaw. But it was a bootless cruise. The fort was judged to be too strong, and the Captain decided it best to be discreet rather than valiant. On the return

the schooners Scorpion and Tigress, left behind to watch the enemy, eventually fell into British hands. The rest of the squadron continued down, intending to proceed to Buffalo. But the Lawrence was too badly crippled to continue to the end of the lake. A bad storm on Lake Huron had well nigh sunk her. So she was dropped at Erie and found at last a resting place in Misery Bay. At Buffalo the Somers and Ohio were left after Capt. Sinclair returned to Erie with what remained of his squadron. A little later these vessels were captured by the British while they lay off Fort Erie.

This brings the narrative to the point where the characters must be disposed of before the action comes to an end. Of the ten vessels that composed Perry's original squadron, at the end of the war but four remained. The Ariel was driven ashore and lost at Buffalo; the Trippe was burned by the British at Black Rock; The Scorpion and Tigress were taken by the British on Lake Huron, and the Somers and Ohio suffered a like fate at Fort Erie. Of the others, the Caledonia became a merchantman; the Porcupine entered the revenue marine service; the Niagara became a receiving ship for a time, but at last, found a place of rest at the bottom of Misery Bay, not far from where the Lawrence had been sunk. The ownership of these vessels changed from time to time. They were sold when the navy yard at Erie was abandoned, in 1825, to a Mr. Brown, and there were other transfers, until in 1857 they became the property of Leander Dobbins. On the 10th of September, 1875, what remained of the Lawrence was sold to Capt. John Dunlap and Thomas J. Viers. The latter raised the hulk early in 1876, and removed it to Philadelphia to exhibit it in a sideshow of the Centennial. But the enterprise was a disastrous financial failure. There was nothing showy in the few ribs and planks that were all that remained for exhibition, and besides, in the year of the Centennial it was a difficult matter to convince even the few who went to see the pitiful remains, that they represented in any degree whatever the flagship of the squadron that had won so famous a victory. It was a most unfortunate speculation; chiefly unfortunate to the city of Erie which should ever have possessed and cherished a relic with which its name has been so prominently linked, and connected it with a historic event that for a second time placed its name prominent in the history of the world. There remains today one other relic of that gallant fleet. The Niagara still rests upon the bottom of Misery Bay. At times there is a suggestion made that steps shall be taken to preserve it, and convert it into a sort of patriotic shrine. Thus far, however, nothing more has been done than to indulge in patriotic platitudes that pass, like the gale, and a great calm succeeds. The Niagara lies undisturbed.

Out of the activities at Erie during the war of 1812, there have grown, naturally, more than one romance. The meetings and the part-

ings that were inaugurated at the time the battle flag of the Commodore was being made grew into romances of the usual sort, while that of poor Midshipman Senat ended in a tragedy. But there was another "tragedy," that, getting itself into the then popular form of a ballad enjoyed for more than half a century a considerable degree of popularity. It was "The Mournful Tragedy of James Bird."

The true story of Bird is this: He came to Erie with a brigade of volunteers from the interior of the State, and was detailed with a squad of men (he was the sergeant) to guard stores in a small blockhouse at the Cascade, where the larger vessels of the fleet were being built. Though in command, he sanctioned the pilfering of the stores he was sent to protect, and when information was given to the military commander, he, with his party, made mutinous demonstrations, but soon were conquered. Lieut. Brooks of the marines was at the time recruiting for the squadron and Bird, being a man of pluck, Brooks wished to secure him. Under the pressure of the situation (recruiting for the navy being very discouraging) Bird, with the others, was told that the offense would be overlooked provided they enlisted as marines. They did so, and Bird served gallantly on board the Lawrence during the action and was wounded. At the time the squadron was preparing for the Mackinaw expedition, Bird was placed with a file of marines to guard the government store, whence he deserted, taking John Rankin, one of the guard, with him. Soon afterwards Charles M., a son of R. S. Reed, while on his way returning to school at Washington, Pa., on horseback, after a vacation, stopped at a tavern at Butler, and there saw and recognized the deserters. Resuming his journey young Reed soon met Sailing Master Colwell with a draft of seamen destined for Erie to join the squadron. Reed knew Colwell, and gave him information regarding the deserters the result being they were apprehended and taken back to Erie. While on the passage of the squadron to Detroit, they, with a sailor named John Davis, who had deserted a number of times and committed other offenses, were tried by court martial on board the Niagara. They were all three condemned to death. Efforts were made to have Bird's sentence commuted to imprisonment in consideration of his gallantry in the battle of Lake Erie, but without success. The President decided that, "having deserted from his post while in charge of a guard, in time of war, he must therefore suffer as an example to others." All three were executed on board the Niagara while at anchor in the roadstead at Erie in October, 1814, and were buried on the "Sand Beach."

The story that was current as tradition was to the effect that having obtained a furlough to visit his sweetheart, he had overstaid his time; and one version of the tale, which locates his lady love at Dunkirk, furnishes details of his efforts to return, efforts that included riding a borrowed horse until it fell exhausted, when he pushed forward on foot double-quick, but all in vain. He was arrested for desertion, tried and

condemned. The narrative then relates the particulars of an effort to obtain a pardon, which was successful, but the messenger arrived on the ground only in time to hear the report of the volley before which he fell.

The ballad, however, would seem to have been written by someone familiar with the true story, and, doubtless, of Bird's home. That there was wide sympathy felt for Bird, chiefly because of his service on the fleet, there can be no doubt. The tenacity with which the popularity of the ballad endured is proof of this. It is now rare; rare enough to excuse its appearance as part of the history of the region in which it was so long a popular feature of nearly every entertainment or public gathering.

The Mournful Tragedy of James Bird.

Sons of Freedom, listen to me,
And ye daughters, too, give ear;
You a sad and mournful story
As was ever told shall hear.

Hull, you know, his troops surrendered,
And defenceless left the West;
Then our forces quick assembled
The invaders to resist.

Among the troops that marched to Erie
Were the Kingston Volunteers;
Captain Thomas then commanded,
To protect our west frontier.

Tender were the words of parting,
Mothers wrung their hands and cried;
Maidens wept their love in secret,
Fathers strove their tears to hide.

But there's one among the number,
Tall and graceful is his mien;
Firm his step, his look undaunted,
Scarce a nobler youth was seen.

One sweet kiss he stole from Mary,
Craved his mother's prayers once more,
Pressed his father's hand and left them,
For Lake Erie's distant shore.

Mary tried to say "Farewell, James!"
Waved her hand but nothing spoke,
"Good-bye, Bird, may Heav'n protect you"
From the rest at parting broke.

Soon they came where noble Perry
Had assembled all his fleet;
There the gallant Bird enlisted,
Hoping soon the foe to meet.

Where is Bird?—the battle rages,
Is he in the strife, or no?
Now the Cannons roar tremendous,
Dare he meet the hostle foe?

Aye,—behold him! there with Perry,
On the self-same ship they fight;
Though his messmates fall around him,
Nothing can his soul affright.

But, behold a ball has struck him!
See the crimson current flow.
"Leave the deck!" exclaimed brave Perry;
"No," cried Bird, "I will not go!"

Here on the deck he took his station;
Ne'er will Bird his colors fly;
"I'll stand by you, my gallant captain,
Till we conquer or we die!"

Still he fought, though faint and bleeding,
Till our Stars and Stripes arose,
Victory having crowned our efforts,
All triumphant o'er our foes.

And did Bird receive a pension?
And was he to his friends restored?
No, nor never to his bosom
Clasped the maid his heart adored.

But there came most dismal tidings
From Lake Erie's distant shore;
Better if poor Bird had perished
Midst the cannons' awful roar.

"Dearest Parents," said the letter,
"This will bring sad news to you,
Do not mourn your first beloved,
Though it brings his last adieu.

"I must suffer for deserting
From the brig Ni-ag-a-ra,
Read this letter, brothers, sisters,—
'Tis the last you'll have from me!"

Sad and gloomy was the morning
Bird was ordered out to die.
Where's the breast, not dead to pity,
But for him would heave a sigh?

Lo! he fought so brave at Erie,
Freely bled and nobly dared,
Let his courage plead for mercy,
Let his precious life be spared.

See him march and hear his fetters,
Harsh they clank upon his ear;
But his step is firm and manly,
For his heart ne'er harbored fear.

See! he kneels upon his coffin,
Sure, his death can do no good;
Spare him!—Hark!—Oh God, they've shot him,
Oh, his bosom streams with blood.

Farewell, Bird! farewell forever!
Friends and home he'll see no more;
But his mangled corpse lies buried
On Lake Erie's distant shore.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

Earliest Services.—First Church Built at Middlebrook.—Coming of the Other Denominations to the County.

Christian religious effort came into Erie county only with the white man as a settler, and not, as in other parts of the American continent, in the form of missionary effort exerted for the purpose of converting the Indians from paganism. While the first Europeans to take possession here were the French, this section of North America had not been favored as had the Canadian country to the north, and the region to the west that is now Ohio, with the labors of the Jesuit and Recollet missionaries of the Catholic faith. The French occupation of the Erie county region was only a military expedient, and from the start this territory was held by a doubtful tenure. None recognized this more fully than the French themselves. They came into it without any previous preparation having been made, and while they occupied it none of the work of Christianizing the aborigines that had been their rule of action elsewhere was exerted here. This work of converting the natives was a distinguishing characteristic of French colonization for the church and the state operated hand in hand, and the failure of missionary Fathers to devote special attention to the savages was one of the most striking evidences of the fact that the French were not, here, sure of their ground. There were priests with the French soldiery. Every garrison had its chaplain. Every fort had its altar. But beyond the services that were conducted in the forts there is no record that missionary effort was put forth. Father Hennepin's labors did not include the territory that was afterwards to be the county of Erie. And when, upon the fall of Fort Niagara the slender thread upon which the hopes of the French hung was broken, and Le Bœuf and Presque Isle were abandoned, with the French went away into the west all the Christianity that had ever had place here.

And as it had been previous to the coming of the French, so it was until the permanent settlement was begun at the end of the Eighteenth century. The services of the Moravians as missionaries in Pennsylvania were recognized when Erie county was laid out, by setting apart for them, grants of land, but even the Moravians were not missionaries here. Missionary effort came only with the pioneers of the permanent settlement, and the pioneers in religious effort were the Presbyterians. The religious

history of Erie county therefore very properly begins with the Presbyterian church, and the history of the Presbyterian church in Erie county cannot be better told than it has been by the Rev. J. P. Irwin, from whose excellent work the particulars herein set forth have been obtained.

Presbyterianism in Erie county dates from the earliest settlement. It was embodied in the religious faith and polity of many of the pioneers who had previously belonged to that communion. The territory now included in the county became a center where two streams of population met and mingled. The one, which for a time was the larger, came from central and southwestern Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland and was principally composed of Scotch-Irish, to whom Presbyterianism seemed as natural as water to the fish. The other came from New England and eastern New York. This was largely of Puritan extraction, essentially one in faith with the Presbyterians, and while in some instances inclined to Congregationalism, yet easily adapting themselves to existing conditions, joined in the propagation of the Gospel and the establishment of churches under the Presbyterian form of government. In this way the Presbyterian church became the first to occupy the field, and in many localities seems to have enjoyed the good will and support of the entire population.

At first it was customary for the inhabitants of a particular community to meet at the house of a neighbor, or convenient grove or barn, and hold a devotional meeting, when in the absence of a minister a sermon would sometimes be read, selected from some favorite author. The first meeting of this kind of which we have record, and possibly the first religious meeting held in the county, was at the home of Judah Colt, at Colt's Station, in Greenfield on Sunday, July 2, 1797. On that occasion we are told a sermon was read on the text, I Cor. 14:40, "Let all things be done decently and in order," the subject being chosen on account of the riotious conduct of certain persons in the community. Similar services were held in other places, notably at the home of William Dundas at Lower Greenfield (now North East), where a number of Presbyterian families had settled, bringing their Bibles and psalm books with them.

The whole territory was then missionary ground, included in the bounds of the Synod of Virginia, and the Presbyteries of Redstone and Ohio, which were organized respectively in 1781 and 1798, and were deeply interested in the condition of the people and occasionally sent missionaries into the field. The first clearly attested visit of this kind was that of Rev. Elisha McCurdy and Rev. Joseph Stockton, in the summer of 1799. They came into the county by way of Le Bœuf or Waterford. After preaching there they came on to Presque Isle, where, we are told, they were kindly received by Col. J. C. Wallace and remained for a time, preaching to the soldiers stationed in the garrison, who together with the citizens of the town, formed a respectable congregation

and were forward in their attendance on the public worship of God. After this the two separated, Mr. Stockton going to North East and Mr. McCurdy going up the lake, visiting a number of settlements—at the mouth of Elk creek, Crooked creek, Silverthorn, Lexington, Conneaut creek, finally arriving at the outlet of Conneaut lake, where he was joined by Mr. Stockton and after laboring a short time in that vicinity returned home.

Two years later, August, 1801, according to the journal of William Dickson, who subsequently became an elder in the church at North East, Rev. James Satterfield visited the county. One of his meetings was held under a large beech tree on the bank of French creek, center of Venango township in a clearing made by Robert Donaldson. The place had been prepared by five young men the Saturday before. The pulpit was constructed of split logs raised a little from the ground. Mr. Satterfield did not arrive until about time for service to begin, owing to the fact that he had lost his way and lain out all night in the forest. Next morning, refreshed by a good breakfast of Indian bread and potatoes furnished by two young men at their cabin, according to Mr. Dickson, he came to his work in the spirit, preached two sermons and administered the ordinance of baptism. This meeting seems to have been attended by every man, woman and child in the township and was the beginning of better things.

At the close of the service Mr. James Hunter, an aged citizen of the place, and who had been an elder in Dr. Bryson's church in Northumberland county, asked a number of young men to meet him at a certain corner on the next Thursday morning and to bring with them their dinners and axes. And then Mr. Hunter stated the object: "If we wish to prosper, while we build houses for ourselves we must build one for God." As the result of the engagement, a place was selected on two acres of ground donated by a Mr. Warren, near the center of the township and the first meeting house in the county was erected before sunset that day. This was the church of Middlebrook. It was a house of logs, roofed with split clapboards, and not a nail or a piece of iron entered into its construction. When the work was finished Mr. Hunter called for a collection for the support of the Gospel and everyone present contributed, and this, Mr. Dickson states, was the beginning of a fund that never failed and no minister who preached there was permitted to go away unpaid.

According to the same journal Messrs. McCurdy and Satterfield came, a few days after the building of this meeting house and organized a church in it. They came from lower Greenfield—now North East—where they had organized a church a few days before, so that the church of North East seems to have been the first church organized in Erie county, but the congregation at Middlebrook had the first house of worship. It is learned from another source that Elisha McCurdy, with his wife and famous praying elder, Philip Jackson, visited Mr. and Mrs. Judah Colt at Colt's Station. After remaining a short time they went,

by previous appointment to North East, where, assisted by Revs. Samuel Tait, Joseph Stockton, James Satterfield, and, probably, Mr. Boyd, they administered the first communion in the county, of which there is any record. The meeting was held in a grove near the home of William Dundas, and was largely attended. About 300 were present and 40 communed, and among those admitted for the first time were Mr. and Mrs. Judah Colt, who became two of the most faithful and useful members of the Presbyterian church.

It was at this time the Erie Presbytery was formed. It was constituted by an act of the Synod of Virginia, October 2, 1801, and was made to include all the ministers and congregations northwest of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers unto the place where the Ohio river crosses the western boundary of Pennsylvania, an extent of territory from which a number of presbyteries have since been formed. The first meeting was held at Mt. Pleasant (now Darlington) in the spring of 1802, and consisted of eleven members—seven ministers and four ruling elders, and at that time applications were made for supplies from Presque Isle, and upper and lower Greenfield. The only calls that resulted were from the North East and Middlebrook churches, where Rev. Robert Patterson was installed, this being the first pastoral relation ever constituted in Erie county. As pastor Mr. Patterson received $200 per year for two-thirds of his time, the other third to be spent in missionary work, and the missionary visitations took him to almost every settlement in the county. He served until 1807, and did good work in Erie county in preparing the way for the establishment of churches. During these years other ministers made occasional visits to this region. In a letter to Rev. A. H. Carrier, Mrs. Capt. Dobbins said: "The first preaching I heard after my arrival in Erie was by the Rev. Samuel Tait, in the summer of 1803. Mr. Tait occasionally stopped with us but usually with Mr. Colt."

The second minister to make pastoral settlement in Erie county was Rev. Johnston Eaton. His first visit was in August, 1805. He then spent a year in Southern Ohio, returning in 1806, and preaching his first sermon in Swan's log tavern. In this year he organized the churches of Walnut creek or Fairview and Springfield. Feeling that it was "not good to be alone" in such a wilderness, in 1807 Mr. Eaton married Miss Eliza Cannon of Fayette county, whom he brought, together with all their household goods to Erie on horseback. A log cabin was built near Walnut creek and a home established, Mr. Eaton making a considerable portion of the furniture with his own hand and Mrs. Eaton performing nobly the hard lot of a pioneer minister's wife. The old church of Walnut creek or Fairview, when organized in 1806, consisted of twenty-five members, with George Reed, Andrew Caughey and William Arbuckle elders. Mr. Eaton was ordained and installed pastor in 1808, the service being held in the barn of Mr. Sturgeon, Sturgeonville, and the relation

thus consummated between pastor and people continued up to the death of Mr. Eaton in 1847.

A meeting house was erected in 1810. It was constructed of logs and heated at first by burning charcoal in a big sugar kettle. This old building, after being enlarged several times, gave place to a frame building located near Swanville, and this was afterwards moved to West Millcreek and has been supplanted by the present neat and comfortable brick building located on the Ridge road and known as the Westminster church, the name having been changed in 1861. This is claimed to be the legitimate successor to the original church of Fairview. In 1842 a colony came out from the original church and formed what was known as Fairview Village, the name being changed to Fairview and Manchester in 1854. Again in 1845 another colony came out from the old church and formed the church of Sturgeonville, but in 1870 this and the Fairview Village churches were happily united, forming the church of Fairview.

The church of Springfield was organized in 1806, with thirty members and Isaac Miller, James Blair and James Bruce, elders. The church of Girard was a colony from Springfield and was organized in 1835, with Robert Porter and Philip Bristol elders.

North East church was organized in 1801 with Thomas Robinson and John McCord elders.

Middlebrook church, 1801; dissolved in 1859.

Waterford, 1809, or 1810; present membership over 100.

Union City, 1811, with eight members. Matthew Gray, elder; present membership over 250.

Erie First church was organized in 1815 and chartered in 1825, its elders Judah Colt and George Davison. It was called the mother church, and is still so known because of the number of colonies that have proceeded from it. The first was Belle Valley church, in 1841, George Davison, Hiram Norcross and Samuel Low elders. Park church was organized in 1855, with S. S. Spencer elder. Central church was organized in 1871 with David Shirk and Joseph French elders. Chestnut Street church was organized in 1873 from a mission Sunday-school established by Park church. Eastminster church, out in the Metric Metal neighborhood was organized in 1894, from a mission Sunday-school established by the First Presbyterian church of Erie.

Edinboro church, first known as Washington, was organized in 1819.

Beaverdam church, organized prior to 1826, was dissolved by the Presbytery in 1886.

Wattsburg was first reported organized in 1833; vacant.

Church of McKean organized in 1837 with David Russell and Gideon Johnson elders; became Congregational in 1859.

Harborcreek church was organized in 1842, being a colony of 58 members from the church at North East, with Myron Backus, Samuel Kingsley and James Moorhead elders.

The church of Corry was reported organized in 1868.

Millvillage church was organized with 26 members in 1870, but is now vacant.

The First United Presbyterian church of Erie, was organized in 1811 as the Associated Reform church, with A. McSparren, Thomas Hughes, D. Robinson and Alexander Robison elders.

First U. P. church of Waterford was organized in 1812 as an Associated Reform church with fourteen original members.

Brown Avenue U. P. church was organized in 1900 with Matthew Barr, W. B. Munn, G. L. Dunn and J. A. Davison elders.

The Presbyterian church of East Greene was organized in 1849, but is now vacant.

The Methodists followed closely upon the heels of the Presbyterians in their missionary work among the pioneer settlers of Erie county. Methodist circuit riders visited Erie and held meetings here as early as 1801, but there were stations and stated meetings in the county before there were such in the village of Erie. Methodist effort began in the western and southwestern townships of the county. The first meeting of which there is any record was led by Rev. Joseph Bowen, a local preacher, at the house of Mrs. Mershon, near West Springfield in September, 1800. A class was organized near Lexington, in Conneaut township in 1801, and the same year a great revival occurred at Ash's Corners, in Washington township. In 1801 the Erie Circuit was formed by the Baltimore conference, with Rev. James Quinn as circuit rider. The Erie Circuit as organized covered the counties of Erie, Crawford, Venango and Mercer. The gospel was preached statedly throughout the county of Erie, while the village of Erie was a field almost entirely unoccupied.

The first church building was erected in 1804 about a mile south of West Springfield and the first quarterly meeting was held in that church in July, 1810. The meetings at Erie were held at long intervals, conducted by the circuit riders, whenever and wherever circumstances favored. In the winter of 1810-11 there was an awakening of interest brought about by a meeting for worship which was held in a log tavern on the west side of French street, where the public library now stands, and it would appear that a congregation had partially been established about that time. It was not until 1826, however, that a class was regularly organized. Rev. Samuel Gregg in his "History of Methodism; Erie Conference," says: "Erie was a flourishing village in which though Methodist preaching had been frequently enjoyed by the people, no permanent organization had been made until the year 1826. Mr. James McConkey and wife, members of the M. E. church of Baltimore, moved

to Erie to reside and Mr. David Burton and wife attended the meeting at Harborcreek and were there converted, and invited Mr. Knapp to establish an appointment in Erie. The same winter a class was formed composed of the above named persons and a few others. Mr. McConkey was appointed leader and soon after secured the lot on Seventh street for $300, on which the first church was built."

This class, organized with Mr. McConkey as leader, held its class meetings at a log school house located on the east side of French street between Second and Third. The Mr. Knapp referred to in Gregg's "Methodism," was the Rev. Henry Knapp, who was in charge of the North East appointment. Methodism in the city of Erie traces its origin back to 1826, to this class holding its meetings in a log school house. The meetings for stated worship on Sunday were generally held by the circuit preachers in the old Court House, then situated in West Park. The appointments for Erie were filled as follows:

1826—Nathanael Reedey and E. Stevenson.
1827—Job Wilson and A. W. Davis.
1828—J. W. Davis and J. Jones.
1829—S. Ayers and D. C. Richey.
1830—J. S. Barris and A. C. Young.

In the year 1833, while the little church was still worshipping in the Court House, a subscription that was circulated among the brethren realized $55 as the amount paid out by the first church that year for the support of the pastor. The Sunday school was organized 1829-30 with E. N. Hurlburt as superintendent, and the corps of teachers were Miss Mary Converse, Miss Mary Coover, Thomas Richards, Peter Burton, Thomas Stevens, Miss Amanda Brown, Miss Rebecca Watkinson, Francis Dighton and John Dillon. The place of meeting was a small one-story frame building on East Fourth street, between French and Holland streets. The circuit riders at Erie from 1830 to 1833 were:

1831—J. P. Kent and A. Plimpton.
1832—J. Chandler and E. P. Steadman.
1833—J. Chandler and S. Gregg.

In 1834 Erie was made a station and Rev. E. P. Steadman was assigned by the Conference to this charge. The previous year this minister had been at Warren, Pa., and a large brick church had been built. The people there desired his return. By consent of the two presiding elders Mr. Steadman was sent to Warren, and Mr. Plimpton to Erie, but the result was the First M. E. church became vacant and had to be supplied. This change from a circuit to a station made the First church at Erie as an organization complete with the continuous ministration of its own pastor. The church had the following officers: Trustees, James McConkey, E. N. Hurlburt, John Richards, David Burton; Stewards, James McConkey, E. N. Hurlburt, B. Loege, James Thompson; Class Leaders, James McConkey, David Burton, James Thompson.

The Erie Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church was organized in July, 1836. In that year, the Erie church, while worshipping at the Court House made an effort to raise a building fund and erect a church, but though a plan was adopted and estimates made the project fell through. In the fall of this year at an official meeting it was decided that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered every four weeks and a public collection be taken at the same time. At a public meeting held a little later, November 7, 1836, the pastor's salary was fixed at $136 a year. At a special meeting held January 16, 1837, the church appointed John Richards and C. Heck a building committee with power to prepare plans, make estimates, etc. The plan adopted was for a frame church 32 feet by 45 feet, with a basement and gallery, but the building was not erected until 1838, on the lot purchased by Mr. McConkey in 1826, on the north side of Seventh street midway between Peach and Sassafras streets. The church was dedicated by Rev. H. J. Clark, D. D., President of Allegheny College, on January 1, 1839, and received the name of "Wesley Chapel."

The growth of Methodism in Erie was steady and reasonably fast. In 1840 three new classes were formed and in 1842 two more were added making seven classes in all. In 1844 it became necessary to enlarge the chapel and raise the basement in order to accommodate the worshippers, and at the same time pews were put in, theretofore the custom having been to place the men on one side of the house and seat the women on the other.

Two other things made the year 1844 notable in the history of Methodism. The ninth annual session of the Erie Conference was held in Erie in July, with Bishop Beverly Waugh, D. D., presiding. During that same year occurred what came to be spoken of as the Great Debate, between the pastor of Wesley Chapel, Rev. C. Kingsley, afterwards Bishop Kingsley, and Rev. Mr. Gifford, pastor of the Universalist church at Erie. The discussion turned on the distinctive tenets of Universalism and the debate lasted seven days. From 1840 to 1850 the pastor's annual salary ranged from $120 to $150.

In 1852 a committee was appointed consisting of the pastor, Rev. J. W. Lowe, J. Hanson and J. L. Reno to select a place for a second church. They secured a lot south of the railroad and organized a Sunday school. It was in Millcreek township, some distance south of the city limits at that time, but in a rapidly growing section. Out of that effort grew Simpson church. In 1859 the two churches were managed by a joint board of officers and it was agreed that Simpson church should pay into the common fund three dollars for every five dollars paid by the First church.

In 1859 the board of trustees of the First church voted to erect a new church, at a cost not to exceed $10,000, and the committee ap-

pointed to solicit funds and build the church were W. Sanborn, James S. Stewart, J. Hanson, John Burton, J. B. Johnson, H. P. Mehaffey, Thomas Willis, A. A. Craig and W. C. Keeler. This committee on January 26, 1859, accepted a plan for the new church submitted by Mr. Wilcox of Buffalo as architect. On June 9 of that year the trustees and building committee awarded the contract for all the wood work to George Brubaker, and for the mason work to Gillen, Brown & Cummings. The amount of the contracts was $14,000. November 14, 1860, the new church, a large and elegant brick edifice on the southeast corner of Seventh and Sassafras streets was dedicated by Bishop Simpson. However, the child had outrun the parent in the matter of Erie Methodism, for the new building of the South Erie church was completed more than a year earlier, and was dedicated June 19, 1859, by Bishop Simpson and named in his honor. There came over to the First church organization a debt on the new church of $8,776, which was entirely canceled during the pastorate of Rev. D. C. Osborne, 1862 to 1864.

The earliest of the other congregations in Erie county were: Millvillage, organized in 1810; North East, in 1812; Fair Haven, in Girard township, in 1815; Girard borough, in 1815; Waterford borough in 1816; Union City, in 1817; Fairview, in 1817; Middleboro or McKean, in 1819; Northville, in 1820; Wattsburg, in 1827, and Wesleyville, in 1828. The name of Wesleyville was bestowed upon that hamlet by Rev. Keese Hallock, the minister of the Methodist church, a name the inhabitants very cheerfully adopted.

Methodism had its real beginning in Springfield township. John Mershon was married to Miss Bathsheba Brush of Greene county in January, 1799, three years after his settlement in this county. When the bride came to her new home she brought with her a church letter from the Methodist minister at the place of her former residence. She induced Rev. Joseph Bowen, a local preacher of the denomination at Franklin to hold services in the Mershon house in September, 1800, and later, in the same year, he came again. These were the first Methodist services held in Erie county. In the spring of 1801 a class was organized near Lexington by James Quinn, and in 1804 a church was erected about a mile south of West Springfield, which was long known as the Brush Meeting House. During the year 1804 nearly a hundred persons were converted through the instrumentality of a powerful sermon preached by Rev. John Gruber, Presiding Elder.

The territory included in the Erie conference of the M. E. church extends from the Ohio line to about the middle of Chautauqua county, New York, and as far south as New Castle in Lawrence county. There are six presiding elders' districts named, Erie, Meadville, Clarion, Franklin, Jamestown and New Castle, and of these, the Erie district includes the churches of Erie, Fairview, Girard, Greene, Greenfield, Harborcreek, McKean, Millcreek, North East, Summit, Springfield, Waterford and

Wesleyville. The congregations of this denomination in Erie county with the dates when they were organized, so far as can be learned with certainty is as follows: Albion, before 1850; Ash's Corners, Washington, 1867; Asbury, Millcreek, 1846; Asbury, Union, 1840; Beaver Dam, 1838; Carter Hill, 1835; Cascade St., Erie, 1902; Cherry Hill, 1858; Concord, 1879; Corry, 1862; Cranesville, 1830; Crane Road, Franklin, 1867; East Springfield, 1825; Edenville, Le Bœuf, 1839; Edinboro, 1829; Elgin, 1854, Eureka, 1867; Fair Haven, 1815; Fairplain, 1840; Fairview, 1817; First, Erie, 1826; Franklin, 1866; Girard, 1815; Gospel Hill, 1816; Hamlin, Summit, 1837; Harborcreek, 1834; Hatch Hollow, 1835; Keepville, 1867; Kingsley, Erie, 1907; Lockport, 1843; Lowville, 1875; McLane, 1863; Miles Grove, 1867; Mill Village, 1810; Middleboro, 1819; North Corry, 1870; North East, 1812; Northville, 1820; Phillipsville, 1840; South Harborcreek, 1830; Simpson, Erie, 1858; Sterrettania, 1842; South Hill, McKean, 1860; Sharp's Corners, Waterford, 1838; Sherrod Hill and Tower School House, in Venango, dates not known; Tenth Street, Erie, 1867; Union City, 1817; Waterford borough, 1814; Wattsburg, 1827; Wales, Greene, 1850; Wellsburg, 1833; Wayne street, Erie, 1889; Wesleyville, 1825; West Greene, 1827; West Springfield, 1801. In this alphabetical arrangement of the Methodist churches, singularly enough, scripture has been verified, for the West Springfield church, the first of the denomination to be organized in Erie county (in 1801) is the last on the list.

The Lutheran church came into existence in Erie county through the efforts of that portion of the early population that immigrated here from the Pennsylvania German settlements in the eastern part of the State. The Pennsylvania German element in the settlement of Erie county entered almost with the beginning, dating back as early as 1801, and between that and 1805 such names as Riblet, Wagner, Ebersole, Brown, Stough, Lang, Zimmerman and Kreider appear on the records. These settled mostly in the rural districts south and east of Erie. There was another influx of this same German-American people in 1825 and a few years later they included the Warfels, Mohrs, Weigels, Metzlers, Bergers, Brennemans, and others. They were all of the Protestant faith, the original immigrants in America coming principally from the Palatinate. These having been connected with the beginnings of the Lutheran church in America brought to their new home in Erie their faith as well as their German Bibles and their hymn books, copies of which are still occasionally to be found.

These people though separated in an almost unbroken wilderness from the spiritual facilities to which they had been accustomed, did not permit their faith to die out. It was soon after the settlement had been begun that the Lutheran Synod of Eastern Pennsylvania was applied to for aid in a memorial setting forth how deplorable it was "to do without

sermon, baptism, catechetical instruction and the Lord's supper," and begging for a pastor to visit them occasionally. There is no distinct record of the time of the first pastoral visit or of the minister, but a Rev. Mr. Muckenhaupt was one of the first. The first record book of St. John's in South Erie was begun September 1, 1811, showing that then there was a congregation in existence, and that it had been for some time is proven by the entry in the record that on August 18 and 19, 1808, twenty-four baptisms took place. From that time to the present, the record shows, the congregation has been in continuous existence.

The earliest of the Lutheran missionaries were: Rev. Mr. Muckenhaupt, 1808; Rev. Mr. Scriba, 1811; Rev. Mr. Sackman, 1813; Rev. Mr. Rupert, 1814. The record of the last named is that in his missionary term of four months he preached thirty-eight times, baptized 197 children, gave communion to 117 persons and traveled 1,142 miles. He received $112 from congregations and his long journey cost only $11.03 for traveling expenses.

The Synod at Frederickstown in 1815 sent out Rev. Carl W. Colsen, who became a resident pastor in this district, taking up his abode in Meadville and serving the Erie congregation as well—in fact he served four Lutheran churches in this part of the state, and died at Meadville in 1816. Father C. F. Heyer succeeded, serving from 1817 to 1818. Pastor Rupert returned and served for a number of years. The Rev. Mr. Heilig was the first resident Lutheran pastor at Erie, in 1832.

The meetings of the Lutherans were held at first in dwellings and school houses in Eagle Village, then nearly two miles away from Erie. It was a hamlet largely settled by the Pennsylvania Germans. In 1835, however, there having been a strong reinforcement of European Germans, on January first the Lutheran church was reorganized, the new constitution signed by 100 male members, and the church became known as St. John's. Rev. Karl Fred. Stohlman was chosen pastor and did effective work both at Erie and outside, establishing missionary stations at Drake's Mills and Walnut Creek. He secured for St. John's church, from Conrad Brown, Sr., the five acres of ground bounded by Peach, Sassafras, Twenty-Second and Twenty-third streets of the present city of Erie. He served until 1838, and was succeeded by Rev. Michael Kuchler, a most progressive man, who, besides organizing congregations at Girard, Fairview and Millcreek, and the first Sunday school at St. Johns, also erected the first Lutheran church in Erie county, which, located in the piece of ground donated by Mr. Brown, was dedicated as St. John's church, August 8, 1842. From that time forward the growth of St. John's was steady and large until in time it became the largest Protestant church organization in Erie, with over 1,200 communicants, and 3,500 souls under the care of its pastor.

Meanwhile the process of swarming, which has for long distinguished it, began during the pastorate of Rev. C. G. Stuebgen, a number

of members separating to form St. Paul's German Evangelical church. This was in about 1850. Again in 1861 there was another secession which resulted in establishing the first English Lutheran church, now known as the Luther Memorial. Then came Zion's, Bethany, Trinity, St. Stephen's, St. Matthews, St. Luke's and Grace in Erie, while outside there are St. Paul's at Drake's Mills, St. Johns at Girard, East Greene congregation, St. Peter's in Millcreek, Trinity church at McKean, St. Peters at North East and Grace at Conneaut, all daughters or granddaughters of St. John's the original Lutheran church of Erie.

At first St. John's church was itself a suburban body, located on Federal Hill, away outside of the town of Erie. While it grew within itself, the town became a city and the city extended its boundaries until at length the Lutheran church was not far from the center of the city, occupying an establishment, thrice rebuilt, and now one of the finest churches in Erie.

While the Roman Catholic church was identified with the French occupation of Erie, from 1753 to 1759, the real history of the church in this county, as representing its permanent establishment here, did not begin until the permanent settlement of the county had been effected. There are no records of the earliest of the missionary labors of this church in Erie county, but it is well known that during the first years of the Nineteenth century there were frequent visits made by priests, who at irregular periods, came on religious errands, to minister to those of their faith who were among the pioneers. The first organization among the Catholics began somewhere about 1830, in the township of McKean, and it resulted in the erection of a church in 1833. This was the first church of that denomination built in Erie county, even taking the French into consideration, for, during the military occupancy the priests connected with the garrisons held services in chapels that were merely apartments in the forts. St. Francis church stood about two miles north of the borough of Middleboro, and it was resorted to by the faithful from long distances, and for several years was the only church of the Catholic faith in the county. The influx of the Germans early in the thirties, and of the Irish, at about the same time, added to the borough of Erie a religious element new to the community, for many of the Germans and most of the Irish were adherents of the Roman Catholic church. The pioneers in Erie were the Germans. The first of that race to find his way to Erie, Wolfgang Erhart, who came in 1830, was a Catholic, and when, soon afterwards, others from the Fatherland were added to the small colony, the thought of forming a church came to the front, realized in 1833, when Father Mosquelette, came here from Philadelphia and said mass in a log house belonging to Mr. Erhart. Next year the same priest accompanied by Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, bishop of Philadelphia, again visited Erie, and this time also was fur-

nished a place of worship by Mr. Erhart, and upon that occasion a number of persons were confirmed. This put energy into the faithful, and taking courage from the success that had attended the effort of the Beech Woods church—at McKean—a lot was procured on Ninth street between Parade and German, and a frame church was built in 1837.

Meanwhile a very similar process was in operation in the northern part of the town among the English-speaking adherents of the Catholic faith. Rev. Father McCabe held services in the house of John Sullivan in 1837, and this arrangement continued until at length the congregation that had been formed, although poor, decided that they would build a church. This was accomplished in 1844, when work upon St. Patrick's on Fourth street, between French and Holland was begun. The adherents of this church were not confined to the borough of Erie alone. The farming community east of Erie as far as the boundaries of Millcreek township contained a number of Catholics, among them the Crowleys, the Fagans and others, and these farmer people were among the most liberal contributors and most faithful workers. The moving spirit was Father R. Brown, who remained five years, long enough to see the building enclosed but not long enough to see it completed. That good fortune fell to his successor, Rev. Father Reynolds, who, however, remained but one year.

Originally Erie was attached to the diocese of Philadelphia, and later to that of Pittsburg. In 1853 the diocese of Erie was set off from that of Pittsburg, and included the counties of Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Venango, Forest, Clarion, Jefferson, Clearfield, Cameron, Elk, McKean, Potter and Warren, thirteen counties, and Rt. Rev. Michael O'Connor was transferred from Pittsburg to the see of Erie. St. Patrick's Church then became the pro-cathedral. In 1854 he was re-transferred to Pittsburg, and Rt. Rev. J. M. Young was consecrated as the Bishop of Erie, April 23, 1854. He died September 18, 1866, and Rt. Rev. Tobias Mullen was consecrated August 2, 1868. Bishop Mullen had charge during the period of greatest extension in the history of his church, but his greatest work was the erection of the splendid cathedral at the corner of Tenth and Sassafras streets. The corner stone of this church was laid in 1875; it was dedicated August 2, 1893, having been eighteen years under construction. Bishop Mullen was dearly beloved, not alone by those of his faith, but beyond the denominational boundaries. It is doubtful if there ever was a more devoted worker in the cause of his religion—to the people of Erie who had come to know him well, and universally, without regard to class, condition or religious faith, respect and love him, it appeared as though there was no such faithful industrious worker anywhere. The multitudinous demands upon his time and energies found him always ready and never idle, while he carried about with him a spirit of cheerfulness that was inspiring. He had the satisfaction of seeing the church establishment that was under his most immediate

personal charge develop steadily. In the city the churches, including the cathedral, numbered eleven, the parochial schools seven; there had been established, in addition to the church establishments in operation when he assumed the duties of his high office, a number of institutions, among them St. Vincent's Hospital, the Villa Marie Academy and the Old People's Home; a new cemetery had been consecrated and a handsome cathedral church built, and at all times the duties pertaining to his extensive diocese of thirteen counties had been faithfully performed. It was not to be wondered at, then, that, with the hand of old age laid upon him he should become wearied with his unceasing labors.

It was on August 2, 1868, that he was consecrated as Bishop in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at Pittsburg, and came to the see of Erie. For more than thirty years his unremitting toil had been continued. Recognizing the situation his church on February 24, 1898, appointed Rt. Rev. John Fitz Maurice coadjutator bishop with the right of succession. August 10, 1899, Bishop Mullen resigned, for he felt that his labors were at an end. He died April 22, 1900. His funeral was a notable event in the history of the Catholic church and of Erie. Archbishop Ryan presided and his assistants were Rt. Rev. Ignatius Horstman, of Cleveland, and Rt. Rev. Edmond F. Pendergast, auxiliary bishop of Philadelphia, with all the Erie clergy taking part. Throngs of people viewed his remains as they lay in state in the cathedral, which is his noblest monument, and in one of its crypts all that is mortal of the good Bishop rests forever from his toil.'

Bishop Fitz Maurice succeeded Bishop Mullen, as it was appointed that he should do, and has continued the work which his predecessors so ably inaugurated. He is respected by all as the head in the Erie diocese of the historic church in whose service he faithfully labors.

Of other religious denominations in the county, the oldest and perhaps the most numerous in membership is the Baptist. The first organization of this denomination so far as can be learned was that effected at Lowry's Corners in Harborcreek township in 1822. The church had its origin in the Hoag school house where meetings were held until the building of a meeting house. After a time, however, it went down, and there is no record to show how long it endured. There was a Baptist church organized in Springfield township in 1826, which, continuing with excellent promises of permanence, built in 1833 on the Ridge road two and a half miles west of East Springfield. In 1831 a church was established in Erie. It was one of the results of a religious revival in the First Presbyterian church, and the organization of the body was effected by a council called for the purpose at which some became members on letters and others upon profession. The church building was erected in 1833. The Baptist denomination may have had an even earlier start at North East. There was one of unrecorded date, built in

the eastern part of the township that became disintegrated. As a successor of the original a church was built in 1832 on the Buffalo road a short distance east of the village, but it also, in time, fell away. There was a Free-will Baptist church built at Newman's Bridge in Waterford township in 1832, and other churches established were: At McLane in 1838; at West Greene in 1848; at Wattsburg in 1850; the Elk Creek Baptist church in Franklin in 1867. The First Baptist of Erie became at length the head centre of the Baptist denomination in these parts, not only by its missionary work multiplying the church organizations in the city, but stretching its hands still farther, the Wesleyville church having grown from a mission Sunday school established by the First Church of Erie.

The Christian denomination, so called, though not strong in numbers, came among the earliest, its first church being that organized in Springfield in 1826 by Rev. Asa C. Morrison, with Rev. Josiah Marsh as settled pastor. In Fairview a church was established in 1835. It was not until 1888 that a church of the denomination was organized in the city of Erie.

The Universalists came in the beginning of the forties, churches being established in Springfield, Girard, Elkcreek and Erie, and some of these associations continue in active existence to the present.

The United Brethren is of more recent times. The first church, perhaps, was that organized in 1853 in Elkcreek a mile north of Cranesville. In 1857 a church was established at Fairview; at Branchville in 1865; at Beaverdam in 1870; in Girard township on the State road near the Elkcreek township line in 1870, and at New Ireland in Le Bœuf in 1876.

CHAPTER XIX—SCHOOLS OF THE COUNTY.

The Beginnings of Education.—The Public School Laws.—Development of Free Schools in the Rural Districts.

The early years of the permanent settlement were years of toil; almost unintermittent hard labor. Each individual had his part to perform in the work of conquering the wilderness; of hewing out of the forest primeval a space that was to be reckoned as home; by which or out of which, he was to obtain the necessaries of life—and for years it was barely an existence that was wrenched from the soil. There was, therefore, much to think of connected with the actualities of the then present time. Where there were only adults in the family, of course all worked; but where there were children they too worked. There was not a time for anything else, and the Scriptural fiat "He that shall not work neither shall he eat" was extended to be very comprehensive in its embrace. It seemed, indeed, that it had to be, for the struggle for existence demanded it.

But it is not for a moment to be considered as possible that the pioneers of Erie county had entirely lost sight of the interests their offspring had in something more and better than the life of toil that was the portion of the cattle; that they did not think about educating their children. This would be incredible; for the settlers were of Scotch-Irish and New England stock. When this is said it will be at once understood that any period of apparent indifference to schooling was only due to a forced condition of things. As a rule the earliest settlers were men and women of education; some of them of quite high attainments, and all of them respected the knowledge derived from books. Therefore, very early in the history of Erie county the schools came into being.

There was no system of public education at the beginning of the Nineteenth century. And yet it was enjoined as part of the charter of the land. The founders of the state—further back still, William Penn, the founder of the colony, insisted upon the importance of education. He declared that wisdom and morality "must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of the youth," and that Governor and Council should "erect and order public schools." Good citizenship—intelligent citizenship—was desired, and to insure this there must be education. The heroes of the Revolution made the matter still more

specific by incorporating in their constitution of 1776 a requirement that "a school or schools shall be established in every county," while the constitution of 1790 took a step yet farther in advance by declaring that the Legislature might provide for the establishment of schools throughout the State "in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis." It will thus be observed that from the very beginning Pennsylvania was committed to the policy of the education of all of her people.

And this principle early found expression as regards the educational needs of the people of Erie county, for, long before Erie county had been created, when, in fact a mere handful of people had settled down in this section of the woods, the Legislature, in its act providing for the sale of the public lands, in 1799, provided that 500 acres should be held back from each of the Reserve Tracts at Erie and Waterford, "for the use of such schools and academies as may hereafter be established by law" in these towns. These provisions, declarations and enactments tend to show that in this State of Pennsylvania the education of the people was ever held as of the greatest importance. However, it was years before, upon this foundation, there was erected the splendid structure which is now the pardonable boast of the citizens of the Keystone state.

Before the schools of Erie county are considered in detail, it will be profitable to review the evolution of the public school idea in Pennsylvania, through which the splendid public school system of Erie county has been developed. It took years to get at the real beginnings of a public school system. That seemed to be one subject which the law makers hesitated to take up and pass upon. It had not been lost sight of. As early as 1821, in his annual message to the Legislature Gov. Heister took occasion to refer to it and to declare it to be "an imperative duty to introduce and support a liberal system of education, connected with some general religious instruction." No heed was paid to this injunction, perhaps because of the connection suggested. In 1827 Gov. Shultze took up the subject, saying: "Among the injunctions of the Constitution there is none more interesting than that which enjoins it as a duty on the legislature to provide for the education of the poor throughout the Commonwealth." This suggestion was as barren of fruit as Gov. Heister's had been. Perhaps it ought to be, because of its class distinction, and yet it was within the terms of the Constitution, to which he referred. He had not lost interest in the important subject, for the next year he said that he could not forbear from "again calling attention to the subject of public education. To devise means for the establishment of a fund and the adoption of a plan by which the blessings of the more necessary branches of education could be conferred on every family within our borders would be every way worthy the Legislature of Pennsylvania."

Real interest now began to be taken in the important subject. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1829 the policy of public education became one of the issues, and was discussed from the hustings. The people were awake with reference to its importance and the governor elected, George Wolf, was a friend of public education. In his inaugural address he took an advanced position with reference to education, and continued to urge the matter upon the attention of the Legislature until, at the session of 1834-35, the first common school act of the state was passed. This act made it optional with each township, ward and borough to adopt the system of free public education. Immediately strong opposition to the measure sprang up. The colleges and private schools opposed the act being put in force, because they saw, or thought they saw, a loss of their revenues; the wealthy were not in favor of it because they disliked the idea of their children mixing with the children of the poorer people; penurious people objected because it would result in increased taxation, and various other interests fought it with a vigor that, now the system has become so popular, seems absurd and incredible. At the next session of the Legislature an attempt was made to repeal the law, but there were valiant champions of the system among the lawmakers. Prominent was Thaddeus Stevens, who made a powerful speech closing with this vigorous sentence: "If the opponent of education were my most intimate personal and political friend, and the free school candidate my most obnoxious enemy, I should deem it my duty as a patriot at this moment of our intellectual crisis, to forget all other considerations, and I should place myself unhesitatingly and cordially in the ranks of him whose banner streams in light." The measure was saved. Later, during the administration of Gov. Ritner the free school law was amended and strengthened. Now, established, the principle of public education made steady progress. In 1849 an act was passed making it obligatory upon townships and other districts to adopt the public school system. In 1854 it was extended by providing for county superintendents of education and the examination of teachers. In 1857 the act to provide for state normal schools, for education in the science of teaching, was passed, and this was followed by supplementary normal school acts at nine different sessions greatly extending the efficiency of these schools. In 1867 the law providing for teacher's institutes was passed and at the same session it was enacted that the Courts of Quarter Sessions shall have authority to annex lands for school purposes. In 1883 evening schools were provided for. In 1875 provision was made for public or free education in connection with homes for friendless children. In 1893 it became law that all school books and supplies should be furnished free of cost to pupils in the public schools. In 1895 the earlier high school law was enlarged and extended, and at the same session provision was made for parks and public playgrounds in connection with the schools, and, perhaps

not less important as a feature of free education, a prohibition was placed upon teachers wearing a religious garb or emblem. In 1897 it was enacted that when it became necessary transportation might be provided for children of the schools. In 1899 the minimum term per year of seven months was fixed and a maximum of ten months. In 1901 district superintendents or supervising principals were provided for, and at the same session physical culture in connection with the schools was made allowable. The act of 1907 provided for compulsory education; for township high schools; for schools for adults, including foreigners; that the minimum salary of teachers should be $50 per month; and providing a retirement fund for teachers—the two latter provisions wisely insuring a better grade of teachers. Besides these numerous enactments to raise the standard of education in the State, the legislature renders all the provisions operative by most liberal appropriations to the public schools in addition to the local taxes, the moneys so appropriated being proportionately distributed to the various districts in the State. The appropriation for 1907-08 amounted to $15,000,000; of which sum $125,473.75 was paid to the various districts of the county of Erie for the year 1908. Pennsylvania may pardonably boast of having the best school laws in the Union.

This review of the school laws is made as an introduction, for the reason that the development of the system in the State may tend to show what the encouragement for advancement in Erie county was, and also, that Erie county kept pace with every forward movement made by the State Government in connection with the education of its citizens.

With the review of the educational enactments that has been presented it can readily be concluded that in the pioneer days of Erie county the facilities for obtaining an education were vastly different from what they are today. The schools were then all pay schools, and practically all were domestic schools, held in the residences of the teachers or some other convenient place, and, in view of what the school curriculum of these latter days is required to include, it may occasion a jolt to the sensibilities of some of the good patrons of schools of the present to learn that one of the earliest schools of the county—perhaps the earliest of Fairview township—was held in the log tavern of Captain Richard Swan. But taverns were differently regarded in the earliest days from what they came to be later, and what was then considered a good creature of comfort and in universal use, in later times was held in altogether different esteem. The systems of teaching in the first days of the Nineteenth Century were different too from what they had come to be at the end of the same cycle. The graded school was then far away in the dim, distant future. The teachers, however, let it not be overlooked, were men of at least some fair degree of learning, and not a few

were quite well educated in at least the three most essential branches, of reading, writing and arithmetic. It has been said they were men. This was practically the invariable rule at the beginning. They were not only school teachers but school masters, with all the term might imply, and it was law, although unwritten law, that the master was privileged to use the birch as an accessory toward the inculcation of learning. Whether the unspared rod was especially effective or not, it is not possible at this late day to determine; but this is known, that many who were scholars of those little backwoods schools exhibited a marked proficiency when as adults they were launched out into the world, to contest with others for place and preferment.

The earliest school in Erie county, so far as either record or tradition goes, was that established on the Brookins farm in North East township in 1798. It is true with reference to these earliest temples of learning, as with other matters and things pertaining to the first settlers, that practically nothing has come down to modern times in the form of records. It is not possible therefore to say who taught that first school, or whether it was one of the Brookins connection or a stranger who had come as a pioneer pedagogue among the other pioneers. Only that the school was taught there before the Eighteenth century had reached its close. But the spirit of education was already abroad in this corner of the great forest. They sprang up in nearly every locality where any considerable number of people had settled. In the year 1800, it is recorded that school was opened in Waterford, but here, too, the record omits the name of the master. In 1802 a school was opened in the Moorhead district of Harborcreek, and if not the first teacher, among the first was Walter Patterson. In the year 1804 what was the first school house in the county was built in Fairview township on what was known as Schoolhouse Run, about a mile from the mouth of Walnut Creek. Previous to that time Fairview's seat of learning was found in the log tavern of Capt. Swan. The first teacher in the first distinctive school house in the county was John Lynn, a Revolutionary soldier. The second teacher was William Gordon, and it was his son, John Gordon, the first adult to die in Fairview township, who was buried in the grove on the lake shore that is now known as Gordon's Point, a part of the farm now owned by Matthew Taylor.

In the year 1805 the second school in North East township was begun. This school occupied a building built for school purposes, that stood where the present park is located and was known to the people of the township as the Old Log School. It continued in service until 1817, and longer as a relic. The same year, 1805, witnessed the beginnings of education in Millcreek township, a school being opened then in Eagle village. The rural town of that name was long ago swallowed up by the city of Erie. It stood at the intersection of Peach and Twenty-sixth streets. The first teacher of the Eagle Village

school was James Hampson, the progenitor of one of the most prominent families of North East, father of Justice George A. Hampson. This school continued until 1821. Girard's first school was established in 1809, with John J. Swan as teacher. He was but 16 years of age and among the pupils enrolled were young men of 20. Swan was a famous teacher and his school attained to renown. Children walked from three to six miles to attend school in Girard. The dates of the earliest schools in the other townships are: McKean in 1811, with Seth Spencer as teacher; Union township in 1812, with William Craig, as the first teacher. The first school at Union borough (at first it was known as Miles's Mills, then as Union Mills, and now is Union City) was established in 1818. In Elkcreek in 1815 Maxon Randall opened a school in his own log cabin. The same year a school was built at Edinboro in Washington township that was the most pretentious of the time, being constructed with plank sides and serving as well for all sorts of assemblies and public meetings. In 1816 A. Young taught school in Greenfield township. In 1820 a school was opened in Le Bœuf township with Miss Elizabeth Strickland and Miss Hannah Hall as teachers during the summer and James Skinner during the winter.

These were the beginnings of education in Erie county. They marked the day of the school master, and, likewise the first innovation in an ancient regime, for, with the beginning of the second decade in the century the school ma'am came upon the scene. During this period and up to 1834, the schools were all pay-schools. Such a thing as free instruction, or schooling paid from a public fund had not been thought of. It is true the state government had made provision for education, and that provision extended to Erie county, when in 1799 five hundred acres were held back from each of the reserve tracts at Erie and Waterford, "for the use of such schools and academies as may hereafter be established." But this provision was not in behalf of free education. It was the intention, while endowing schools liberally, that, nevertheless, the education obtained at these schools should be paid for. The liberality of the state did not stop at academies, which it seemed to be the purpose to secure for every county in the state, but was extended to the higher institutions of learning as well.

In Erie county the state grant for education was not put into effective use until 1822 when work was begun on both the Erie and Waterford academies, the former being ready to receive pupils in 1823, and the latter in 1826. For many years these were the principal institutions in the county where a good education could be obtained, and long after public education was in successful operation here, the academies continued to flourish. The fact is, the beginnings of free education imparted little more than the rudiments, and there was need of a means by which a more advanced schooling could be secured. During a considerable period of their history the attendance upon the

two state academies was very large, for patronage was not restricted to residents of Erie county, nor even to the state. At Waterford, especially, the foreign enrollment was large, necessitating in time important additions to the building for the accommodation of the out-of-town pupils.

The need for education in the advanced branches in the course of time brought about the establishment in various parts of the county of academies, organized and operated upon private capital, or by corporations holding charters from the state. Many of these—indeed all—were of a most excellent character. As the record (unhappily all too scant in each case) is reviewed there is not one of the seven that had a term of prosperous existence that did not attain to high repute as an institution of learning. The first of these private academies was that established at Albion in 1838, and called Joliet Academy. Its first principal was Elijah Walker, and during its career of nearly a quarter of a century became widely known and popular, having pupils from various counties of Pennsylvania as well as from other states, and, having instituted a department for the education of teachers, many who afterwards had charge of public schools were fitted for their work at Joliet Academy. In 1850 a corporation was organized at Girard for the purpose of establishing an academy there, and a handsome and commodious building was erected. Its first principal was J. E. Pillsbury and it flourished until 1862, when it was merged in the public schools. In 1855 West Springfield Academy was established with John A. Austin as principal, and in 1856 an academy was opened at East Springfield, with B. J. Hawkins as principal. Ten years later, and after most of the private academies were being turned over to the public school, a third academy was instituted in the same township, at North Springfield. In the course of time all gave place to the public schools. There is no date obtainable of the organization of the academy at Fairview, but it is recorded that for many years it thrived on the patronage obtained from adjacent townships as well as from Fairview. The last of the academies, and the most pretentious of them all, was Lake Shore Seminary opened in the year 1869 at North East, with J. P. Mills, A. M., as principal. It was an enterprise of the M. E. Church, and started with abundant promise. Financial misfortune overtook it, however, and in 1881 it was sold and the Redemptorist Fathers became its purchasers and converted it into an institution to educate young men for the priesthood.

The era of free schools in Pennsylvania began with the passage of the act of 1834. The era of free schools in Erie county dates from the same year. That act made it optional with the counties to establish a system of public education. In November, 1834, a convention in the interest of free schools in Erie county was called to meet in Erie, and every township or prospective district in the county was represented, and public education was immediately launched. Unlike the Grecian myth, it

did not spring full grown and full panoplied at its birth. It was necessary with public education in this county, just as in every other county of Pennsylvania, to pass through the various stages of evolution that experience demonstrated were necessary to give to the State's citizens a due and proper degree of schooling. But Erie from the first was abreast of the times. The district school was not as frequent as in later years, but quickly every township was provided with one or more schools, in accordance with the degree of population. It would be wrong to say they were good schools, for at the start the educational ideas of the rural school directors were crude, and the qualifications of those who could be obtained as teachers were limited. Moreover, the means at the disposal of the township and borough school boards were extremely meagre. This was necessarily so, as the population in many portions was sparse. Teachers were frequently paid salaries as low as five dollars per month, and "board around." The schooling was free, but after all, the scholars paid for their tuition in a way. As an early settler relates from experience: "The settlers were few, and the children with their lunch baskets filled with corn bread, cold potatoes and pickles, came long distances to attend school."

At first the school funds were obtained from an appropriation by the county commissioners, the first, called for by the school convention of 1834, being $2,000, with a proviso that the people of each district might vote whether an additional amount should be raised by taxation. The people were not all well enough disposed toward education to take upon themselves any addition to the burden. At Wattsburg, for example, it is of record that in the year 1834 the people decided against the additional tax by a vote of nine to seven—an interesting record, indicative as it is of the population of that independent borough at that time. Perhaps, however, the expense of school books and supplies was an excuse that might render the result of that referendum pardonable. All the necessaries were then to be bought and paid for by the parents whose children were being educated. The school books in use in the early days were Webster's and Byerly's Spelling Books, the English Reader, and Daboll's Arithmetic, while writing was taught in copybooks with paper covers, the teacher being required to be sufficiently expert in penmanship to set the copy. Although later a perhaps better order of books obtained, such as Cobb's Spelling Book; Goodrich's, Parley's, and Mitchell's Geographies; Parley's and Mitchell's Histories; the unnamed First, Second and Third Readers; Smith's Grammar, and Davies's Arithmetic, the tuition remaining upon the same plane as before it cannot be said that the advance was materially for the better. Just before the adoption of the public school system for Erie the copyright (or sales-right) for one-half of the state of Pennsylvania in Cobb's Spelling Book was bought by Joseph M. Sterrett and Oliver Spafford, who published it profitably for many years. It will not be out of place to say a word here, in this re-

view of Erie county schools, in reference to "Uncle" Oliver Spafford. He was in his time the Benjamin Franklin of Erie county. Like Benjamin he was a true philosopher, and was esteemed as such by all the people of Erie. He was identified with the printer's art. He was a great friend of learning, and it is an open question whether he was better pleased with the profits of his enterprise as a publisher of school books than with the character of the business. He was highly respected, and trusted by everybody and in turn called everybody his friend. His apt sayings were often quoted, and his example emulated by the people of his home town. He was himself an educator, and his name properly belongs with those who taught.

The most noteworthy advance, in the early history of the schools, came toward the middle and end of the decade of the fifties when aid was afforded by the two important acts of 1854 and 1857. The first provided for county superintendents of schools, and Erie was prompt to act in accordance with the new law. That year William H. Armstrong was chosen county superintendent, and immediately set about organizing the schools of the county into something like system. The chief difficulty at the beginning lay in the inability to obtain all the capable teachers required. It was a difficulty not soon overcome—indeed never entirely removed until the act of 1907, which act fixed the minimum teacher's salary at $50 per month, and this law was made effective by liberal appropriations by the state. During the early years, however, there was no real remedy for the trouble. There were districts, or schools, in which the average attendance was as low as ten scholars. In a community as sparsely settled as this attendance would indicate, it will not be difficult to understand why an adequate salary could not be paid, and it will be just as easy to understand why, under these circumstances, a teacher of good qualifications could not be obtained. At length a system of examinations was adopted, and at about the same time, in 1857, there was passed an act (mentioned above) providing that normal schools should be established. This provision for educating young men and women in the science of teaching was of the highest importance. Erie county was immediately and directly concerned.

In the year 1857 the Edinboro Academy was built. It is not mentioned in the list of academies of the county above, for the reason that its career was so soon to be merged in a grander enterprise. The trustees of Edinboro Academy were P. Burlingham, E. W. Gerrish, F. C. Vunk, Lewis Vorse, C. Reeder, J. W. Campbell and N. Clute, and the first principal was J. R. Merriman. That year the "act to provide for the training of teachers for the common schools of the state," the Normal School Act, was passed. Pursuant to the act the state was divided into districts and the Twelfth district was set off, to contain the counties of Erie, Crawford, Venango, Mercer and Lawrence. Immediately the Normal School Act became effective the people of Edinboro exerted them-

selves to have the normal school for the northwestern district located at that place, the academy being offered as the candidate. Hon. Joseph Ritner of Cumberland county, J. R. McClintock of Allegheny, and J. Turney of Westmoreland were appointed inspectors, and the county superintendents of the Twelfth Normal school district were notified to attend for the inspection and examination of the school on January 23, 1861. The result of this inspection and examination was that the school was officially recognized as the State Normal School of the Twelfth District of Pennsylvania, and J. R. Thompson was appointed the first principal, serving from 1861 to 1863. He was succeeded by Prof. J. A. Cooper, who filled the position with distinction from 1863 to 1892. Prof. M. G. Benedict was principal from 1892 to 1896; Dr. J. R. Flickinger from 1896 to 1899, and Prof. John F. Bigler from 1899 to the present.

By the time that graduates from Edinboro began to seek for employment in the public schools of the county the troubles with regard to the quality or qualifications of teachers available began to diminish. However, for a long period—indeed up to quite recently—examinations of candidates for teachers were held regularly by the county superintendent. Graduates of the Normal school, however, who held certificates from that institution, were eligible without examination. In 1867 teachers' institutes became a feature of the county public school system, tending toward its betterment while in 1893 the free text book act went promptly into effect.

The county superintendents of public instruction were: William H. Armstrong, from 1854 to 1860; L. W. Savage, 1860 to 1863; D. P. Ensign served six months in 1863 and resigned, when Julius Degmeier served out the unexpired term, to 1866; L. T. Fisk 1866 to 1869 C. C. Taylor, 1869 to 1878; Charles Twining, 1878 to 1884; James M. Morrison, 1884 to 1889; Thomas C. Miller, 1889 to 1896; Thomas M. Morrison, 1896 to 1902; Samuel B. Bayle, 1902 to 1908; Isaac H. Russell, 1908 to date. County superintendents are elected by a convention of the school directors of all the districts in the county, and the superintendent is elected for a term of three years. The total number of public schools in the county, outside the cities of Erie and Corry is 250, including 340 rooms.

The most important work accomplished in connection with the public schools of the county was that of establishing a graded course of study for every school, so that by the system adopted scholars pursued a course that led logically from the primary department to the high school, the certificates obtained at the final examination in the grammar grade of any county school being sufficient for admission to any high school. This important work was accomplished by Superintendent Miller in 1892. As a natural result of this admirable system it soon became necessary to introduce another innovation in the county school system, and township high schools began to be built, thus endorsing and perpetuating the graded

system by establishing permanently the highest grade recognized at this day of free school education.

There are twenty-six high schools in the county outside of the cities of Erie and Corry. A few of them are not fully equipped, nor possessed of pretentious buildings, but many of the high schools boast admirable establishments, complete in practically everything that a modern school demands. In some instances the high school is located so that the borough and the township are both served; in others there are more than one school in a township, the design being to meet the requirements of the situation. The township and borough high schools of the present time are: Albion, occupying a fine new building, completed the beginning of the year 1909, and serving both the borough and the township of Conneaut; Edinboro, an excellent school depending chiefly upon the borough for its attendance; Elkcreek, at Wellsburg; Fairview township, two schools, one in the south and one at Avonia; Fairview borough, a school of long standing that was formerly an academy; Girard borough, a natural development where an excellent academy laid the foundation; Girard township, at North Girard, occupying one of the finest buildings for the purpose to be found in the county, built in 1901 at a cost of $25,000; Greenfield, at Little Hope; Harborcreek, a new school specially built in Harborcreek village in 1902, at a cost of $15,000; Millcreek, three high schools, one on the Buffalo road, between Erie and Wesleyville, the Glenwood school on the turnpike south of the city, and the new high school on the Ridge road west of Erie built in 1902 and costing $15,000—the east and west schools are four room houses and the Glenwood school has two rooms; Middleboro and Millvillage are both provided; North East township is privileged to patronize the excellent school that has been maintained for a long time in the thrifty borough of the same name; Springfield township, township of academies in the olden time, true to its traditions, supports three high schools—one in East Springfield borough, one in North Springfield and one in West Springfield. Summit has no high school building but contrives to impart an education of the high school grade to every pupil of the township who desires it enough to pursue the course. Union City, a bustling manufacturing town, supports a high school of the first order. Venango maintains two high schools—one at Lowville and one at Phillipsville—and counting the excellent school at Wattsburg the township has three. Washington has a high school at McLane. Waterford has converted the old academy, the building begun in 1822 and first employed as an educational institution in 1826, into a high school, in which, besides the usual high school branches, there have been special lines taught, such as the science of agriculture. The Scotch-Irish race has made its mark in Erie county by planting schools with lavish hand, and fostering them and improving them to the highest degree for which the law gives warrant. Four of the townships (by including their boroughs) have three high schools each—Fairview, Mill-

creek, Springfield and Venango, and one, Washington, has two. In the case of Fairview it would be well not to overlook the fact that there is more than a sprinkling of German names upon the rolls of the taxables, and there the immigrants from Fatherland should be included with the Celtic people with which race so many of Erie county's people pride themselves upon being connected.

CHAPTER XX.—THE EARLY INDUSTRIES.

First Saw and Grist Mills.—The Enterprise of M. Blancon.—Steam Mills.—The Passing of the Woolen Industry.

The pioneers who settled in the midst of the great forest at Erie had very little that would contribute to comfort, as a rule, for while there were some of the earliest settlers who brought quite a fair store of clothing and bedding with some few utensils, and there were two or three who brought slaves with them, the great majority had scarcely anything beyond what they were wearing at the time and the axe with which an opening was to be carved out of the forest. The axe was the universal tool. A cross-cut saw was now and then to be found, but the axe was in the hands of everyone. The hammer was the most useless of all tools when the construction of habitations began in this part of the country, for there were no nails; the auger was a much more-to-be-desired tool—but the axe; always the axe. It was with that tool the logs were cut out of the trees into proper lengths for the cabins in which the new-comers were to live; it was the same tool that squared their ends and fitted them so they could be built up and held together; the same tool was useful to get out the rafters and frame them so they would stay in place; it was the axe that split the clap-boards of which the roof was to be formed, and the poles that were to hold the roof-boards in place; it was the axe that filled in the gap at the gable; that split slabs for the door and puncheons for the floor; that did all that was done for the rude carpentry of the time, except the boring of the holes—for the small amount of this sort of work that was done it was often necessary to resort to the slow process of burning holes with a piece of heated iron, for the auger was a mechanical luxury. But, when the holes had been made it was the axe again that fitted the pins they were intended to receive or the rounded extension at the edge of the slab that was to be inserted into holes above and below, and form a hinge.

While therefore the axe was the universal tool with which civilization was being hewn out of the wilderness the need for something that would lighten labor and hasten the progress of civilization came early. It was therefore directly upon the heels of settlement that the mills came, and the need of adequate protection from the rigors of the winter season, to be supplied by something to supplement the crude architecture of the

first year or two, brought the saw-mill first. Some historians have ventured the assertion that the French, during their occupancy of Fort Presque Isle, operated a saw-mill. This is probably a mistake. No evidences of any remains of a mill were ever reported. The French did manufacture brick. There were samples of their handicraft in this respect that came over to the permanent settlers, both on the mainland and on the peninsula, a small magazine having been built just across the old entrance to the bay on the east end, and some curious structures, never accurately described, that were called "the chimneys," that stood for years near the west end of the peninsula beyond the Big Bend, and gave their name of the chimney ponds to the most westerly of all the small bodies of water in the peninsula. There is not, however, any tradition of remains to indicate a saw-mill—indeed, the saw-mill had not been invented as early as the French occupancy of Erie; it did not come into use anywhere until about the beginning of the Nineteenth century. The saw-mills that came just after the settlement of Erie were, therefore, not only the first in Erie county, but among the first to be built anywhere.

The first saw-mill built here was that of Capt. Russell Bissell, who built the American block houses upon Garrison Hill. That was in 1796, and it was constructed for the use of the military. The first saw-mill for commercial purposes may have been that of Thomas Forster, built near the mouth of Walnut creek, a place afterwards to be known to local fame as Manchester. That mill was built in 1797. However, the same year Mr. Brotherton erected a saw-mill at Waterford, so it cannot be positively stated which was the earlier, Forster's or Brotherton's. From that time on, however, the mills multiplied, until, in the course of a few years almost every section of the county was supplied. In 1798 Thomas Rees built one for the Population Co. on Four-mile creek. Others of the earliest mills were: Leverett Bissel in 1799 on French creek in Greenfield; in 1800, John Cochran on Mill creek near what is now Glenwood Park, and William Miles at Union; in 1801, Capt. Holliday on Crooked creek in Springfield; in 1802, John Riblet on Four-mile creek south of Wesleyville, and Lattimore and Boyd in Waterford township; in 1803, D. Dobbins and James Foulk, on Twelve-mile creek; in 1804, Robert McCullough on Mill creek above Glenwood Park. From 1814 for a number of years the saw-mill business increased prodigiously and in fact continued until recently, checked only when the industry had well nigh depleted the forests of merchantable timber.

The grist-mill was not long behind the sawmill. Hulled corn and the coarse meal of home make could be made to serve for a time as a sort of emergency ration, but there was a crying demand for something better. Larger areas in cultivation with an increase in the amount of the product, put the farmers in a position to be able to pay the toll, so the grist-mill came in good time. It was in 1798 that the first mill in Erie county to grind corn was built at Manchester by Wm. Forster. This was the

first grist-mill in the new west of that day, and the writer has had it from the lips of a son of a Cleveland pioneer, that his father had upon several occasions driven his ox-team from near the Cuyahoga river to Erie (no doubt Manchester was really the place) to have a load of corn ground into meal for himself and neighbors, the trip requiring full two weeks for the accomplishment of its purpose. It was a long and toilsome journey in those days through the forest, and dangerous as well, for the people were in constant fear of savage men as well as of savage beasts. They were more happily circumstanced at Erie, for not only was the new grist mill nearer at hand, but one of the first roads opened in the county was that between Erie and the mouth of Walnut creek. The Silverthorn mill on Spring Run, in Girard township, was built in 1799. In 1800 William Miles built a grist-mill, at Union in connection with his saw-mill enterprise and the same year James Foulk built a grist-mill at the mouth of Six-mile creek where there was a splendid natural water-power at hand. William Culbertson's mill at Edinboro was opened in 1801. Capt. Holliday added a grist-mill to his saw-mill enterprise in 1803, two years after the latter was begun, and it was in the same year that the Dobbins and Foulk grist-mill, supplementing the saw-mill, was built. It was in 1804 that the Erie County mill that did business up to as late as 1880, was established in the Happy Valley, just south and east of Glenwood Park. Col. Tuttle's mill on Sixteen-mile creek was built in 1807. These were the earliest mills. But others followed rapidly, and among the new mills were many that assumed greater proportions, and essayed a higher order of product, for the farmer did not confine himself to growing but one crop, and as progress was made tastes became more fastidious. Many of the milling industries of today are but the continuation of industries that had their foundations laid in the early years of the century that has just passed.

Not a few of the flouring mills of the county achieved more than a neighborhood reputation, and continued in active and increasing business until at length the competition, at first of the mills located by the side of the railroad, later by the introduction in the larger mills of the roller process, and still later of the great mills of the west made their business unprofitable. There were a number, however, that contrived to survive for a long time. The mill at the point where the Ridge road crosses Walnut creek is an example. Built by S. F. Gudtner, it eventually became known as Weigle's mill and prospered until the great flood of 1893 which affected every one of the streams that empty into the lake, washed away the dam, and though there was a partial recovery, the business was not brisk. About 1900 the mill was destroyed by fire, after having stood for nearly a century. The Sterrettania mill in South Fairview, owned by David S. Sterrett, was a notable industry in its time, and another Fairview enterprise, the Dietly mill, was the most persistent of all. The Cooper mill near Wesleyville was for many years of great importance.

The mill of Amos King at Albion continued to do a prosperous business for a long period of time. This is also true of the mill on Elk creek in West Girard. Joseph Hall's Elgin mill of Beaver Dam run, Jacob Brown's mill on Le Bœuf creek in Greene township and the Backus mill on Six-mile creek, all began business in the beginning of the Nineteenth century and prospered for many years. Mill Village became a centre of the milling industry at an early day. Its name would indicate this. Situated near the main stream of French creek with several affluents in the vicinity it was happily circumstanced, and among numerous saw-mills and other industries that came and went the grist-mills of Burger, Wheeler and Thompson endured. The Burger mill prospered for nearly a century.

These were all, however, the modest enterprises of the usual country development, that came into existence because of the neighborhood demand and proved their necessity by their long continued operation. There were, however, other enterprises undertaken upon a large scale and with many demonstrations of great promise that were by no means as durable, nor as reliable an index of the real business of the community in which they had been planted.

For many years there stood on the west side of Cascade street, extending from where Seventh street is now opened through, to Fifth street, an imposing structure, standing three stories high in the main part, and with its additions and contiguous buildings occupying very nearly half a square. Painted white, and located a good long distance west of the city as it existed even until after war times, it was the most notable object in the landscape, which it dominated from every direction, for the land all about it was cleared, save a small grove of giant trees of the hemlock spruce a little to the northwest. In the sixties it used to be spoken of simply as "the old mill"; but few visited it and fewer still could tell any thing about it. There was then not a window sash left in it, nor a door, and the floor of the first story was gone. The fields about were used as pastures and the cattle, seeking shelter, made free use of it. In one corner there stood, nearly intact, a large steam engine of an obsolete pattern even for those days, its cylinder of remarkable length and its general appearance commanding the attention of anyone at all versed in mechanics. Covered with dust and encrusted with the rust of many years it was a silent witness of industry that prevailed at one time, though then it was long since the hum of business activity had ceased to echo through those silent and deserted rooms. Even as it stood the desolation was eloquent of which we are speaking being Gen. C. M. Mr. Reed was a bold adventhe place a story of enterprise.

That mill was built in (or about) 1839 by P. C. Blancon. He was a Frenchman. He had a Frenchman's characteristic ambition to do things upon a large scale, and his venture in Erie was gauged accordingly. Previous to coming to Erie he had located in Philadelphia. Whether he had engaged in business there or not does not appear from anything that can

be ascertained but he came at length to Erie, and this is how it came about.

One of the most prominent citizens of early Erie for many years was P. S. V. Hamot. He had, early in the history of the town engaged in business here with great success, the result being that in time he was rated perhaps the wealthiest man of Erie. There was a sort of rivalry between Mr. Hamot and the Reeds, the head of the latter family about the time of which we are speaking being Gen. C. M. Mr. Reed was a bold adventurer in many lines, among them being commerce and merchandising. All the early generations of the Reeds owned vessels and stores and warehouses, and for a good part of the time Mr. Hamot filled the relation of banker to the house of Reed. Something occurred to set Reed and Hamot edgewise toward one another. What it was even tradition is silent regarding. The business relations between the men continued, however, without anything noticeable coming to the surface to indicate any deep-seated feeling. At last, however, something did happen. That was the advent in Erie of Mons. Blancon. He had been induced by Mr. Hamot, himself a Frenchman, to come to this place with a view to engaging in business. Whatever the rest of the people here thought, the Reeds at once suspected there was a purpose in bringing M. Blancon to Erie.

In those days all the land west of Erie was covered with a splendid growth of timber. In the level tract a part of which about midway between the Lake Road and the Ridge Road was low and wet and inclined to be swampy, there were large quantities of walnut and other valuable timber, and the character of these woods was an important factor in determining M. Blancon upon locating here. However, he had conceived an enterprise of too gigantic proportions for even the character of the adjacent forests to fix its limit, though it had much to do with bringing about a decision. What the full scope of the Frenchman's prophetic vision was his completed industry will serve to show. It was not long after his arrival here before he had decided to stay and embark in business.

The first step taken was to invest in land, and he bought up an immense tract extending westward from Cascade street, which was regarded as the western limits to which the city might extend. Then he planned for the heart of his industry. In those days the power almost universally used in shops and mills was water. There existed a reasonably good source of power on the property, in Cascade creek, then a comparatively constant stream. It was not, however, adequate to the demands of M. Blancon's enterprise. He decided to employ steam. Therefore he located his mill on the extreme eastern edge of his property, and set about procuring his machinery. He went to the seaboard cities to obtain what was required. His engine and boiler were bought in Philadelphia. There were no railroads in those days, nor regular system of freighting. As a consequence he had to team his machinery all the way to Erie. Six

yoke of oxen were required to haul the boiler from Philadelphia and six weeks of time were consumed in the trip. The route was over the mountains to the lower end of Chatauqua Lake, up the east side of the lake to Mayville and then westward.

It was a notable occasion when that caravan entered and passed through Erie; notable because of its size, and notable because it represented the first steam plant for a mill in this section of the country. The building erected was a splendid construction. The frame of great timbers, hewn square, possessed the strength of a fortification, and solidity characterized it from foundation up. Nor was there any unnecessary delay in pushing the construction forward. The work was well done and it was done quickly, and before the end of 1839 was in active operation.

But what was made or manufactured at that mill? It might be almost as reasonable to ask what was not made there.

It was a saw-mill of far more capacity than any that ever had been operated in or near Erie. It was also a grist or flour mill. It was a planing mill and a manufactory of sashes and doors. It was likewise a cooperage, and that of great capacity. It was a woolen factory. Besides all these it was a distillery, and as an adjunct of the last named, of course, the fattening of hogs and the production of pork was a side line.

But would Erie in those days support, and therefore warrant the operation, of an industry of so great proportions? M. Blancon did not expect Erie to be his sole market. Indeed he looked for little to come from the small town that then existed here. To manufacturing he added commerce. The shipping of those days on the lake was confined chiefly to sailing vessels. The Reeds were engaged in steamboating, but yet much the greater part of the freight carrying was done by sailing vessels. M. Blancon did not own vessels, but he chartered boats for the entire season. The first vessels employed were the Swan, a schooner of 50 tons, Captain Ball; and the schooner Lumberman, of 75 tons, Captain Winschel. These were small vessels, but they compared well with what were in vogue at the time, and they had an advantage in their small size, for then there was no dock or wharf at the point where they were to receive and discharge cargo, and therefore they could be floated nearer in to the shore. The place where they landed was at or about the mouth of Cascade creek. At that time there was not a very extensive beach there. The coast was bold and rocky and the water deep, so that it was possible to approach very near to shore. These vessels received at this point their cargoes of lumber or pork or whatever, and then proceeded to Buffalo where there was a ready market. Returning, they brought whatever supplies were needed for the community—it was of considerable size—that had sprung up about the mill. Then the boats would proceed up the lake to Toledo and Monroe, to take on grain. This was carried to Erie to be converted into flour or whiskey. So through that rude, bare harbor which today

contains immense docks provided with all the marvelous appliances of modern times, but then was nothing but the natural beach, there swiftly grew up a commerce notable for the time. From that point was carried lumber, flour, cloth, staves, whiskey, pork; various products of the planing mill, in demand in the west, and mill stuffs the by-product in the manufacture of the flour. Recounting the achievements of this Frenchman in this American wilderness the story takes on the aspect of a romance.

What brought it to an end? and how long did it endure?

It is not certain that there is a good and reliable answer to either question, but there is a pretty circumstantial story with reference to the reason for the winding up of the business of the Blancon mill, and this it is proper to relate first. At the time the enterprise under consideration was in operation there was a navigable strait or opening at the head of the bay; that is to say, it was navigable, at least part of the time, for vessels such as were then doing business on the lake. The depth of the strait varied, the direction of the wind determining the stage of water. As a rule, except during strong east winds, there was water enough in that strait to float vessels of eight feet draft, such as the Swan or even the Lumberman were. It is stated by as reliable an authority on lake marine matters as Mr. Andrew Blila that the brig Virginia, of 200 tons burthen, had made the passage of the strait, and the logs of Capt. Dobbins and others of later date, sailing the revenue cutters of olden times, record the fact that there was water enough in that channel to enable these vessels to pass.

Now it was through the channel at the head of the bay that the vessels trading with the Blancon mill passed. There was no other course permitted according to accounts, but why the eastern channel was not free to all who wished to use it there has been no explanation, except that the Reed interest was opposed to it and this opposition was sufficient to be effective. The use of all the docks that then existed in the harbor were denied to the French company; but this might be and still the company could have enjoyed free access from the east as well as from the west to their landing place at Cascade creek, unless, as has been stated, there was in reality some influence to prevent. At any rate, as the story goes, the Blancon interests succeeded in getting an appropriation to deepen the western channel so as to make it dependable at all stages of water, but Gen. Reed, who was then the representative of Erie in congress, succeeded in getting the appropriation employed to close the opening up. Of course this cut off all access the Blancon mill had with the outside world, and the natural result was produced. The mill closed down. It remained idle a year. Then the Reed interests, as the story goes, had a channel cut across the peninsula near the Big Meadows—almost at the west end of the peninsula where it is narrowest. This channel was cut to enable the Reed steamboats, passing up and down the lake between Buffalo and the upper ports, to more conveniently stop at

Erie. As soon as this new channel was made business was resumed at the mill. The final closing of the means of communication with the bay and the lake at this western end according to the narrative, permanently closed the most promising industry of early Erie.

There is another story, however, though not so well constructed as that regarding the western channel, which accounts for the death of the enterprise. This story associates with M. Blancon a number of other French gentlemen, one by the name of Dimanville, who also, for a time, took up his residence in Erie. These had all borne equal share in capitalizing the enterprise. After a few years' trial, however, they became dissatisfied, declined to put any more money into a losing venture and all, with the exception of M. Blancon, returned to France. Possibly this presents the most plausible of all reasons for the abandonment of so bold an undertaking, and one that seemed to the wondering people of Erie to be doing an immense business.

There are some still living who entertain the idea that the failure of the business was due to either extravagance on the part of M. Blancon or lack of attention, or both. He is remembered as a man of elegance proverbial of the French. He was very much devoted to society. A splendid dancer, he not only never absented himself from any social function at which the dance was a feature, but was himself a leader in providing or arranging entertainments of that character. But being a Frenchman, his terpsichorean proclivities are not, for that very reason, necessarily a confession of judgment in a charge of business incapacity or laxness. A Frenchman can be an elegant gentleman, a social lion, a practiced gallant and at the same time a good business man. Therefore it is quite probable the second reason was that which brought about the closing of the big mill. The business did not pay in this new country. Therefore it was discontinued.

There seems to be confirmation of this in the fact that upon the decision being arrived at to discontinue business Hon. Gideon J. Ball was selected by the French company to wind up its affairs. The abandonment of the venture was complete, so radically complete that there was no effort made to realize anything of moment out of the company's holdings. Hundreds of acres of land were owned, all of which was sold for the taxes, and it is said the Hamot, Tracy, Reed, Ball and Lyon farms, between Erie and the head of the bay, were all bought from the Blancon company through the county treasurer.

M. Blancon's venture, as near as can be learned, did not last above four or five years, but it was big while it lasted. Everything was on a tremendous scale as things were then measured. But it flattened out with exceeding promptness. The popular Frenchman left Erie, perhaps regretfully, no doubt regretted. But he went without any cloud upon his business reputation. He left ample means to settle all his indebtedness and

a man of ability and probity to attend to the business. M. Blancon amassed wealth as a wine merchant in New York after leaving Erie.

That old mill would doubtless have been standing to this day if it had been left to itself, so very strongly had it been built. But it was not. For a time part of it was occupied by Mr. Clemens Buseck as an oil cloth factory. That was the last industry it accommodated.

After a time it became a place of shelter for a horde of foreigners. There is no way now of telling what their nationality was. Quite likely there were many nationalities represented, for they were laboring people brought in by the railroad and the building of docks there—that was in the last half of the decade of the sixties. It has been said that at that time there were hundreds of families and more than a thousand people sheltered under the shingles of the old mill. It became a neighborhood nuisance in time, and at length the complaints of the neighbors reached the ears of its owners, Messrs. Scott & Hearn, and then the main part was promptly torn down. For a number of years longer the two-story extension toward Sixth street was permitted to remain and was occupied by railroad laborers. That too is now gone, and with it went out the most romantic and picturesque business venture ever identified with the name of Erie.

There still remains on Seventh street west of Cascade, a three-story frame dwelling house that was the home of the superintendent, and it is still sound and in service for residence purposes. At the time the Scott Block was built in 1874-5 the walnut lumber used for the casings and fine finishing of the interior was obtained from the timbers of the old mill by the builders, Constable & Ramsey.

The importance of an industry to the community in which it is placed is not always measured by its size. This fact would seem to be established by what is recorded of the Blancon mill. The Erie of that time boasted a population of 3,500 or thereabouts, but it had no perceptible influence upon the town to have the mill that included a most unusual number of industries suddenly removed. There were no failures of business recorded, nor was the growth of the place retarded. Business in the city proper continued much as it had previously done. And yet it is a matter of note that in every particular branch covered by the French enterprise it easily led all others. Old citizens declare that the product of its distillery more than doubled that on Eleventh street, near German, in which the Reeds were interested. It was also true that in its other branches it was a leader. Its business, however, was with the world outside of Erie. Its raw material, save the timber cut in the adjacent forests, was brought from a distance, and its finished products found markets elsewhere. Therefore, save the wages paid to its operatives, little of the money the mill earned was distributed in Erie. For that reason the discontinuance of the business of the mill of many industries caused only a temporary and not very noticeable shock to the community.

Perhaps this was due to the fact that, doubtlessly stimulated by the example of the Frenchmen, new industries along much the same line, were started here. For this, credit might be due to M. Blancon. This is true, however, of the new industries: They had more intimate relation with the place than the other had. There was the Reed flouring mill, for example, that about this time was in its most flourishing condition. That, built in 1815, stood near Fifth and Parade streets, and obtained its power from the water of Mill creek. It was one of the oldest, and, for a number of years, was one of the most productive of the many mills that bordered that stream. That mill stood until the early seventies, though it had been abandoned for some years before it finally yielded place for the march of progress.

The success of the steam saw-mill on Cascade street prompted a similar enterprise on the part of the Reeds. That mill, however, was located beyond the city limits, out to the east, at or about the Downing farm. In those days there existed a beaver dam a short distance north of the Buffalo road. The water was furnished by the little stream that flows between the Downing property and Schaal's, and, long after the animals that had constructed it were extinct the pond impounded by the dam remained and was a familiar feature of the landscape. It was alongside this beaver dam, or pond, that the new steam saw-mill was built, and for many years it did a prosperous business. That, of course, was before the time of the railroad, but evidences of the existence of that mill remained until recently in the heaps of sawdust, that, though nearly covered by vegetation, were still plainly to be seen. It is doubtful whether, at this late day, any traces of the ancient beaver dam and pond can be found, but there are people still living who remember it very well. It was an admirable site for a saw-mill, as there was water enough to meet all the requirements, and a splendid forest, rich in valuable timber trees. A little of this forest remains to this day, though it is greatly altered in its original character.

These industries, while of great benefit to the growing town of Erie, were, nevertheless, hardly entitled to the distinction of being rated as city-builders, though of course they contributed their mite.

It is early in the morning, the beginning of June, thirty-five years ago, and the sun has just looked over the tops of the somewhat lofty hills upon the left of the roadway over which we are passing. To the right there is a thicket of young beeches clad in soft foliage of delicate green, choicest of all the spring tints. Just beyond a stream glides smoothly down, for its murmuring is only of the gentlest sort as the melodious sound of its plashing among the pebbles, where the little rapid is formed by the narrowing channel, comes modulated through the fringe of blue beech and alders that stand guard over the laughing water; and just beyond rises, almost

perpendicular, a scaur of slaty soapstone rock that bears upon its summit a crown of sombre hemlock spruce.

Overhead, upon the wide-stretching limb of a giant liriodendron that seems as though extending a hand of benediction over the passing wayfarer, a wood thrush has take his position and is pouring forth the ecstasies of his matin hymn, a melody that finds in every heart responsive to nature, an answering echo.

Between the steep wooded hill upon the left, and the beechen thicket upon the right, under the station of the singing thrush, we pass as through a massive portal, and, crossing a rustic bridge, have entered the Happy Valley. Do not search for it upon the map, for you will not find it; as well look for the giant tulip-tree, in which the thrush is singing, upon the charted record. It is not there. And yet the Happy Valley is reality—a delightful reality; for it is a joy to visit its seclusion, to note its multitudinous charms, its quiet industry and abundant content on this early summer morning.

As we cross the bridge we note the beginnings of the charming little community, for directly before us there rises the steep slope of a somewhat lofty hill-side, covered to its summit with apple trees in bloom, a cloud of blush-white blossoms. Upon the left hand can be seen the waters of the creek flowing down past the high clay bluff, gleaming in the sun, its left bank bordered with a row of soldierly Lombardy poplars, and close by, a little old mill. Just opposite there is a cottage painted white and nearly buried in the foliage of the prune trees and the ornamental shrubbery.

We pass along, and observe just beyond the cottage, a road that leads up out of the valley. It is the Shunpike, romantically located and rurally rough, but its leafy canopy has ever been a favorite haunt of the thrush. The road we are pursuing bends to the left where the Shunpike joins it, and part way up the hill, embowered in the blooming apple trees there is another white cottage from the chimney of which ascends the light blue smoke indicating preparations for the early morning meal. Now the road winds easterly and then southerly; modest, but substantial homes upon our left, the orchard-planted hill upon the right, for perhaps a furlong; then the hillside changes its aspect, forest trees taking the place of those laden with the pink-white promises of fruitage. Opposite there is now a long row of stately Lombardy poplars that stand guard between the road side and the stretch of placid water—the slack-water above the mill-dam. Across, clothed with oaks and chestnut, beech and hemlock spruce, with undergrowth of dogwood and hornbeam and bramble, the steep hillside rises up from the water. The margin of the pond is decorated with clumps of blue violets and through the openings in the shrubbery on the hill may be seen, here and there, a patch of trilliums or cardamines; a bell flower or an anemone. The kingfisher shoots across the surface of the water crying his rattle-

like call; from the orchard we hear the song of the robin and the oriole; borne over from the meadows on the hilltop by the morning breeze comes the liquid melody of the bobolink.

Now we have reached the end of the column of stately poplars and are about to cross another bridge, but here the road forks. To the right it passes a large structure set into the side-hill, (a brewery it is), and proceeds in a winding course up the side of the hill until it leads out along a branch of the main stream.

To the left the road passes over the creek and upon either side there are habitations and industries. On the right there stands a large grist mill, and at a short distance up stream a saw mill. Opposite on the east side of the road and at the base of another orchard-covered hill-side, is located a spacious tavern, shaded by two large pine trees, and, on either flank there are dwellings of more modest proportions. Near by on the other side side of the road are to be seen the large stables and the horse-sheds that are part of the establishment of the wayside caravansary. Beyond, the road proceeds across another bridge and then passes up out of the valley on its way toward the ancient town of Waterford.

This was the Happy Valley of the end of the sixties. It was a place of industry and thrift. Its population numbered forty souls; its industries the manufacture of woolen cloth, the grinding of corn and wheat; the brewing of beer and the manufacture of lumber and shingles. Its name, bestowed in a spirit of facetiousness, was, nevertheless, apt enough to have been taken seriously. Peace and plenty and contentment reigned there and thrift and industry characterized its people; its name was not a misnomer.

But things are changed now in the Happy Valley. After forty years the aspect of the place is vastly different. You will not find the grist mill there—its only relic is the deep pool below the old water-wheel, grown up in summer with cat-tail flags and bordered with elders and osier willows. The sawmill long ago disappeared, become a ruin through neglect. The brewer's business failed and after a time the disused building was destroyed by fire. Even the mill pond is no longer to be seen. In its stead there is a deep cut made by the spring and fall freshets, and even the guardian poplars have been ruthlessly attacked. The trim and tidy appearance of the hamlet; the pretty old-fashioned gardens of roses and lilies, hollyhocks and sweet williams, June pinks and larkspurs, are uncared-for now. No longer are there flocks of doves to be seen circling about; the grist mill and the brewery that fed them are now gone. Even the dwellings are not all occupied.

The Happy Valley—happy valley still—though not set down on any map or chart of Erie county by any distinctive name or title, is not difficult to find. It is located just beyond Glenwood Park, on the old Waterford plank road (which is the extension of State street), and extends from the old woolen mill property up to the old Warden tavern,

a distance of a scant half mile. It is one of the most charming valley spots in Erie county, and, contiguous to Glenwood Park, ought to be bought and added to it, for its possibilities in the hands of a landscape engineer are great.

Nearly everyone who drives out into the country for pleasure; many who have gone out awheel, know this hamlet, though much reduced from its best estate, yet charming still.

But some details about it in the days of its prosperity and the statement of some of the causes that brought about its decay are in place. Perhaps they will be found entertaining—possibly instructive.

The last one of the original industries of the Happy Valley to disappear was the old woolen factory, owned for forty years by Jacob Albrecht. It occupied its place by the portals of the Happy Valley for half a century, having been built by John Jewett in 1853. Mr. Jewett operated it for ten years, but only on a small scale, having but a single loom.

In 1863 Jacob Albrecht took the mill. He was a practiced hand at the business of spinning and weaving; he was young, industrious and thrifty. Moreover he was ambitious. There seemed to be here a good opening for the practiced weaver. The place was upon a main road from the country and was near the city. Though he possessed but little capital he had unbounded faith in his abilities, and possessed a splendid stock of energy. So he contracted to purchase the mill and the acres and privileges that went with it. When he began business the mill contained but a single loom. In a short time more machinery was needed. At Yankeetown, which was about three miles up the stream, near Belle Valley, there was another woolen mill, and Mr. Albrecht, learning that the Gunnisons, who owned it, had decided to engage in the manufacture of wooden pumps, bought the looms and other machinery, so that in time the mill at Happy Valley was operating four looms, one a power machine, the others operated by hand. There was other machinery as well: his spinning jacks and jennies, that numbered many spindles, and a complete outfit of all that was necessary. He gave steady employment to seven hands, and turned out a considerable variety of goods, flannels, blankets, tweeds and such.

But he was not making swift progress financially, because untoward circumstances came upon him. More than once his dam was washed out, and the interest to pay made a hole in his profits. Then in 1873 came the great panic, and the bottom fell completely out of his business. For a time there was nothing doing. However, he kept up his courage and renewed his industry, eking out a meagre living in the struggle that the conditions of business brought about. And so he continued for twenty years longer, until the fateful year of 1893 came and visited him with dire disaster.

At this time his was the only surviving industry of all that had made the Happy Valley a busy hive. One after another those farther up stream had withdrawn from the field. He was alone, and his factory, though the worse for wear, and his machinery of ancient pattern, was yet serviceable. But there came a visitation in the night that all but ruined the last of the Happy Valley's industries. It was in May, 1893, and Mr. Albrecht relates his experience in a manner that has something of the dramatic in the method of its telling:

"I could hear the rain," he said, "and the roar of the rushing water; but it was dark. There was no moon, so I could see nothing. When the morning came we hurriedly dressed and as soon as the light broke we were eagerly looking for the creek. We saw with surprise and some fear that the water filled all the valley above and, running across the road, extended up to within a few feet of our door-step"—his home is the white cottage that stood opposite the mill.

"Soon it became light enough so we could see that there was a heap of timber of all kinds jammed against the bridge, and the culvert of the tail race from the mill was clogged. The water was running in a swift torrent across the road and cutting deep gullies in it. At length with a noise of awful rending the bridge let go and went away down stream with all the mass of timbers following; the stone abutments went with the bridge; and the road itself seemed to be going with it, and through the yawning chasm a torrent nineteen feet in depth swept resistless."

It covered all the lower ground. It poured through the lower story of his mill, pushing one side in and the other side out, and swept it clean. The spinning jenny, the mill wheel, everything fixed or movable that the lower story contained was gone in a moment's time. Even the floor went when the other contents were carried away, and Mr. Albrecht expected at any time to see the old factory that had stood in that spot for forty years, yield to the pressure and go sailing down stream. But it did not; it stood fast.

After a time the worst of the flood was over and there was possible a tour of inspection. The extent of the damage to Mr. Albrecht was appalling. Not only had he lost the most important part of his power supply in the destruction of the water wheel and its connections, but his dam was wiped out of existence. Not even a vestige of it remained. It is one of the last, possibly the very last, of the woolen factories of Erie county.

There was a time when the woolen industries of this country were of great importance, and included some mills of almost mammoth proportions—they were, at least, so for the period of their existence. This was true of the Grimshaw mill at North East, and the Flynt and Brewster mills in Erie; the Cass mill on Six-Mile creek in South Harborcreek, and

the Thornton mills were all sizeable plants, much larger than that out in the Happy Valley.

At the time Mr. Albrecht's mill was in the hey-day of its existence there were thirteen mills manufacturing cloth in Erie county. There were two in North East township, one besides the Grimshaw mill; one at Waterford, one at Wattsburg, one at McKean, two in Fairview, one at Girard, one at Albion, two in Harborcreek, one or probably two, in Springfield, and the Albrecht mill in Millcreek—all these without taking account of the mill at Yankeetown. Of all these mills there is not today a single one in operation. The Grimshaw mill was destroyed by fire many years ago, and never rebuilt. When Mr. Grimshaw collected his insurance of $20,000 he decided not to invest in what his judgment taught him to be a waning industry as it is conducted here. He invested in a farm and his production of wool was confined to the fleeces stripped from his flocks of sheep.

The most persistent of the weavers were the Thorntons at Albion and Fairview. They made excellent goods, their flannels and blankets being among the finest and most substantial obtainable anywhere. But this branch of textile industry no longer thrives in Erie county.

But we must return to the Happy Valley. There were other features of it worthy of note that have not been touched upon. That grist mill that stood at the upper end of the hamlet was built in 1802, and was one of the first mills erected in Erie county. It was built by a man named Butt, and the saw-mill that stood a short distance farther up stream was part of the same enterprise. Later it was owned by Mr. Hershey and later yet by H. Scheloski. It was known as the Erie County mill and was still standing in the early eighties. Now all that marks its former location is the deep circular pool into which the water poured from its driving wheel.

Standing against the western hillside—indeed, built into it—for many years there stood a brewery. That particular site was chosen because of two strong springs of pure water that poured out of the hill. The brewery was built in 1864 by the Knolls, of Erie. It was a well planned establishment, extensive cellars having been excavated into the hill, and Mr. Knoll, who built it, had been connected with the Erie County mill for some time. The real cause of the failure of that brewery's business is not known, but it came into straightened circumstances. In its distress old John Gelchesheimer, who used to keep a little beer hall on Peach Street, near Twentieth, and his son-in-law, Mr. Haas, became interested in it, but it went out of business about 1880, and some time afterwards was burned. It is probable that, like the grist mill on the other side of the creek, it was found that the state of competition without the transportation facilities enjoyed by the mills near the railroad operated to its disadvantage. It is also hinted that rumors of a rail-

road to pass up Mill Creek valley and right through the property of one of these helped to decide the question in favor of abandoning business. At the present time the Glenwood Wine Co. uses the cellars of the old brewery for the wine business.

There now remains the old tavern. It is the best preserved of the old landmarks of the once prosperous hamlet in the Happy Valley. The date of its erection is not obtainable. It was undoubtedly in the fifties, if not earlier. It was an admirable location for a wayside inn, being about four miles out of the Erie of its prosperous days, and close by a grist mill. When Mr. Albrecht moved into the valley, it was kept by a Mr. Warden, and afterwards S. Gloth kept it. As it stands today it has a really inviting aspect and a promise in its fine old-fashioned homeliness of old-fashioned hospitality. Beautifully, even picturesquely, situated, it is a pleasant spot at which to rest, and in the days of its business prosperity was deservedly popular.

CHAPTER XXI.—HOW COMMERCE GREW.

THE FIRST VESSELS AND THE EARLIEST CAPTAINS.—STEPS TAKEN TO OPEN THE BAY.—A CENTURY OF PROTECTION.

It was away back in the spring of 1753, when the entire south shore of Lake Erie was an absolutely unbroken wilderness, the lake itself an insert in the heart of the stupendous forest expanse which stretched from the Mexican Gulf to the Arctic sea, that the commerce of Erie began—that the waters of Presque Isle Bay were first parted by the prow of a white man's vessel. Before that the waters of the lake had rolled before the breeze onward to the shore, unvexed by any device of man, save, now and then, by the paddle of the Indian, as, taking advantage of their most amiable moods, he propelled his canoe of birchen bark along the coast. But in 1753 the new era began, when Sieur Marin and his expedition paddled their batteaux through the tortuous entrance into the beautiful sheet of water that Duquesne had pronounced "The finest in nature." Prophetic expression, done later less tersely, less comprehensively and less poetically in the now hackneyed phrase, "The finest harbor on the chain of lakes." It is true the commerce of the Frenchman was not commerce in the generally accepted sense. But it was commerce nevertheless; all the commerce there could then be, for there were none to be supplied with the necessites of life or the luxuries—if indeed luxuries were demanded—except the soldiery of the expedition sent out to accomplish an allotted task. And, luxuries having been mentioned it may be pardoned if one should hark back to what has been said of the French regime here, and recall the fact that among the stores sent into this forest wilderness there was a considerable quantity of silks and velvets, of no particular use to the red man of the woods or the soldier turned sapper and miner, but of a good deal to the governor and his subordinates to whom the money for which they were sold to the King "came in handy." This then was the beginning of the commerce of Erie.

It is a far cry from the batteau of birch bark or a hollowed-out tree trunk to a 10,000-ton steel steamship, but yet this port of Erie has witnessed the evolution, great as it is; and that evolution covers an interval of scarcely more than a hundred years. Less than a century ago, when Com. O. H. Perry had a pressing errand to Buffalo, he employed a row boat and a detail of men from the naval establishment at Erie to

transport him thither, and it was only a few years earlier when there was not an embarkation of any kind upon the waters of Lake Erie of greater proportions than those employed by the Frenchmen who first made Erie known to the civilized world. It would not be proper to omit the statement that the enterprising Frenchmen had navigated this lake by a sailing vessel many years before, La Salle having in 1678-79 built the schooner Griffon at a point on Niagara river above the falls, a place now named La Salle, after him, and sailed one voyage in it. But it was one of the ships that sailed and never came back. It was, moreover, a ship with which we have nothing to do, for there is nothing in any of the records of that unfortunate cruise to show that she even sighted this portion of the shore.

The beginnings of navigation that concern us—navigation by sailing craft that traded with, or called at, Erie, were undoubtedly at the time the permanent settlement of this county began, and the first so far as any records go, who navigated a sailing craft to Erie was James Talmadge, who brought Col. Seth Reed and family to Presque Isle in 1795. Captain Talmadge, however, ceased to be a navigator, becoming a pioneer settler in this goodly land. Later in the same year Captain William Lee navigated a sailing vessel of small size, bringing to Erie Judah Colt and his party, but, unlike Talmadge, Lee had the true instincts of the sailor, and was the first settled navigator of this port, for here he took up his abode and his name entered into the early geography of the place. His vessel was engaged as regularly as business would admit between Buffalo and Erie, carrying light freight and passengers, but it is related that when headwinds became troublesome, passengers besides paying their fare, had to "work their passage" by taking their turn at the oars. The first sailing vessel built in the vicinity of Erie was the Washington, of thirty tons, constructed by the Pennsylvania Population Company at the mouth of Four-mile creek, and launched in September, 1798. She was not only the largest vessel of her time but the first to be built on the south shore of Lake Erie. For twelve years she did business on Lake Erie in the service of her owners. Next year after the building of the Washington, in 1799, Captain Lee and Rufus S. Reed built the Good Intent at the mouth of Mill creek, and she became a regular trader between Erie and Buffalo, but in 1806 sank off Point Abino with all on board. Other early Erie vessels were the Harlequin, built by Eliphalet Beebe, in 1800, but unfortunately, wrecked the same year, her entire crew being drowned; in 1801, the Wilkinson, of sixty-five tons, and in 1805 the Mary of 100 tons.

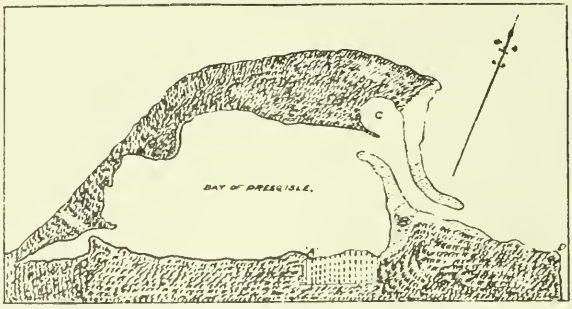
And now began what might be called the real commerce of Erie. It was the period when the salt trade flourished; when that necessary commodity was in demand in the west, and the best known source of supply was Salina, in New York State. Not only was there a moder-

ate "boom" in vessel property, but the accompaniments profited as well. Warehouses came into existence. Storage and commission, as well as forwarding flourished. Erie was the entrepot for the salt trade for the whole of the interior—Pittsburg and down the Ohio river. The salt was transported to Waterford, and a new turnpike road was constructed to facilitate the traffic, and Erie became a terminal of both lake and inland commerce. For the period Erie was perhaps the most important port on the lake. Among the pioneer lake captains were Daniel Dobbins, William Lee, Thomas Wilkins (a third generation of the Wilkinses today has a commander on the bridge of a modern steamship) Seth Barney, C. Blake, James Rough, John F. Wight, William Davenport, Levi Allen, John Richards, George Miles and Charles Hayt. In the course of a short time Capt. Richards abandoned sailing for shipbuilding, at which he was very successful. Then came the steamboat days, and not long afterwards the period when the canal gave stimulus to the commerce of Erie.

The experience of the navigators engaged in the salt trade demonstrated the fact that there was something to be desired in connection with Erie's harbor. Rather, it ought to be said, these navigators confirmed the verdict brought in by Com. Perry in 1813, because the most pressing need found in the Erie harbor by those engaged in carrying salt here was a way to get in, just as Perry's great need was a way to get out, and they are both in effect the same. Erie was then a small place. In the year 1820 its population was only 635. It will probably strike the reader that, being of such diminutive proportions, there could not be much hope that any call that it might raise for assistance to the general government for aid in this matter would bring success. But the cry went up, just the same.

There had been a new incentive for the cry. A new era had already dawned. In the year 1818 there was launched at Buffalo a new maritime device. It was called, without reference to official designation or adopted name, the Steam Boat, and this steam boat began at once to make more or less regular trips to the various ports on the lake. Erie was on her list, and here she was a regular visitor. But she was unable to get inside the bay. This was the circumstance which prompted or provoked the cry, and this cry found utterance in the columns of the *Genius of the Lakes* of October 3, 1818. Nor was it a heedless, purposeless call. There was a plan behind it and a motive in it. The purpose of the call was to secure if possible the election to Congress of Thomas Wilson, with the expectation that when he got to Washington he would be able to obtain an appropriation. And, like nearly every other movement in aid of a public betterment this had been fitted out with a plan, which was to cut down hemlock trees and, piling them on each side of the tortuous channel at the entrance to the bay, by

this means hold the sand in place and prevent its being washed down into the current, by which means a more constant and uniform depth might be preserved. What the people wanted was an appropriation ample enough to cut these trees down and pile them in place. Mr. Wilson was elected. An appropriation was secured. The improvement of the harbor entrance was promptly begun. But the newspaper appeal and the editors' hemlock tree plan were neither of them in it. There were far greater things in store for Erie.



"A" U. S. Navy Yard, Storehouse and Wharf. "B" Store-house "C" Misery Bay. "D" Light house.

1818.

(Sketch by F. G. Lynch from illustration in *Genius of the Lakes*)

The condition of affairs at Presque Isle Bay came to the attention of the government first through Com. Perry's experience, and immediately afterwards by the Commodore's report and recommendation. To this had been supplemented memorials from Erie men, some of whom had acquired quite extensive vessel interests. When, therefore, Erie had secured a representative in Congress prompt action was taken. The very next year a general survey was made of the harbor by the government. Following this up the State appointed Thomas Forster, Giles Sanford and George Moore a commission to survey Erie habor, and appropriated $15,000 for the work. Again the general government came forward and in 1823 appropriated $20,000, which was available in May, 1824, to begin work with.

There is a tolerably reliable, though crude, map of the entrance of the bay as it existed in 1818. It was published in the Genius of the Lakes. This map illustrates the eastern end of the bay with its long and winding channel passing between two long sandbars in the form of tongues, one extending from the mainland out nearly to the peninsula; the other somewhat similar in form extending from the eastern end of the peninsula almost to the mainland. The plan adopted by

the government was, not to deepen the natural entrance that existed, but to close it, cutting instead a straight passage directly across both bars from the bay to the anchorage outside. When that passage had been cut, two long piers, one on the north of the passage and another on the south, and 200 feet apart were built, extending from deep water inside to the deep water outside. These piers were flanked by the breakwater that closed the original entrance and another extending north up into Misery bay as far as the mouth of Niagara pond. Then there were built a series of short piers diagonally from the western end of the south pier toward what eventually became the northern end of the Public dock. This original plan has been adhered to up to the present time.

But while the original plan still obtains, there have been remarkable changes made in the works at the harbor entrance. Subsequently it became necessary to widen the space between the piers to 350 feet. The channel piers holding the sand upon each side in place, ensured ample depth of water between them; for the almost constant flow of the water in or out kept the channel there scoured clean down to the very rock foundation. This scouring process, however, deposited the sand at each end, forming troublesome bars, and at the eastern end this was complicated by the action of the seas and prevailing current of the lake carrying vast bodies of sand down the northern coast of the peninsula and around the point, depositing them along with the scourings of the channel immediately outside the entrance. For a long time a great amount of dredging was required, both inside and outside to maintain a clear channel, and this was generally accomplished so that the shipping of the time found it usually serviceable. The channel was first ready for use in 1827; by the year 1829 there was from seven and a half to fifteen feet over the bar, and in 1833 it was uniformly twelve feet; by 1844 the action of the water between the piers had scoured the channel to 18 feet. But all the while the trouble about the terminal bars continued and meanwhile the piers were falling into decay. With the renewal of the piers came the widening of the channel, and, from time to time, to remedy the trouble of the formation of the bars, the piers were extended. In 1880 there was an extension eastward of 242 feet; in 1891, 452.15 feet, and in 1893 there was a third extension of 301.4 feet. Since that time extensive permanent improvements have been made upon these piers by constructing the whole of the superstructure of concrete.

Meanwhile there was trouble in another direction. In the winter of 1828-29 there occurred a breach in the isthmus at the head of the bay which was of so threatening a character that the engineers felt called upon to give it their entire attention, and the whole of the year's appropriation from Congress, $7,390 was required to stop the gap. The second break occurred in the winter of 1832-33. This was carefully

examined by Lt. Col. Totten under direction of the chief of engineers, who recommended that the breach be studied for a season with the purpose in view of determining whether another entrance at the western end of the bay might not be maintained. Meanwhile the breach greatly widened until in 1835 there was an opening a mile in width. In that year Lieut. T. S. Brown submitted plans for an opening, guarded by piers 400 feet apart, and work was begun upon it and an extensive plant established there, including barracks for the workmen. The work continued until 1839, when appropriations ceased and nothing whatever was done until 1852. Meanwhile the opening was utilized to a certain extent. Occasionally a vessel would venture through. The steamer Ohio, drawing 7½ feet, and the brig Virginia, drawing 5½ feet, besides the revenue cutter Erie are recorded as having made the passage, but it did not come into general use. Faint-hearted attempts to complete the work begun were made; then efforts were put forth to save the work that had been done, but at length, in 1857 the work was entirely abandoned and no attention was paid to the matter, one way or another, until 1864, when Col. T. J. Cram was assigned as engineer to have charge of Erie harbor. He found the breach at the west end of the bay entirely closed, nature having effectually done the work.

Though the break had been closed the whole of the damage wrought had not been repaired. There was a portion of that isthmus where trees thickly stood at the time the first breach occurred that was washed entirely away, and the repair made by nature was complete only during an ordinary or low stage of water. During strong westerly gales the seas still washed over a section about 500 feet in length. There was a different belief in connection with an opening at the head of the bay from what had been. During the twenty-three years of the existence of the passage or channel at the head ample opportunity had been offered to observe the effect. The result was convincing that it was dangerous to the harbor. Col. Cram's first work was to strengthen the weak place, but in 1874 during a heavy gale in November, the seas again broke through. Col. Blunt was then in charge and he first got the passage closed and then proceeded with a bulkhead protection consisting of lines of piles faced with plank, and this was reinforced with an abatis of brush and limestone. Upwards of a mile of the bulkhead protection, first and last, was constructed along that shore, and much of it remains to the present time, although the greater part is now in a state of decay. However, surveys indicate that there has been a constant accretion of sand in the bight at the west end of the peninsula, so that at the present time and probably for the future there is no apprehension to be felt that there will again be such an opening formed as that of 1834. During the heaviest northwest gales it still occurs that the water, raised by the

pressure of the wind and carried forward by the impetuous seas, will sweep in a strong stream across into the bay cutting gullies of considerable depth. Upon the subsidence of the wind, however, when the water falls back to normal, its level is considerably below the land, and in the course of a short time the depressions made by the torrents are drifted full of sand by the wind and sometimes dunes of considerable height were formed.

Some danger from the erosion of the north shore was apprehended, and not without cause. In 1873 the government erected a brick lighthouse on the summit of the arc of the north shore. This lighthouse, long generally known as the Flash Light, was in reality the third lighthouse built for Erie harbor. The first which was the first on the lakes to be built by the government, was located on a piece of land east of the city and opposite the entrance to the harbor—a sightly piece of ground on a high bluff, ceded by Gen. John Kelso, in 1818. The lighthouse then built stood until 1858, when a new house was built of Milwaukee brick, but that in turn gave place in 1866 to a tower of gray sandstone, one of the handsomest on the coast. It cost the government $20,000. In 1880 the Lighthouse board decided to discontinue this light, but so strong a protest was made by the citizens, who secured the backing of the vessel interests, that it was restored and continued until finally abandoned and dismantled, the light was last exhibited December 26, 1899. The second lighthouse established here was the beacon or Harbor Light at the east end of the north channel pier which was placed in position in 1830. Wrecked by a collision with a schooner, it was replaced in 1858 by an iron tower, which has from time to time been moved farther eastward as the pier has been extended. This with its complement of range lights is probably the most important of the harbor guides of Erie.

It was in 1873 that the lighthouse on the outer shore of the peninsula was built, and it cost $15,000. It was planted a considerable distance back from the shore line among the dunes of which Presque Isle is formed. In the course of time, however, by the process of erosion the water steadily advanced inland until at length the lighthouse property was seriously threatened. Nor was this washing away of the land confined to that vicinity. The same force was in operation all along that low coast, for, when saturated with water, the sand is exceedingly mobile. In places the washing away of the sand had produced so much weakness that during heavy gales the seas swept across the low ridges, filling the ponds behind them with sand and overturning the largest of the timber. The first attention of the engineers was given to the saving of the lighthouse property. With this end in view a pier or mole was constructed out into the lake at right angles with the shore and a short distance east of the lighthouse. The effect was immediate and satisfactory in every particular. The sand was

caught in the upper angle and accumulating, both by the action of the seas, and by being drifted when dry by the wind, in the course of time formed a beach more than 1,000 feet wide, and apparently forever removed the danger to which the property had been exposed. This expedient was resorted to farther west, where trouble had occurred, and piers Nos. 1 and 2 were built and are successfully employed.

The credit for the revival of interest in the harbor of Erie, by which the improvements made were of a permanent character is due to Hon. Samuel A. Davenport, who, while a member of Congress, devoted his efforts to that especial work. The son of one of the earliest prominent lake navigators, it was not unnatural that he should take an interest in Erie's harbor. Besides that natural bent, if you please, Mr. Davenport had that quality of good citizenship, which, being observant of a public need, feels the necessity of providing a means to remedy it. When he was named in connection with the nomination for congressman-at-large, the fact that he was interested in securing from the National government the means to render Erie harbor secure, and besides, bring it up to the requirements of the time, induced a number of Erie men of prominence, regardless of their party affiliations, to take an interest in his candidacy. The result was that, in 1896, he was elected. Immediately Hon. S. A. Davenport addressed himself to the work in hand. Never before was the subject entered into with so much thoroughness and detail. Mr. Davenport found, when he came to present the matter to the engineers department, and the committee of Congress to which it belonged, that he could barely obtain a hearing. There were reports on file and records of their kind, but these seemed to be of a character adverse to hope, and at a distance so remote as Washington it was apparently impossible to secure the attention desired.

Mr. Davenport was not discouraged. Returning to Erie he called the camera into requisition and secured photographs of the government work of years before, all gone to decay. He obtained pictures in large number, of bulkhead remains; of the piling in ruins, of the channel piers fast disappearing—in short of the actual condition of things as they existed at the time. Besides he was prepared with data concerning the demands of commerce of the time, and statements of fact with reference to the inadequate conditions at Erie to meet the demands. When he returned to Washington he was fortified. What he presented to the committee was interesting. It was convincing. It produced an instant effect. A visit to Erie was decided upon by the committee of Congress, and when it was seen that the pictures told but half of the story, the matter was settled. It was late to get a place in the general appropriation measure, but a way was found to take care

of the case. An appropriation was voted for $375,000, a third of it available immediately.

It was out of this fund that the piers on the north shore of the Peninsula were constructed so as to prevent the erosion of the coast, and the work that has made the channel piers permanent, by constructing the superstructure of concrete, is also a part of the betterment that resulted. The deepening of the channel so that vessels of twenty-two feet draft may enter was another work that resulted, and, for the first time in the history of the harbor of Erie there were funds that seemed sufficient for the needs available with which to do the work. It is proper to add that Erie has not lacked for means since the work was inaugurated by Mr. Davenport. The present representative in Congress from the Erie district, Hon. Arthur L. Bates, continues the work, made easier to his hand by what was done when Mr. Davenport inaugurated his campaign of information. The appropriations that have been made by Congress for Erie harbor, from first to last have been as follows:

1823	$ 150.00	June 10, 1872	$ 15,000.00
May 26, 1824	20,000.00	June 23, 1874	20,000.00
May 25, 1826	7,000.00	March 3, 1875	30,000.00
March 2, 1827	2,000.00	August 14, 1876	40,000.00
May 19, 1828	6,223.18	June 16, 1878	25,000.00
March 3, 1829	7,390.25	March 3, 1879	25,000.00
March 2, 1831	1,700.00	June 14, 1880	25,000.00
July 3, 1832	4,500.00	March 3, 1881	20,000.00
March 2, 1833	6,000.00	August 2, 1882	20,000.00
June 28, 1834	23,045.00	July 5, 1884	50,000.00
March 3, 1835	5,000.00	August 5, 1886	37,500.00
July 2, 1836	15,122.80	August 11, 1888	83,000.00
March 3, 1837	15,000.00	September 19, 1890	40,000.00
July 7, 1838	30,000.00	July 13, 1892	40,000.00
June 11, 1844	40,000.00	August 18, 1894	10,000.00
August 30, 1852	30,000.00	May 11, 1896	1,289.33
1864 (allotment)	15,000.00	March 3, 1899	125,000.00
June 23, 1866	36,961.00	June 13, 1902	125,000.00
March 2, 1867	25,000.00	March 3, 1905	125,000.00
1868 (allotment)	40,000.00	March 2, 1907	120,000.00
1869 (allotment)	22,275.00	Received from sales	4,724.39
June 11, 1870	20,000.00		
March 3, 1871	29,000.00	Total	$1,442,880.95
1871 (allotment)	10,000.00		

The United States Life-saving service on Lake Erie was organized in 1876 by Captain Douglas Ottinger of Erie of the revenue service. Capt. Ottinger was for many years interested in the saving of life from the effect of storms on the coasts of the United States. He claimed as his the invention of the life car, an important device in its day, made famous at the beginning by the rescue of a large number of persons from the Ship Ayrshire on the coast of New Jersey. His claim as inventor of this device was contested by Capt. Francis, but Capt. Ottinger's connection with the service, and the number

of other inventions in connection with the rescue of people from wrecked vessels, became recognized at an early day. When, therefore it was determined to establish the Life Saving service on Lake Erie, the work of effecting an organization was assigned to Capt. Ottinger, then in command of the revenue cutter Com. Perry. Shortly afterwards, he was succeeded in regular charge by Capt. D. P. Dobbins of Buffalo, a native of Erie, who continued until his death, August 20, 1892, when he was succeeded by Capt. Chapman of Oswego, with headquarters at Buffalo. The Ninth district as finally organized, under the supervision of Capt. Chapman, includes Lakes Ontario and Erie and the Falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, Ky. The stations on Lake Erie are at Buffalo, Erie, Ashtabula, Cleveland, Fairport and Point Marblehead.

At Erie the original life saving station was built in 1876 on the north shore of the peninsula near its eastern end, with Clark Jones in charge. It was found to be an inconvenient place, being difficult of access, and not a good location to render efficient service, except in the immediate vicinity. Accordingly in 1877, the station was removed to the north channel pier, at the harbor entrance, and in the same year William Clark took charge. He served efficiently until 1891, when he was drowned while trying to rescue the passengers of the steamer Badger State, aground in a storm on the north shore of the peninsula. His successor was Capt. Andrew P. Jansen, still in charge. Since the station was located on the channel pier the equipment was added to from time to time with a view to keeping the efficiency of the service to as high a degree as possible, a notable addition to the apparatus being a new and improved self-righting and self-bailing life boat of the English pattern, a boat that had been on exhibition at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, which was put into service at Erie in 1894.

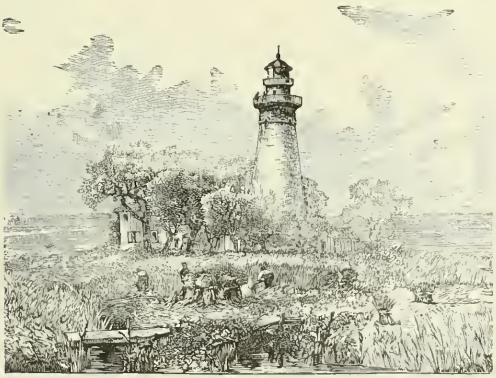
The light-houses of Erie have already been alluded to. The original Erie Light, that was established on the point east of Erie and opposite the old-time anchorage near the entrance to the bay, was established and the first tower built in 1818, and it was the first lighthouse on the chain of great lakes. It was rebuilt of brick in 1858, and again rebuilt of stone in 1866, when an improved lantern of French manufacture was installed. The keepers have been: Capt. John Bone, 1818; Robert Kincaide, 1833; Griffith Henton, 1841; Eli Webster, 1841; James W. Miles, 1849; John Graham, 1854; Gen. James Fleming, 1858, and A. C. Landon, same year; John Goalding, 1861; George Demond, 1864; A. J. Fargo, 1871; George W. Miller, 1885, until the light was discontinued.

The Presque Isle Pier Head, or Beacon Light was erected on the north pier in 1830, and its keepers have been: up to 1861, with dates of appointment not set down, William T. Downs, Benjamin

Fleming, John Hess and Leonard Vaughn; George W. Bone was appointed in 1861; Richard P. Burke, 1863; Frank Henry, 1869; Chas. D. Coyle, 1884; Robert Hunter, 1889; Thomas L. Wilkins, 1898. Assistants: James Johnson, 1873; C. E. McDannell, 1881; William H. Harlow, 1885; Robert Hunter, 1886; Thomas L. Wilkins, 1889; Edward Pfister, 1892; John W. Reddy, 1894.

Presque Isle Light, generally known as the flash-light, was built on the north shore of the peninsula in 1873. Its keepers have been, Charles T. Waldo, 1873; three appointments were made in 1880, none of which held—they were George E. Irvin, A. J. Harrison and O. J. McAllister. At length, in the fall of the same year George E. Town of North East was appointed and held the position until 1883, when Clark M. Cole took it; Lewis Vannatta entered in 1886; Lewis Walrose in 1891, and Thomas L. Wilkins in 1892.

The United States weather and signal office was established at Erie in 1873, and has been located in the Federal building ever since it was completed.



OLD LIGHT HOUSE

CHAPTER XXII.—THE PENINSULA.

Its Attractions.—Changes That Have Taken Place.—Cranberry Day.—Its Transfer to the U. S. Government.

Presque Isle Bay is such by reason of the peninsula—it is the peninsula that gives the bay its name. The peninsula is a tract of low sandy land with a coast (its northern boundary) of about eight miles, which is its greatest length. Its greatest width is about a mile and a half, but nearly half the area enclosed by its boundaries consists of water, contained in numerous small lakes or ponds, many of them communicating but more of them landlocked, and almost without exception beautiful little bodies of water. The origin of the peninsula, according to Mr. J. C. Quintus, a government engineer for several years stationed at Erie, was the action of the water which by the current that sets toward the east, accelerated by the winds, carrying the sand in its progress, formed a "hook." Undoubtedly at the beginning the hook was a small affair, but, the action continuing in time this hook, growing larger, and higher as the sand was heaped up during the high stages of water that prevail during westerly gales, the hook, when the wind subsided was above the level of the water. Drying in the sun, the sand was carried about by the winds forming dunes that raised the surface still higher, each storm making a fresh contribution of material which in its turn became operated upon by the wind. Meanwhile the current was extending the hook toward the east, and from time to time as the storms from the opposite direction acted upon the prolongation of the hook there was a tendency to curve the end of it in towards the mainland. By this process bodies of water were enclosed behind these spurs, and thus the ponds were formed. This process has been continuous; it is not yet at an end. Very many residents of Erie of the present day have, by observation been able to verify this scientific theory, for they have witnessed the formation of the deep round pond northeast of the channel lightkeeper's dwelling, which, twenty-five years ago, was a wide-mouthed bay, known as Horseshoe Bight, opening directly from the lake. It is now landlocked.

There is no manner of determining the length of time required for the formation of the peninsula. It is possible it may have had its beginning in the glacial epoch, when the bed of Lake Erie was plowed out by the stupendous force of the immense body of ice, that, covering it,

moved slowly toward the east. It may, however, have begun ages afterward, and exactly in accordance with the theory laid down by Mr. Quintus. The same processes are in constant operation on the ocean coast. Some historians have made the mistake of stating that within the memory of man it was a treeless waste. This statement can be made to apply to the eastern end, but not to the main peninsula. There are trees in the interior—pine, hemlock and oak—that undoubtedly are centuries old, while the floor contains the remains of fallen giants that were probably prostrate when the settlement of Erie was begun. And there is another fact not to be lost sight of, namely, that all the timber now growing there undoubtedly sprang from the seeds of trees that already occupied the ground. Those who have frequented the peninsula for forty years or more cannot from comparisons drawn from memory say that there is an appreciable difference in the general size of the trees with which it is timbered.

It is a tract of virgin forest. Save when the Marine Hospital corporation had control no timber has been cut on the peninsula, and then the cutting was confined to the red cedar. It has always been carefully guarded. Nor have any changes or permanent works been made or erected there—and here also a saving clause, because, to protect it from the influences of the storms the government constructed two moles or piers, one to prevent encroachment upon the Presque Isle lighthouse property. The Board of Commissioners of Water Works in pursuance of their enterprise to extend the intake pipe of their system out into the open lake beyond, opened up and deepened the lily pond at the west end of Big bend, and upon a reservation obtained for their use are constructing settling basins and laying out the grounds adjacent. But the growing timber has been spared. The unanimous sentiment of the people, as well as the scientific judgment of the U. S. government in whose custody it is, are for the preservation inviolate of this magnificent tract of forest.

The peninsula is composed of lake sand. The greatest altitude is about twenty feet. It consists of a series of ridges or drifts, more or less well defined, that extend about parallel and run in an almost due easterly and westerly direction. They are in fact ancient dunes now covered with timber. In the older part the soil has become modified by the formation of vegetable mould, and in many of the depressions there are peaty deposits, increasing year by year. Some of the ponds of the olden time are now practically filled up by the accumulations of this humus.

In the early sixties when the writer first became acquainted with the peninsula—and it was true for a score of years afterward—there was a constant entrance maintained by the natural currents, from the main bay into the first pond. It was not of uniform depth or width and

was tortuous and sometimes difficult of passage. Upon occasions, when the water was low in the bay and the flow had been outward for a considerable period, it was a difficult matter to navigate a boat through that passage, for, besides the current setting out, there was always a bar formed outside that in a low stage of water was likely to have not more than two or three inches of water over it. The currents or tides of the lake are just as regular as the winds, but not more so. When there is a strong wind from the west after a calm the water in the bay rises, and there have been instances where in severe storms the water has washed over the public dock. When the wind subsides the water recedes. On the other hand, an east wind after a calm lowers the water in the bay. The reason for this is apparent. Erie is near the eastern end of the lake. Besides, it is on the narrowest part. A gale from the west, therefore, drives the water down the lake, and the contracted space between Long Point and this shore causes it to rise, even more than it would were the lake open and free.

When the water rises in the bay, naturally it flows into the ponds of the peninsula; when it flows out with the subsidence of the body of water in the lake; it is drained from the peninsula ponds. Thus was maintained a free navigable entrance. There is none now between the outer bay and the first pond, but not because there is a change in the program of nature—that the lake tides have ceased. Not at all. It is because the hand of man has interfered. There is a field of wild rice growing inside the entrance that it is almost impossible to force a boat through. That rice is not indigenous there. It was sown many years ago by the Fish and Game Association for the purpose of attracting the wild duck in the fall. That plantation of wild rice is what closed the entrance to the first pond, and it did so by forming a dam. Since it obtained its growth the free flow of the water has been retarded, and the stream being never at any time sufficient in volume to scour out the channel, the action of the waves, and the force of the winds has at length effectually bottled up the ponds, and now it is impossible without constant work to maintain even an artificial entrance.

The first of the ponds, which is circular in form, is of considerable extent, and has a low island in the centre. In the olden times this pond could be distinctly seen from the mainland lying calm and blue in its emerald surrounding, a picture itself. Now it is but indistinctly seen, the growth of aspens and cottonwoods that came up when the channel was closed, cutting off the view. Then not only was the view unobstructed but the navigation of the water was free, nothing more than clumps of rushes or perhaps a snag of a button-bush stump offering interference.

On the west, nearly opposite the little island, there was a winding but deep channel that led to the west, into a smaller pond of very irregular form that extended north and south, and had an arm extending like a

canal, it was so long and of such uniform width and depth, in a northerly direction. It terminated in a pine wood, under the large trees of which there were the remains of a trapper's hut.

Passing out of the second pond through another deep canal, evidently produced by old-time currents, entrance is found to a small circular pool, so filled with a growth of spatter-dock and toad-lilies that progress is retarded. A few yards, however, brings one to another passage, the entrance to Long Pond, as lovely a stretch of water as could be found anywhere, extending northwest and southeast, at least a mile and maybe a mile and a half. Up at the end of the pond there is a good firm dry landing that admits into the heart of a splendid woods that forms the centre of the peninsula. From that point it is possible to walk across to the lake shore, through the deep woods, penetrating thickets of alder and willow where the ground is low, and then proceeding across the parallel lines of sand dunes in the little intervales of which the red cedar trees made vigorous growth, to the shore of the lake, the northern boundary of the peninsula.

Lying right at the door of a populous city, the peninsula is a piece of virgin forest into which we may step and be in close communion with nature, for the forest is yet inviolate. Go in the springtime and listen to the voices that come from woods and thickets, from shores and swamps. The birds that know no fear, that find perfect security to build their nests and rear their young; the four-footed creatures, the chipmunk, the deer mouse, the hare, the muskrat, the mink; the batrachians and chelonians, the snakes and the newts—most of them so wild they do not know enough to be afraid.

There is here a wilderness garden that can hardly be surpassed. In early May may be found many a stretch of low sand dunes that have been carpeted with the glossy evergreen leaves of the bear-berry, stretches acres in area, the air vocal with the melodious hum of a million bees, the air an ocean of delicate perfume. A week or two later mammoth beds of blue lupine cover sometimes an acre in extent, one mass of ultramarine, while here and there, on the edge of the patch or close by, is to be seen a clump of the brilliant orange of the hairy puccoon, and in the shady places growing where its feet are always in the cool dampness, the wild lily of the valley, as sweet scented as any convallaria ever was.

Or here is another trip. It is along a ridge that used to be entered upon at the lightkeepers' boathouse when it was on the interior pond, and the route is toward the west, but not to be undertaken if not immune to ivy poisoning, for the ivy grows rank on each side the path; it even hides the trail from view and grows higher than pedestrians' heads. The path passes out into an open woods, consisting of pines and oaks on the ridge, red maples, and an occasional tupelo or wild cherry on the

lower ground, and beyond, forming the margin of the pond, alders and willows, with humbler shrubs such as the winter berry, the button bush and the Carolina rose. The air is full of the fragrance of the pines, and vibrates with the music of the warblers and vireos and song-sparrows. Along the ridge the course leads, passing the loftiest point on the peninsula, some twenty feet or more above the level of the lake. Soon lower ground is reached, but the woods are still heavy and they stretch more extensively on every hand. Here are to be found the big pink moccasin-flower, one of the most showy of our native orchids, and it grows here by the hundreds—yes, by the thousand. Gather them. Handsful, armsful will not exhaust them. And this is but one of the peninsular haunts of this beautiful flower.

Or, visit the peninsula in the season of wild roses. Where can there be found a grander rose garden? The passage up into Niagara pond in rose time is between solid walls of the Carolina rose with the air fairly heavy with the perfume, so numerous are the flowers. What is true of Niagara pond holds good from end to end of the peninsula in rose time.

And so it is with every period of the summer season—when the pontederias and the arrowheads are in flower; the button bush and cornels are in bloom; when the wild grape has its turn at perfuming the air; when the rose-mallow blooms in the shallow water and the nympheas float out where it is deeper; when the skullcap and the false dragonhead appear among the sedges; and when, rounding out the season of flowers, we may gather the centaury and later the fringed gentian or make a bouquet of the fragrant leafless utricularia and equally sweet-scented ladies tresses, with purple gerardias to complicate the color scheme.

Nor is everything to be found on the peninsula common and cheap. Quite the contrary. Let me make a few quotations from so good an authority as Gray's Manual, 6th Ed. Here is a plant called Utricularia resupinata, which after the description has this note as to its range: "Sandy margins of ponds, E. Maine to R. I., near the coast; also N. New York and Presque Isle, Lake Erie." Thus according to the book our peninsula has a special credit mark. It is only proper to add that this species of bladderwort is one of six found on the peninsula.

Here is another plant with its notation in Gray's Manual: "Eleocharis quadrangulata * * Shallow water; central New York to Michigan and southward; rare." It is found growing in the first pond.

Again; a fern, a delicate plant that cost a painful experience with mosquitoes to collect when first discovered here: "Botrychium simplex * * Maine to N. Y., Minn. and northward; rare." It is a peninsula plant.

Our water lily has an interesting story. It is not the water lily of the east, but an altogether different species. That of the coast is Nymphaea odorata, is sweet scented and is sometimes pink. Our water lily is

Nymphaea reniformis, is never pink and has no fragrance or sometimes a slight odor as of apples. Years ago it was noted as growing only in the vicinity of Meadville, having been reported by Allegheny College. It grew in Conneaut lake. Now observe: The lilies we have here came from Conneaut lake. The seeds undoubtedly came down the canal—lilies are abundant wherever there is enough of the canal left to accommodate them—they passed down from the canal through a little stream that empties into the pond at Waldameer and there they were first established in this vicinity. From there they worked eastward over the peninsula, the seeds carried perhaps by the water fowl, until now almost every pond of the peninsula has the white water lily growing in it.

Another plant that is generally rare—that was not reported from the shores of Lake Erie until within a few years, is a peninsula willow, Salix adenophylla, and a sedge, local and restricted in its habitat is Carex nigro marginata. Then there are a number of plants that grow on the sea-beaches which are frequent on the peninsula—the beach pea, the orange spurge, several rushes, the sea-rocket and several sedges and grasses.

Thus it may be seen that the peninsula possesses rare things well worth the seeking by those who are interested in plant life, and it proved an especially interesting field for study to the botanists of the Natural History Society when that organization was in active existence. Indeed it was through their work that the knowledge of many of its peculiar forms of plant life became known to the botanical world, and Presque Isle was added to the list of stations where rare and local plants were to be found.

Let it not be understood that this brief list furnishes anything like a catalogue of the plants or even of the showy flowers that are to be collected upon that tract of land. Far from it. Hundreds of species beginning with the lyrate rock-cress which flowers soon after the snow melts, and the blue violets of the sheltered nooks, and continuing in a procession of floral beauty until the grass of Parnassus and the fringed gentian close the books of the year, is to be enjoyed by the lover of nature who haunts the peninsula. And there the magnificent forests, vocal ever, sometimes with the sighing of the wind or the howling of the tempest, almost uninterruptedly by the music of the birds; fragrant with the pungent scent of the pines, the balm of the cottonwoods when their buds are bursting in the spring, the perfume of the wild grapes or the roses, or the aromatic odor of the sweet-gale or the mints of various species; the charm of the shifting sunshine and shade, and above all, its remoteness; its delightful seclusion and its perfect rest, make the peninsula an ideal haunt for the lover of nature.

Just west of Misery bay there is a cove called the Graveyard pond, and there are traditions concerning the way in which it came by its

appellation: One is that on the little ridge between it and the larger bay the burial place of the Perry fleet was located. Perhaps there is no truth in the traditional tale; it is fact, nevertheless, that the pond has borne its gruesome title ever since the American fleet of 1813 was berthed in Misery bay.

Back in the seventies a number of Erie men, with what warrant is not known, but probably through the Marine Hospital proprietorship of the peninsula, opened up a resort a few rods west of the first pond, on the shore of the bay, and named it Crystal Point. It was a beautiful spot, and there having been built a number of rude booths where refreshments were sold, and the ground having been parked and provided with seats and paths and accommodations for dancing the place acquired considerable vogue. The steam yachts of the time made pretty regular trips across and the business of the place attained to quite large proportions. But it could not stand prosperity. In the course of time it retrograded to a place of low character, where bad liquor was the chief commodity traded in, and as a consequence it became of such evil repute that it had to be suppressed. In its last days in fell into the hands of Jim—or "Skipper"—Nesbitt.

Later, Jim moved from Crystal Point to a spot a short distance west and became a squatter, erecting a poor cottage there, where he lived with his mother. With the other place entirely abandoned and its buildings removed, the "Skipper" called his place Crystal Point, and soon the old point was forgotten by its name, which became firmly attached to the skipper's ranch. Jim had some good points in his makeup, but unfortunately they were very few compared with the rest of his composition. His place earned an unsavory reputation until he left the city.

While he lived at the point there was a tragedy. His old mother lived with him and kept house for him. One day in the late summer she set out to gather berries, but she did not return in the evening. Jim loved his mother—and this was one of his good points—and he became greatly concerned when she did not show up before the darkness fell. It was a vain proposition to search the woods and thickets and morasses in the dark, but it was tried, in hopes that in same way, by sight or hearing, he might get track of her whereabouts. But he could not. All the next day the search was kept up and again night settled down upon the woods. Another day of vain search—how many days cannot now be stated—at length her lifeless body was found where she had fallen exhausted by her vain endeavor to find her homeward way.

When the skipper gave up his ranch on the point it was taken by Jake Geib. Now Jake was a man of energy and resource. The pitiful shack of Squatter Nesbitt was soon replaced by a modest but attractive little establishment that was an inn of decided pretensions. An excellent boat landing was constructed and the grounds to the extent of several acres were cleared of underbrush and became exceedingly attractive.

It was just when Geib had his resort in thoroughly good order that the hotel at Masassauga Point burned, and the grounds at the Head were closed for a season. The public, hungry for a place of resort, turned toward Crystal Point, and Jake Geib welcomed them with the glad hand, and prospered accordingly. Geib had been mine host of the Arcade previously; it was he who had given that hostelry its name. He therefore had the confidence of Erie people and their patronage, especially as there was no other way to turn.

In due course there came a change in the management of affairs on the peninsula. The War Department took it in charge, and the edict went forth that no one should make it a place of abode or have thereon a place of public resort. Squatter sovereignty on Presque Isle went out with that government fiat, and though Crystal Point may still be located by those who knew it in the days of its prosperity it is now a deserted place, rapidly recovering its old state of nature.

The Big Bend! There were gay times at the Big Bend picnic ground in its time, and there are many in Erie who still remember it as the favorite resort of churches and Sunday schools for their summer outings. Picnics there had far more of rusticity than the present-day functions of the same name. Then there was no "merry-go-round" for the children to patronize and no ice cream or pop-corn stand at which to spends nickels. The woodfire down by the beach, with a Gipsy crane from which to suspend the big coffee pot, portable tables with seats of logs or planks supported by fallen tree trunks, swings, and plenty of row-boats—these were the features of the picnics at Big Bend.

Not all the attractions; one of the best was the stroll along the wood path across to the northern shore, where the fresh breeze from the west rolled in a splendid surf upon the beach, that was thickly strewn with driftwood, bleached and bare. It was a delightful relaxation, having mounted one of the huge boles of the fallen trees, there so common, to idly watch the combers as they came ashore, or to follow the course of some passing ship in its course up or down the lake.

It was also a fine ground thereabout for flower-gathering. The season of picnics is the season of water-lilies, and in the land-locked pond a few rods west these abounded. So did the rose-mallow and, over toward the lake side, there was a glade where the butterfly weed grew in abundance. The wild sunflowers were then in bloom and the false dragon-head and the purple and yellow fox-gloves, while the bracted convolvolus grew abundantly almost everywhere. It was a rarely fine place for a picnic and in its day its popularity was commensurate with its deserts.

The "flash-light," as it is popularly called here, or "Presque Isle light," as it is known on the charts, was established in 1873, and the lighthouse went into operation in July of that year. The establishing

of that light station did much toward enabling the general public to obtain a better knowledge of the interior of the peninsula, because one of the first conveniences constructed for the light-keeper's use was a plank walk extending from the lighthouse directly to the boat landing on Misery bay. Intended for the light-keeper, it is a question whether the general public did not get a good deal more out of that walk than those it was built for.

The peninsula is a splendid collecting field for the ornithologist. It was the first field worked by the late George B. Sennett, who became one of the leading ornithologists in the United States. Since the Carnegie museum was established at Pittsburg the peninsula has been made a place for bird study to the extent of keeping a force of naturalists employed throughout an entire season.

Then there is Misery bay. But there is a story in Misery bay alone. The harbor of Perry's ships and prizes, it has been occupied by relics of that fleet, of one sort and another, for nearly a hundred years, and now there is resting beneath its waters the remains of the vessel that was the flagship when that splendid victory was won. Misery bay is now the most popular part of the peninsula, for it has convenient landing places and just enough beach and shade to spread such a cloth as a small party requires. Once it was a scene of business activity. At one time the Erie Ice Company had a large storage house there, and daily brought cargoes over to the city on scows. It proved too expensive, however, and was finally abandoned. There was also at one time a manufactory of caviar on the point that juts into Misery bay from the west, and this factory of Mr. Meyer's was what gave that spot the name of Sturgeon Point.

They were the only manufactories ever established on that piece of ground. Perhaps in the future the ultra utilitarians may succeed in despoiling the peninsula of its charms. It may be that in time it will support enormous glass factories and immense furnaces of iron, and these will, possibly, be regarded in the light of improvements. It will mean so great an addition to the "business" of the city and such an increase of population! It is worth all sorts of work to bring it about, say these iconoclastic town boomers.

It is quite possible it may come in time; but, it ought never to come at all. The peninsula should be a natural preserve for the people of Erie forever; it should belong to all the people. It is possible to make of Presque Isle one of the finest parks on the continent, a park that shall be a delight to every sort and class and condition of Erie people. This ought to be its future, and it will if good sense shall prevail.

It is something like 38 years since Erie lost from its calendar a red-letter day that, for a time at least, was looked forward to as an event of interest, if not of importance. It was a purely local holiday, and be-

cause of enactment by the state legislature, legally a holiday. It was, moreover a holiday with which there was a certain amount of juggling by the councilmen, and, in an attempt to perpetuate it, the fostering care of the respected city father who had its interest at heart produced its death by inanition. It passed from remarkable vigor almost directly to an early death,

"Unwept, unhonored and unsung."

That holiday was Cranberry Day, and the date of it was the first Tuesday in October in each year.

It was a funny thing to legislate about, to be sure. Think of the grave and reverend legislators up at the state capital, in all solemnity passing on three readings a bill to legalize Cranberry Day for the benefit of the people of the little town of Erie—population then 3,500! And the governor of the great state of Pennsylvania affixing his signature and the seal of the commonwealth to the act that created Cranberry Day! Yet so it was; no holiday, not even the Fourth of July, had a better legal title to its existence than Cranberry Day had.

But what was Cranberry Day, and why was Cranberry Day?

Cranberry Day was the beginning of the open season for cranberry picking on the peninsula. The act passed by the state legislature in 1841 declared it to be contrary to the peace and dignity of the commonwealth and subversive of the good order of the community as well as of the great state of Pennsylvania for any person to pick cranberries on the peninsula of Presque Isle between the first of July and the first Tuesday in October of each year, and the first Tuesday of October was therefore a day of great rejoicing and a holiday to the dwellers in Erie and the strangers within their gates. It was Cranberry Day, and the manner of its celebration may be told presently. But meanwhile a word about the cranberry and its especial habitat in this vicinity.

It may not be especially illuminating to state that the cranberry is Vaccinium macrocarpon of Aiton, for that is neither here nor there; but it is here or there to know that the cranberry grows on the peninsula; that it is found in many places there, from end to end of that tract of land wherever the conditions are favorable for its growth. But in the olden time there was one especial place designated as the cranberry marsh (with the accent on the "the," and the marsh sometimes pronounced "mash").

The big cranberry marsh was as near the middle of the peninsula as anything could well be. Let us try to locate it to those who have a little knowledge of the topography of the peninsula. Directly opposite the public dock, as may be seen from the bluffs at the foot of State or Peach street there is a pond extending some distance up or back into the peninsula. It is of considerable area and extends, as open water, bog and swale, back to a wooded ridge that extends east and west for a long distance. It is a ridge of sand generally four or five feet in height—in

some few places as high as 15 feet—which begins a short distance in from Misery bay and extends perhaps a couple of miles to the westward until lost in the woods. Just beyond this ridge there is a depression that begins at a point that might mark the place where a straight line extended from French street would cross it. From this point the big marsh stretches away to the west a distance of nearly a mile, with a width of a furlong or so. Near the eastern end there is a small landlocked pond, but most of the area of this stretch of low, level land is bog. Forty years ago, standing near its eastern end one could see almost to its farthest extremity and the surface had the appearance of a low green meadow. The trailing cranberry plants then constituted its chief vegetation. Now it is different. The view is limited by the clumps of willow, or alder or young poplar (principally cottonwood or aspens) that have been appropriating the ground, while over the most of the still open space the choke-berries, button-bush, ilex and Virginian cherry are fast taking possession.

But how was this marsh reached, being in the heart of the peninsula?

There were a variety of roads, all centering in the marsh. That most traveled was reached by landing at the head of Misery bay, the spot where the light-keeper's boathouse is now located. Passing across the bit of low ground that is encountered as soon as the beach is left, and then turning toward the west, a short distance, brings one to the end of a ridge of sand, the sides covered with trees and shrubbery, interlaced with grape vines, greenbriars, bittersweet and other woody climbers and the summit adorned with a long row of giant cottonwoods that stand, half solitary, as markers of the trend of the ridge upon which they grow. The plank walk that now leads to the light house on the northern shore of the peninsula, skirts the end of the ridge and then parallels it for a considerable distance.

Beginning at the end of the ridge the trail proceeds, upon the summit most of the way, leading directly to the big cranberry marsh. It is a path easy to follow, notwithstanding it is for long distances completely overhung with the growth of choke-cherry, poison ivy and other shrubs with which it is bordered. This, which was the Misery bay route, was most followed—indeed, only the initiated sought the marsh by any other avenue.

But there were other ways to get there and an excellent one was to row up into the first pond, or little bay, pass through a channel or canal to the east, and, passing in a northerly direction, enter a beautiful little pond that extended up to and washed the steep sides of the main ridge, of which mention has already been made—the same ridge as that up which the route from Misery bay leads. The point of debarcation is near the upper end of the pond, at the point long occupied by the light-keeper's boat house. From the landing to the cranberry marsh the distance is only a couple hundred yards.

A third way of reaching the marsh was to pass in through the channel that enters the peninsula from the western bight of Misery bay, row northward through the pond that is reached by this route, and then, forcing the boat through the shrubbery and between the tussocks of sedge, effect a landing near the upper end, which is within a few steps of the main path on the ridge, and about half way up to the marsh.

Yet another way was to land up in Big Bend and walk directly across through the big woods to the head of the marsh. But this was the most difficult of all and none but those well posted in woodcraft undertook it.

So here we have one direct route and a number of more or less obscure paths all leading to the cranberry marsh. These obscure paths had much to do with Cranberry Day, for had it not been for these paths and the fact that they gave the poachers secret admission to the ground and opportunity to surreptitiously gather the crop, there would have been no need to enact a law for the protection of the interests of others in the cranberries.

A law, I said. The plural term should be employed, for the laws became numerous as the cranberry interest developed importance.

The earliest of laws relating to the peninsula had to do with guarding the timber from the depredations of irresponsible parties. It was as early as in 1833 that R. S. Reed was appointed commissioner by act of the state legislature to have charge of the peninsula and protect it from depredations that might endanger its growth of woods. The cranberry crop was not mentioned, however, until 1841, but there can be no doubt that the reason for the passage of the act specifying a closed season was because there were greedy people ready to forestall their fellow citizens.

The act of the legislature, however, proved inadequate, and it is to be presumed that it was because that act seemed impotent that the more powerful council of Erie was appealed to. At any rate, the business of gathering the cranberry crop clandestinely had been proceeding pretty steadily. To remedy this state of affairs the councils of Erie, in 1865, passed the following ordinance:

"That it shall be the duty of the committee of councils on public grounds to sell at public auction at the market house in the city of Erie on the first Saturday of July in each year hereafter or on such other day as such sale may be adjourned to, to the highest and best responsible bidder or bidders the right to pick and gather and appropriate to his, her or their own use, all the cranberries growing or being upon the island or peninsula opposite to the city of Erie, and the person or persons who become the purchaser or purchasers of said right shall be invested with full property in the said cranberries for the year for which the same are sold and shall have the powers and authority of police officers of said city in and upon the said island or peninsula, with full power to arrest and bring forthwith before any magistrate of said city any person or persons

guilty of taking or carrying away any of the cranberries growing or being upon said island, other than the purchaser or purchasers or those duly authorized by him, her or them to do so, and also with the power to arrest and bring before the proper authority any person or persons who shall violate any of the provisions of this ordinance or any of the ordinances of said city relating to said island or peninsula."

The conditions added were: That berries were not to be picked before the first Tuesday of October; the purchaser to faithfully guard the peninsula and its timber; provides a fine of $20 to $100 for the offense of picking cranberries before the first Tuesday of October; that the same penalty shall attach to any person who shall pick cranberries after the first Tuesday in October without consent of the purchaser; provides imprisonment for violators of the ordinance of 1860; to protect the trees and shrubs of the peninsula; and, finally, that one-half of the fine imposed shall go to the informer in a case of violation.

Here was a rather radical proceeding on the part of the city; but it must not be overlooked that in those days Erie was pretty much the whole thing in this locality, and, besides, if the city government did not take a fatherly interest in the peninsula who would? Harrisburg was too far away and the governor was not familiar enough with the situation to look after its welfare as we here on the scene were. Therefore the action of councils.

But the ordinance did not work satisfactorily at all. The poachers continued to be too active. They employed a device called a rake. It was on the principle of a scoop-shovel, consisting of a wooden rake or comb, with long fingers, forming one side of a box that was provided with a handle behind, so that it was possible to scoop or comb or rake the vines, obtaining the berries by wholesale. Thus the purchaser of the right to pick berries was defrauded, and the ordinance was nullified.

But there was another and a strong objection. The course provided by the ordinance took the fruit away from the people, and there was a protest. In pursuance of this Mr. Phineas Crouch introduced in Select council the following resolution, which was adopted September 16, 1867:

"That the city solicitor shall be required to frame an ordinance that shall secure to all the right and opportunity to pick cranberries on the peninsula on the day appointed, and that shall make it unlawful for anyone to there use or have in possession with seeming purpose to use, any rake or other instrument for the purpose of gathering cranberries."

This ordinance gave Cranberry Day a new birth. It provided also as swift a death.

With eager avidity the people of Erie seized upon the new holiday and put it to its proper use, but it was not until a year later than that upon which Mr. Crouch introduced his Cranberry Day resolution that the first big celebration of the day on the peninsula took place. It is memorable, at least to a portion of the present population of Erie.

Extraordinary precautions had been taken to guard the marsh and unusual efforts put forth to keep the poachers away. For most of the month of September the marsh was guarded by a detail of sailors from the revenue cutter Commodore Perry, then commanded by Captain Douglas Ottinger, and it was believed that but little if any robberies had been committed.

Time rolled round, and at length it was the evening of the day before Cranberry Day. The weather was charming. There was no frost, although the sky was clear, but the mildest sort of temperature with the gentlest wind prevailed. By scores—by hundreds, indeed—the people flocked to the other side and spent the night beneath the trees along the shore.

With the break of day they started to move in towards the marsh, but from the other side the people were crowding in rapidly increasing numbers. Row boats, sail boats, fish boats, steam tugs—every available craft in the bay pressed into service, and Misery bay was a sight to see with its collection of craft of every size, style and condition afloat on its surface or drawn up on the shore, and there was a steady stream of people extending all the way from Misery bay to the utmost bounds of the cranberry marsh.

And, just as diversified as were the craft in which they were transported, were the people who had been passengers. If any had gone over expecting to get a haul of cranberries they were disappointed. A handful was about all that anyone could get.

But the great majority had gone over for the frolic and that path from Misery bay was so much trampled, and its borders as well, that the air was loaded with the spicy fragrance of the sweet gale bushes that had been crushed by the passing throng. To this day the odor of that fragrant shrub recalls to mind that greatest of all Cranberry days.

The marsh that morning in October was populous with men and women, boys and girls, and from end to end there was a broad path trampled in the cranberry vines by the hundreds of feet that had passed. Here and there at regular intervals were to be seen stacks of muskets, standing where the sailors of the revenue service had placed them while the Jackies themselves were to be seen hard by, some of them endeavoring to obtain their share of the berries, others guiding or directing inquiring people.

Hilarity reigned. There was little berry-picking. But the shout and the merry laugh went up from end to end of the bog. Probably all had provided something to eat, and at numerous places could be seen picnic parties seated on the dry sand of the higher parts of the ground, or sometimes on boughs arranged to keep the picnickers out of the wet. And that was the celebration of Cranberry Day.

The rush for home was something fierce and it was the day after Cranberry Day before all succeeded in getting off. Many camped out all

night, numerous parties sitting around a fire on the beach until day broke the next morning.

That resolution of Mr. Crouch's gave force and virtue to Cranberry Day. It alone was the cause of that greatest celebration of the occasion.

Mr. Crouch's resolution also abolished Cranberry Day. There never again was such a general observance of the day as that first after the passage of the resolution. There never was more than one or two afterwards of any kind. It seemed to be unanimously voted a delusion and a snare. At any rate in the course of half a dozen years Cranberry Day was not even mentioned, and now it is only a tradition.

And yet all the laws relating to it stand unrepealed. Legally, Cranberry Day exists at the present time. Legally, people have no right to gather cranberries on the peninsula before the first Tuesday of October. Legally, anyone who informs upon one who picks cranberries before Cranberry Day is entitled to half the fine which the magistrate has a legal right to impose.

The machinery is all in existence yet; all that is necessary is to set it in motion and again we will have Cranberry Day.

People whose memory carries them back to the last of the cranberry days will remember that upon that occasion the marked feature was the presence of a number of Jackies, gathered in groups here and there in the extent of the picking-grounds, with stacks of muskets adjacent to each group; and no doubt many to this day have wondered why upon that occasion conditions should be different from what had theretofore prevailed. Previous to that time the same state laws had been in effect that forbade any from trespassing upon the cranberry preserve before the first Tuesday of October, but there had not before been the necessity, if there was then, of calling upon the blue-jackets to see that the regulations made by the state legislature should be enforced.

As a matter of fact the case was not that year in the hands of the state or city government. It was in the mighty hands of the government of the United States and the conditions found to exist on the cranberry marsh when the big crowd of that Tuesday morning reached the scene of operations was proof that there had been a change.

As a matter of fact it had been taken formal possession of by the representatives of the United States government a short time previously, and the story of how it came about may prove interesting.

The peninsula at various periods in its history has had the fortune to be cared for and be answerable to various authorities or powers. Once it was geographically, a part of New York state; but when the triangle was added to Pennsylvania, then of course, there was a change of ownership on the part of that body of land—on the principle that the tail should go with the hide. After Erie obtained a corporate existence one of the first things it began to exercise an autocratic rule over was the peninsula.

Erie did not govern itself with more wisdom than was shown in any other country village of its size, but yet it always felt called upon to exercise authority over the tract of country on the farther side of the bay. So, whatever the real ownership of the peninsula might be Erie assumed the right to govern it, at least to the extent of saying that there should be no timber cut nor fruit gathered there. Generally the guardianship of the peninsula was exercised jointly by the state and by the city, the laws being made by the state legislature, no doubt through the influence of the members from this county, and the enforcement of the laws attended to by the city. A change occurred, however, toward the end of the sixties, and this is how it was brought about.

In 1867, by act of the legislature there was incorporated the Marine Hospital of Pennsylvania, which was granted the extensive piece of ground known as the garrison tract and voted a large appropriation for the erection of a fine building upon it. The corporation, obtaining something like $100,000, all but $10,000 from the state, began the erection of the hospital building. Two years later, by act No. 83, approved Feb. 4, 1869, there was passed a supplement to the incorporating act. This supplement reciting in its preamble that

"The councils of Erie have so neglected the management and supervision of the peninsula which forms the northern boundary of the harbor of Erie, as to prevent any adequate revenue arising therefrom, therefore, * * That section 14, of the act of April 2, 1868, entitled a further supplement to an act to incorporate the city of Erie, be so amended as to place the supervision and control of the said peninsula in the power of the board of directors of the Marine Hospital of Pennsylvania * * and the said board of directors are hereby empowered to exercise such supervision, disposition and control of same by leasing, or otherwise, as to them shall be deemed for the best interests of said hospital."

The peninsula thus passed from the possession of the state into the control of the Marine Hospital corporation. Just what was done during the period of its possession by the corporation has not been made a matter of accurate and detailed record, and no doubt will never be fully known. But whatever else occurred on the peninsula during the brief period of two years when it was in possession and control of the Marine Hospital, the peninsula came to be dragged into city politics and in the campaign of 1871 cut a very imposing figure. Among the numerous campaign aids of that time were a number of big posters stuck to all the dead walls of the city bearing in prominent letters the words, "Who stole the peninsula and the cedar posts?" and similar conundrums which it was expected the people would answer at the polls. That was the bitterest fight on the mayorality issue that the city ever witnessed, and resulted in the election of Hon. W. L. Scott.

Following closely upon the heels of the municipal election there came about another change in the status of the peninsula, and this change was effected at Harrisburg.

During the legislative session of 1869 the Marine Hospital corporation was again to the fore with a demand for another appropriation. It was necessary, in order to render the hospital which had by this time been partially built, fit for occupancy, to have another appropriation from the state of $30,000.

The legislature, however, did not grant the necessary funds without tacking a condition and this involved the peninsula. There were two amendatory acts approved on the same day. One, No. 679, approved May 11, 1871, repeals the first section of the amendment approved February 4, 1869, the section quoted above, which empowered the Marine Hospital corporation to exercise "supervision, disposition and control," etc.; the other, No. 667, approved May 11, 1871, appropriating $30,000 for "fitting the building for the reception of patients," but on condition

"That the Marine Hospital corporation shall reconvey to the state by good and sufficient deeds, to be approved by the attorney general, all lands in any way granted to the Marine Hospital by its act of incorporation and the buildings now thereon, with the appurtenances, to be held by the state for the uses and purposes defined in said act of incorporation; and on the further condition that the said Marine Hospital corporation shall convey to the United States of merica all the title it may have to the peninsula of Presque Isle obtained from the state of Pennsylvania by the act of February 4, 1869, to be held by said United States, as near as may be, in its present condition, and only for the purposes of national defense and for the protection of the harbor of Erie, but in all other respects to be subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the state of Pennsylvania; and the consent of the state of Pennsylvania is hereby given to such transfer of title only for the purpose, and under the limitations herein before mentioned."

Thus it will be seen that the peninsula, so far as an act of the legislature could convey it, and to the full extent to which it could be accepted by the United States, passed over to the control of the general government.

It happened one day in August, 1871, that the collector of customs was called upon in his office, the old custom house on State street, near Fourth, by Attorney Laird, who asked him whether he had a right to accept a deed in the name of the government. Whatever the collector may have known or thought about his prerogatives, one thing he knew, and that was that he was the ranking government officer in these parts. His reply was that no one else than he could do so for the government.

"Then will you accept it?" was the question.

"I will," the collector replied.

He did; and having accepted the deed he proceeded at once in due

course to make it effective, which was by having it recorded. It appears of record as follows:

"The Marine Hospital of Pennsylvania, a corporation duly incorporated by the state of Pennsylvania, send greeting. Know ye, that the said Marine Hospital of Pennsylvania for and in consideration of the sum of one dollar to them in hand paid by the United States of America at and before the ensealing and delivery hereof, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge and thereof acquit and forever discharge the said United States of America, by these presents have remised, released and forever quitclaimed and by these presents do remise, release, and forever quit-claim unto the United States of America, all the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatever of them the said Marine Hospital of Pennsylvania in law or equity, or otherwise, of, in, to or out of all that certain piece or parcel of land, being the peninsula lying to the northward of and enclosing the Bay of Presque Isle, (and here follows the detailed description), * * containing 2,024 acres * * to be held by the said United States as near as may be in its present condition and only for the purposes of national defense and for the protection of the harbor of Erie. To have and to hold all and singular the premises hereby remised and released, with the appurtenances unto the said United States of America to the only proper use and behoof of the said United States of America."

This instrument was dated May 25, 1871; signed by M. B. Lowry, president of the Marine Hospital. It was approved June 27, 1871, by F. Carroll Brewster, attorney general of Pennsylvania, and sworn to on the latter date before J. R. Warner, notary public. The deed was recorded in Erie county deed book, No. 40, page 634, August 18, 1871.

Nor did the action of the collector stop here. He had control over the revenue cutter, and, calling Captain Ottinger, its commander, to his office, he directed him to take formal possession of the peninsula in the name of the United States of America.

Now there was not a man then living to whom such an order was more acceptable. No one loved authority more and none could carry out an order of the kind more efficiently. With all the circumstance and ostentation that could distinguish a naval commander, dressed in the full uniform of his rank, and with a sufficient force of blue-jackets he landed upon the wilderness of Presque Isle and in full accordance with the rules governing such procedure, with which Capt. Ottinger was no doubt familiar, he entered upon and took formal possession of the land.

Nor was that the end of his official act. He caused to be published in the columns of the *Dispatch* a formal notification to all concerned of the changed conditions of affairs across the bay, proclaimed the land the property of the United States, and warned all not to trespass upon that property.

Nor did he permit his care and defense of the new United States territory to relax by the lapse of time. He was too faithful to any duty entrusted to him to permit any lax methods while so important a matter was under his charge. His guardianship was maintained to whatever extent he regarded necessary. And that was how it came about that on that cranberry day in 1871 the jackies stood guard in the cranberry marsh and the unusual sight of stacked muskets was there to be witnessed.

But, after all, that collector of customs had transcended his authority. His duty required him to receive and account for government moneys, and he was also custodian of government property, whether buildings or goods in bond. He had no right to accept a deed to land or an accession of territory, unless directed explicitly to do so. He realized that fact himself. But it did not deter him from at once reporting the matter to his superiors in Washington.

When the matter came to the attention of Secretary Boutwell he stated that the collector at Erie had clearly exceeded his authority. And that was all there was of it then. The collector was not rebuked nor was the action taken reversed. As a matter of fact, the collector was sustained by the course pursued by the secretary. It even came to the attention of President Grant who said the collector had no power to do what he did, but yet he had done right.

United States District Attorney Swope was sent to Erie to look into the matter, but he made no changes in the status of affairs. On the contrary, upon his return and report, there was sent to Erie a military commission consisting of Gen. Gottfried Weitzell, Gen. Comstock, and another, who reported to the collector and then proceeded to make a tour of the peninsula. The result was that the commission declared the land admirably adapted for military purposes and well fitted for fortifications and for a garrison.

The outcome was that the war department assumed charge of the peninsula and exercises supervision of it to this day, Capt. James Hunter being its custodian for years. The authority for this disposition of the peninsula comes from an act of congress passed in 1871, that directs the secretary of war to receive and accept the title passed under the state legislative acts of May 11, 1871.

Will there ever be anything done with the peninsula by the government more than to let it remain in its present delightful state of nature? Who can say? There was a time when there was every prospect of great and important changes being effected there. That was during the lifetime of Hon. W. L. Scott. It will be remembered that the peninsula was an issue in the campaign in which he was elected mayor, and he was on the side that favored the change which eventually came to pass. When he learned the purpose back of Capt. Ottinger's order published in August, 1871, he was greatly pleased.

When, however, he became a representative in congress he laid plans for mammoth changes on the eastern end of the peninsula. It was his purpose to eventually secure a military garrison for Presque Isle, and the plan included the construction of a fine macadam boulevard all the way around the outside of the peninsula to the garrison at its eastern end, a drive that would be without an equal anywhere else in the country.

His friends also report a plan of his to have converted Misery bay into a naval station, with facilities for building and repairs and all the requisites to make it as fully equipped as a complete naval headquarters should be. His plans regarding the peninsula are, however, only a few of the mammoth projects he had in mind to bring about, if death had not stepped in and cut short his career. They may yet be realized, for the peninsula remains, and all the attributes that recommended it when the military commission visited it and when Mr. Scott planned, are still there.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE CANAL BUILT.

A State Enterprise.—Intended to Connect Tidewater and the Lakes.—Finished to Erie by a Local Company. —Its Closing.

Among the very earliest enterprises to engage the attention of the leading statesmen of the new-born American republic was that of internal commerce. Long anterior to the railroad, when, indeed, such a method of communication between distant points had not even been dreamed of by the most fertile of mechanical imaginations, the means of ready communication with the interior was regarded as a pressing need, and believed to be one that would rapidly increase in importance as the country was developed. President Washington was one of the leading advocates in his time of a system of canals. The streams had been utilized to a considerable extent, but not practically, for they were not always serviceable and generally were navigable but one way. The solution, however, was easy enough, and that was to construct canals, following the course of the rivers when the rivers themselves would not answer—for there was a good deal of slack water in every stream. The early years of the Republic, therefore, became an era of canal projects.

In Pennsylvania the canal idea took root early. As far back as 1762 the feasibility of connecting the Delaware River and Lake Erie was discussed among the numerous projects for internal commerce that came up for attention among the progressive men of that time. There can be no doubt something of this sort was in the minds of the Philadelphians who took so much interest in securing the Triangle as a part of the state, mainly because of its splendid harbor. The plan or definite proposition of connecting Lake Erie with the Delaware did not come to a head, however, until the year 1823, when the state legislature passed an act creating a commission to survey or explore a route for connecting Lake Erie with French Creek by canal and slack water. The outcome of this was a convention that met in Harrisburg in August, 1825, at which there were representatives from forty-six counties, Giles Sanford attending from Erie. The result of this convention was the adoption of a series of resolutions in favor of a canal from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny river, and from the Allegheny to Lake Erie.

Immediately afterwards the State embarked in the enterprise, incurring a heavy debt for the purpose, and by 1834 had completed a canal as far as to Pittsburg, the first boat from the east reaching Pittsburg in October of that year. Then ensued a vigorous and bitter contention regarding the route for the extension to Lake Erie. There were two routes that seemed to be available, and each had its partisans. What was known as the eastern route extended up the Allegheny river and French creek, following the old French route, to Waterford, whence it was intended by some means to get over the summit to Erie. The other, known as the western route was down the Ohio from Pittsburg, up the Beaver and Shenango rivers, and thence across another summit, to Lake Erie. The only way of settling the question at issue was by having surveys made, and when this was done the engineers reported in favor of the western route. The adoption of this route, however, opened up another controversy. This was with reference to the terminus of the canal, one party favoring the mouth of Elk creek, and the other the harbor of Erie. It got into the legislature. Hon. Elijah Babbitt represented Erie in the session at which the matter came up to be disposed of, and through his efforts Erie was made the lake terminus of the Pennsylvania canal.

West of Erie, in Millcreek township, there was a state reserve tract of 2,000 acres of land. It was the third section of the town of Erie. In the year 1832 Hon. John H. Walker, then a representative in the Legislature secured the passage of an act ceding this land (the third section), to the borough of Erie, for the purpose of building a canal basin, reserving out of the section, however, 100 acres for the county alms house. The controversy with reference to the terminus was not finally settled until 1836, when work was undertaken by the State. In 1838, operations began at Erie, which took the form of a public celebration. The Fourth of July was appropriately chosen as the date, and the ceremonies of the occasion were in keeping, consisting of a demonstration on the streets of the village, speeches and at the proper time, "breaking ground" for the new public work that meant so much to Erie. Captain Daniel Dobbins was given the honor of throwing out the first shovelful of earth. Work on the canal was prosecuted by the state in a rather desultory fashion, until 1842, when, having expended $4,000,000, the legislature decided to call a halt. It only required the appropriation of $211,000 to complete the work, and put the Erie extension of the canal in operation, but the legislature was not willing to appropriate.

However, it was quite ready to make a free gift of what had cost four million dollars if any other interest would complete the work. There was another interest right on the spot. By an act passed at the session of 1842-43 the Erie Canal Company was incorporated.

The company was organized with Rufus S. Reed as president and C. M. Reed as treasurer. To this new corporation was ceded all the work that had been done, on condition that it would finish the canal and operate it. Promptly the corporation set about the work. That well-watered stock was calculated to put spurs in the sides of far less enterprising men than the Reeds, who were the moving spirits. Construction progressed rapidly, both on the line of the canal and at the terminus. At the harbor an extensive basin was constructed. This consisted of the extension of State street into a causeway out to a dock that extended east and west about 400 feet each way. The basin, enclosed by the east and west extensions was protected from westerly gales by Reed's dock. The outlet of the canal was just east of Reed's dock. The canal was completed in 1844, and on December 5th of that year the first boats arrived at Erie. They were the packet Queen of the West, crowded with passengers, and the R. S. Reed, loaded with coal. It was another day of celebration at Erie.

Fishing for chubs at the corner of Eighth and Chestnut streets is not a popular sport nowadays. And yet there are men still living in Erie who no doubt in their time have cast a line there and caught their string of fishes. But the conditions were different then.

Nor is it so very long since fishing was a pastime that might be engaged in in that now closely built up and populous section of the city. Until the year 1871 the conditions were admirably favorable for the peaceful sport, and almost any summer day there might be seen a group of boys seated on the grassy bank a short distance from the Eighth street bridge busy with their poles and lines intent upon capturing the wary chubs which there were found in plenty.

They were fishing in the canal.

The bridge was a short distance west of the intersection of Eighth and Chestnut streets, and was a considerable distance above the grade of the present street. It was necessary that it should be so in order to afford headroom, as the horses upon the towpath had to pass beneath. The towpath was on the western or northern side of the canal. The fishing ground, therefore, was on the opposite side, near the eastern end of the bridge.

There was a lock a short distance further up the canal, and, between Eighth street and the lock there stood a grocery store (Glover's grocery) much patronized by the boatmen and by the people of Erie living in the neighborhood. An interesting sort of a place it was in its day, odorous with its miscellaneous stock, coal oil, codfish and ship chandlery affording the dominant elements of the overpowering smell, which was at times modified by cabbages and other vegetables, become stale for the lack of cold storage

It was a great place for loungers and story-tellers. Perhaps the narratives that were dealt out were not technically to be denominated sailor's yarns, but they were certainly yarns and plenty of them entertaining enough, to judge from the interest they excited among the crowds that sat about on the barrel-heads and boxes chewing fine-cut that had been weighed out of a big pail, or smoking the same rank form of the weed in short clay pipes. The men wore heavy boots into which the legs of their trousers were thrust, and coarse shirts, often of dark blue flannel. They were not all canalers, but, as a rule, there was a large proportion of that trade or profession, for at times, while one boat was locking through there would be one or more on each of the levels above and below, awaiting their turn at the lock, and meanwhile their crews would drop in at Glover's to talk matters over and compare reckonings—such reckonings as these inland sailors thought important to make.

The Eighth street bridge was the last bridge in the city that spanned the canal. Below there were bridges at Sixth and at Fourth streets. Seventh, Fifth and Third streets were closed and some of the intersecting streets, where the canal interfered.

The level at Eighth street extended from a short distance below Seventh street where the weigh-lock was located. This lock had a building of two or three stories erected over it, the lower story being open, and displaying only the heavy beams of the frame upon which the superstructure was built. It was close to the gas works that occupied a position on Seventh street near Myrtle and extended about half-way to Sixth street. The coal necessary for the manufacture of the city's supply of gas came by way of the canal, and there was a slip to form the necessary harbor to accommodate the gas works.

There was another slip communicating with this same level. The canal extended diagonally across this portion of the city, and this other slip was constructed parallel with Chestnut street, beginning at about Seventh street and reaching almost to Eighth. This was Burton's slip and in it the boats were moored that brought coal to Burton's coal yard. That yard was located just east of where A. P. Burton's residence now is, on Eighth street near Chestnut, and no doubt the subsoil of that lot to this day bears trace in the carboniferous character of its make-up, of the time when it was one of the principal coal depots of the city of Erie.

On the bank of the canal just south of Seventh street stood Alf King's malt-house. This was one of the pioneer warehouses and manufactories of its kind in Erie, for Alfred King introduced the business of malting to this part of the world and set in motion the cultivation of barley as a feature of the farming industry of Erie county. The King malt-house was a frame structure and it was a memorable occasion when, in the early summer of 1865, it was burned. There were

no water works or steam fire engines in Erie in those days and even with the plentiful supply of water that the canal afforded the Perry and Goodwill engine companies found they were not in it when it came to battling with the destroying element, feeding upon such combustible material as that structure was composed of.

That level was famous in its day. It was known as the weigh-lock basin, and at Seventh street was three or four times the ordinary width of the canal. Sometimes boats would be massed here by the score, awaiting their turn at the weigh-lock, many of them, however, finding business at the various warehouses that occupied positions on the margin of the canal or awaiting opportunity to discharge cargoes at the coal yard, the gas works or the wharves of those in other lines of trade. Among the warehouses was one owned by the Burtons which stands to this day but is now transformed into a double dwelling situated on Chestnut street about half-way between Seventh and Eighth streets, and is now the property of Richard O'Brien's estate.

In the early days of the canal there was conducted a packet service of considerable importance. The packet lines went no farther north than the weigh-lock basin. That was the Erie terminus of the passenger business on the canal, and it was the scene of great activity as long as the passenger business continued. In the course of a few years, however, the packets disappeared from the canal. While it lasted, and at least during the first years of the passenger boats there were lively times on that aqueous thoroughfare, the emigrant business alone being something remarkable for those days. Very many Germans found their way to the west over the Erie canal, passing from the Lake Erie route to the Ohio and thence to Cincinnati and other cities that have been largely populated by people of that nationality, and Erie first obtained the Teutonic element of its population through Germans who had come, intending to pass through, but attracted by the charms of the city on the lake.

The weigh-lock basin, however, was not by any means all there was of the canal in Erie. Far from it. That artery of trade was lined with industries all the way from Ninth Street to the outlet lock at the harbor, and even farther.

Just below the weigh-lock, at Sixth street, there was a large cooperage. Adjoining the barrel factory on the east there was a coal yard in which for a time W. W. Todd, had an interest, and on the opposite side of Sixth street, occupying the space up to what is now the corner of Myrtle, there was another coal yard, that of E. W. Reed. All that space on Sixth street, now covered by handsome residences, that extends from the Kuhn block to the corner of Myrtle street, was occupied in the olden time by the canal and the coal yard. The Morrison residence occupied a fine elevated position west of and over-

looking the turbulent waters of the canal and the roar of the waste water as it fell into the level below after passing around the lock was constantly in the ears of the dwellers in that vicinity.

There was another lock at Myrtle street, between Fifth and Sixth, and the waste water was utilized in its passage around this lock, for supplying power to the Canal mill, for many years operated by Oliver & Bacon. On the level below John Constable had established his planing mill business, and it is conducted by his sons to this day on the old site, though very greatly enlarged.

From this point down to the outlet the locks were frequent and the levels between locks were short. There were, however, numerous industries of one sort and another occupying whatever space was advantageous, among them being yards for the building and repair of canal boats. Prominent among these boat builders were Messrs. Bates and Foster, who long prospered.

Above the Glover lock there were also industries. The pottery that for many years did a successful business in the manufacture of brown earthenware, was noteworthy and Burger's shipyard was another deserving of mention.

It may thus be seen that the route of the canal through Erie was marked as a section of its greatest business activity. And yet, in commerce, its terminus was greater than all, for the bulk of the business that the canal brought to Erie was done at the harbor, and more than one colossal fortune had its foundation laid in the business brought to the harbor of Erie by the canal. The Public Dock, east and west, was alive with business enterprises in which such names as Reed, Scott, Rawle, Hearn, Richards, Walker and others, familiar to this day as leaders in business and wealth in Erie, were prominent.

Today there are but few traces remaining of that once famous artery of inland commerce. The deep hollows from Fourth street down, between Peach and Sassafras streets, called, now, the remains of the old canal, are not, strictly speaking, so much the remains of the canal as of the ravine that was utilized by the canal company at the time that waterway was constructed. In early days there was a stream called Lee's Run, which found its way to the bay through a deep gulley, and what remains unfilled below Fourth is in fact that gulley. Still it is also a remnant of the canal.

Let us look over the route in order to locate its course, and learn what remains at present of the canal.

Following the course backward from the bay: it started from the slip at the east side of Reed's dock, a wharf devoted to the soft coal business. Proceeding southward it nearly paralleled Peach street to Fourth, but there began to bend toward the west. It crossed

Sassafras between Fourth and Fifth, and Fifth more than half way between Sassafras and Myrtle.

Myrtle was crossed near Sixth, and Sixth a short distance west of Myrtle. Chestnut was crossed at about Seventh, but there was in reality no Chestnut street south from Sixth to the canal, for all that tract back half way to Walnut street, was occupied by what was known in the olden time as the Mulberry Orchard, a fine grove of that species of tree which was a favorite haunt of the youth of the town when the berries were ripe. Mawkish to the uncultivated palate, this fruit was greedily devoured by the boys. West of the canal Seventh street was such only in name east from Walnut to the canal.

The crossing of Eighth street was a short distance west of Chestnut; and of Ninth at about Walnut. At Cherry, Tenth street was crossed and until within a few years there remained the trace of a lock between the rear of the little U. B. church and the old house at the corner of Twelfth and Poplar that, standing diagonal with the course of the two streets was the last relic that, architecturally, suggested the canal. From there the canal can still be traced through the grounds of the Erie Pail factory or the Williams Tool Company, crossing Liberty street near the railroad, under which it formerly passed, the old channel of the canal being still plainly seen at that point.

On the south side of the railroad there is a remnant of the old waterway leading in the direction of the Erie Forge Company's plant, and the main building of that company stands at a bias because the canal compelled it to be so placed. The course of the canal through the old Car Works property cannot now be traced; it was long ago filled up; but, proceeding in the general direction indicated by the remnant existing east of the Forge Company's works, an important trace is found just west of Raspberry street below Seventeenth, and from that point to beyond the city limits it is easily followed.

Occupying a commanding position near the center of the common west of Raspberry street there is seen the well-preserved ruin of an old lock, in which every feature is prominently seen. Of course the stone of which it was built long ago disappeared. Yet the remains plainly indicate every part and detail of it. On the north side there is the gravel towpath, still made use of, but as a footpath affording a short cut to Eighteenth street. Just south is the narrow but deep excavation that indicates the position of the lock. Grown up with willows and sumachs, it is a tangle of shrubbery, but it still contains water nearly all the year round, encouraging a growth of sedges and cat-tail flags. Just south of the mound that indicates the other side of the lock there is easily traced the wier that carried the surplus water from the level above to the level below, and just below the lock there is a large circular pool of water that never dries

up and is filled with a rank growth of rushes, sedges, and other marsh plants. It is the basin formed below the lock, caused by the rush of water as the lock was being emptied, a feature of the upper end of every level. It is the only well defined relic of the canal still to be found within the limits of the city.

Above that lock the course of the canal is easily followed as it crosses Eighteenth street and then west, parallel to the Nickel Plate Railroad, past the Erie Chemical Co.'s plant, where it has received the waste of that factory, changing the color scheme of the mud into a resemblance to mortar. From that point westward its remains are frequently met with. Here and there stretches of several hundred yards are found, one place, not far from Asbury chapel, the old bed being filled with water that supports a luxuriant growth of cat-tail flags and is a favorite nesting place of the soldierly red-winged blackbirds.

The deep ravine of Walnut creek was spanned by an aqueduct, the ruins of which a few years ago were to be seen at the eastern side of the gorge not far from Swanville station. The canal passed through Fairview and at what we know today as Wallace Junction turned southward, passing through Girard. It is the route of the old canal that the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad traverses and that course is faithfully followed even at the point south of Girard, where there was a mammoth curve along the side of a high side hill. It passed through Lockport and Albion, Springboro and Conneautville, and Conneaut Lake was the main feeder of the canal, for that marked the summit, furnishing the supply of water that made the canal possible. In many places south of Girard there still remain traces of the canal, and there are long stretches, filled with water, in which thousands of waterlilies bloom during June and July.

While the canal had undoubtedly vastly increased the business of Erie harbor and had transformed it into a very busy place, it must not be overlooked that conditions then were not as they are now—this with reference not alone to Erie, but the country generally. What was great then would not be so regarded now. At the time the canal business was at its best, the harbor was full of shipping, and nothing could be more picturesque than the aspect of the lake beyond, its expanse of blue dotted with the white sails of numerous crafts, beating their way up or down the lake, against the wind. At times as many as a score; sometimes even twice as many, could be counted from Garrison Hill, their white sails filled with wind, as they held their course tacking to make way against the wind, and it made little difference whether they were intended for Erie or merely passing by, they came within view through the necessities of navigation. But they were not large vessels. Not many were above 500 tons bur-

den, and nearly all were sailing vessels, mostly schooners. The carriers of coal and grain and ore; of lumber and limestone, or other bulky commodities were nearly all schooners, with now and then a bark or brig. Steam vessels were very few, and did not begin to be common until about the end of the decade of the sixties, and then they were frequent rather than common. The visit of a "propeller" to Erie was a subject of comment. The entire business of the canal for the year 1845 was 15,000 tons—not enough to meet the capacity of two steamers of the present time. The best record of the canal for a season was 150,000 tons of coal.

The Erie Extension canal went out of existence as the result of a collision with a railroad—that is to say, there was a railroad built, and the canal being inimical to the interests of the railroad the canal was gobbled. It was in 1864 that the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad was built. At once the full strength of the rivalry between them was felt. The railroad suffered because of the canal, and the canal was not as profitable as before because of the railroad. Each was in the other's way. For a time there was talk of enlarging the canal, and before long the talk crystallized into action, and a company was formed with sufficient capital to undertake the work. At that time the stock of the canal was controlled by Gen. C. M. Reed. He wanted to sell it. The new company knew this, and having completed the preliminaries and secured the necessary funds, representatives called upon Gen. Reed to take over his holdings. To their surprise and chagrin they were told that the canal had already been sold. It had been bought in the interests of the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad.

The canal was not immediately closed. It could not well be with the state charter in existence. But the manner of its operation left much to be desired—more even than had previously been the case. In 1871 the aqueduct across Elk creek fell, and that was the end of the Erie Extension canal. Today its picturesque ruins consist of a stretch here and there of water overgrown with lilies, or at rarer intervals, a lock not yet fallen into complete decay, for, down in the neighborhood of Albion there are yet occasionally to be found locks with most of their masonry undisturbed.

During its existence the canal did much for Erie in a business way. More than one Erie fortune came out of it, and more than one Erie industry of today can trace its history back to the canal as its origin.

It was an Erie institution. It was through the efforts of Erie men in the legislature that it came lawfully into existence, and that it was financially backed by the state until nearly completed. It was by means of Erie capital that it was finished, and Erie men operated it. It must not be overlooked that the efforts of William W. Reed,

long its superintendent, his capable management and his eminent technical abilities, made it a success commercially and financially. If the movement to enlarge it and continue it in operation had won out there can be no doubt but that the history of the old canal would have been repeated in the new.

Mr. William W. Reed did not depend upon his own judgment with reference to the feasibility of enlarging the canal, although his long connection with it and his intimate knowledge of all that pertained to its operations placed him in a position to form a pretty reliable estimate of what could be done with it. Nor was it his experience in the operating of the canal as it existed that he alone depended upon to form judgment. He was himself an engineer, and as well acquainted with the geography of this part of the state as perhaps any man living in this locality, and he had devoted a good deal of time and attention to the business of calculating the possibilities from conditions known to exist. However, he decided to put the question up to one who could speak with authority, and therefore laid the matter before W. Milnor Roberts, the chief engineer of the canal when it was built and then (in 1867) employed as government engineer on the work of the improvement of the Ohio River. Mr. Roberts made the following report:

"W. W. Reed, Supt. Erie Canal.

"Dear Sir:—My attention was called last winter to the project of enlarging the Erie Canal so as to make it of sufficient capacity for boats of 250 tons burthen. Since then I have reflected upon it considerably. I feel quite confident that it is possible that there is sufficient water in French creek to feed it when finished, and that the change can be effected from its present to the enlarged size for a sum much less than many supposed. I regard it as a noble project, worthy of the most careful and deliberate investigation, and will cheerfully aid in any way in my power in its future development. I consider that, in connection with the improvement of the Ohio river, upon which I am now engaged in the service of the government, it may become one of the most important and valuable avenues of commerce in our country. I need not here enter into details, but at the proper time I will with pleasure do so. My long connection and familiar acquaintance with your canal will enable me to do so without occupying much time.

"I trust that you will succeed in turning public attention favorably in this direction, believing that the scheme will bear investigation and prove to be practicable.

"Very respectfully yours,

"W. Milnor Roberts,

"Civil Engineer."

This report by Mr. Roberts was a powerful aid toward furthering the project for canal enlargement that Mr. Reed had been for some time nursing, and made possible the organization of a company to take over the canal, and make the desired improvement. He had succeeded in forming the company and raising the money needed, supposing that when that had been done the rest was only the matter of arranging the details of the work. It was therefore a grievous disappointment when he learned that he had been forestalled. He was not much more than an hour late. Perhaps his missionary work had been misdirected. It might have been better to have expended a greater degree of his persuasive energy upon his relative, General Reed, who held the destinies of the canal in his hand. But he did not work it from that end, and the railroad interests did, and what was more to the point, they understood the importance of the maxim of David Harum, though not then enunciated: "Do it fust."

CHAPTER XXIV.—COMING OF THE GERMANS.

First Arrivals from Europe in 1830.—The Important Part they Assumed in Social and Business Affairs.

With the third decade of the nineteenth century there came to Presque Isle the pioneers of another invasion, but unlike that of the French, who were first to occupy the land, the newcomers were not to be dispossessed. But it was an altogether different sort of an invasion. Those who began then to land upon the shores of Erie came without weapons in their hands or a hostile banner waving over them. They came in peace, and they came with the sole purpose of becoming part and parcel of the community into which they entered. No doubt many of them had learned the art of war—perhaps most of them. The people of Erie were to learn in time that they were not entirely without military training or soldierly instincts. But they came not to do battle with the people who were already here, nor to acquire possession for a foreign prince or potentate. They came instead with tools in their hands and a determination in their breasts to be builders and not destroyers. They came to carve out a place for themselves in a new country, and to set up for themselves homes where they could enjoy the sweets of liberty and have and hold the fruits of their labor; where they could rear their families and gather about them the comforts of life.

The Germans who sought America and found their way as far inland as Erie, beginning as early as 1830, had taken up the resolution to emigrate from the Fatherland solely to better their condition. They were of the intelligent, studious kind, who did not come to the resolution blindly when they decided to break old home ties and seek a new country. They had come to know about the land across the sea, and those who ventured first did not keep to themselves what they had learned about the new world. So that those who came after, came upon the best of information, and with a pretty reliable notion of what they were coming to. They were nearly all people who had been, in their home land, workers, and not a few of them skilled artisans. An examination of the directory of 1853, the first ever printed in Erie, serves to show that among the Germans of that early time—and they were then all immigrants who were of the German race in Erie—there were carpenters and joiners, masons, plasterers, painters,

tailors, shoemakers, bakers, barbers, coopers, brewers, watch-makers, moulders, butchers, turners, dyers, stone-cutters, tanners, weavers, soap-makers, confectioners, saddlers, teamsters, gardeners, cabinet makers, machinists and general laborers. In point of fact, there was no trade or occupation that did not have some representatives among the Germans who in that early period of the history of the city already constituted an important element of the population. Indeed they had begun to move forward, for among the business houses and industries of the time it was shown by the book that there were Germans in business as grocers, clothiers, dealers in shoes, contractors, hotel keepers, saddlers, keepers of meat markets, tallow chandlers and makers of soap.

It is no easy matter at this late day, to record the first comers to Erie of the Teutonic race. No care was taken at the time to preserve a list and set down the dates of the arrivals. It is not here as it is at the ports of entry on the tide water, that the registry lists of vessels are obtainable to show who were the passengers. Once admitted into free America, they were individually at liberty to go wherever they chose to go in search of a home. Many of them elected to follow compatriots who had been for some time in the United States, and early a large colony of Germans had become established on the banks of the Ohio at and near Cincinnati. Not a few of those who settled in Erie were on their way to join these colonists, but, stopping here on their way, went no further, well pleased with the prospects presented and the advantages apparent at Erie. It was in much the same way that Buffalo and other lake ports first obtained the German element of their population. Among the very earliest names, if not the first to be enrolled among the citizens of Erie, was that of Wolfgang Erhart, in 1830. Two years later W. F. Rindernecht, from Wuertemberg, and Stephen Erhart, brother of Wolfgang, arrived here, and it was not many years before they were among the most prominent business men of the place. About the same time came Charles Koehler, and in 1833, Cassimir Siegel began his career of usefulness and business success, as a merchant, a contractor on the building of the Erie Canal, a manufacturer of linseed oil at Hopedale, and activities so varied as to be "too numerous to mention" at this late day. Conrad Doll came from Nassau in 1833, and came to take a forward place. Andrew Blila came with his family in 1833, and his son Andrew W., who was a child of three years at the time, is still living, the oldest of the German settlers now in Erie in point of residence here. Others who settled at Erie during the thirties were Philip Fenningham, Anthony Blenner, Lawrence Loesch, John Gensheimer, Casper Doll, and Philip Dieffenbach.

At first they came scatteringly. Not every year had its immigrant who was to become of note sufficient to get into the imperfect record of the time. There were many who did not tarry in the city.

but turned their faces toward the rural districts, where it was necessary to hew an opening in the forest with the axe in order to find a place to set up a home, and before long they had set their mark upon the country of which they had become a part, roads and hamlets taking on names of unquestioned German origin. In Millcreek, Greene, Summit, McKean and Fairview, German neighborhoods sprang up, and in localities where families of particular faiths or religious denominations gathered together in numbers, churches came into existence, as was the case, for instance, at the village in Greene township, which takes its name from St. Boniface's church. During the next decade—that of the forties—they came in greater numbers. Among them were Frederick Curtze, the Veits of McKean, the Haucks of the same township, Jacob Eller of Greene, John M. Winschel, Matthias Leuschen, John A. Scheer, Ignatz Kaltenbach, Anthony Mehl, John Metzner, J. F. Walther, George Schneider, Jacob F. Gingenbach, Charles G. Steinmetz, Adam J. Beck, M. Mehl, George Kuch, John B. Sitterle, Adam Schneider, Marcus Conrader, Joseph Kraus, Peter Wingerter, C. M. Conrad, Michael Link and Alois Lichtinger.

By the time Erie had blossomed out into a city the German signs upon the streets had come to be a notable feature of the place, and it is questionable whether they did not dominate the character of the little town. At that time there was not much of the city in a business way except upon French street, but the first important breaking away is due to the Germans. Not a small proportion of the immigrants from the Fatherland were of the Catholic faith. These, with the characteristic tendency, flocked together, and selected the eastern part of the town, settling in the vicinity of German and Parade streets on Eighth and Ninth streets. There they had erected, as early as 1838, a frame church, and as the time passed the community grew, until the building was altogether inadequate, so that in 1854 it was decided to build larger, and a fine large brick edifice, St. Mary's church, was undertaken. John Gensheimer was the leading spirit in this enterprise, his coadjutors being Messrs. Englehart, Schlindwein and Emling. Meanwhile the colony had become a business centre as well as a religious community, and the grocer, the dealer in meats, the baker and the brewer found place and prospered in business, for the neighborhood, beyond the valley of Mill creek, was becoming populous.

So the Germans were making a peaceful conquest of "the borough, now city, of Erie." They were getting ahead. They were prospering. Among the most notable improvements of the time was the erection, in the year 1853, of one of Erie's tall buildings of the time, that of John Gensheimer, at the corner of Seventh and State streets, still a notable structure on Erie's principal business thoroughfare. But the Germans were everywhere. The first city directory, published

by Henry W. Hulbert in 1853, contains the names of the following Germans, then in business in Erie:

Manufacturers—Gustave Brevillier, soap and candles; Henry Jarecki, brass and machine work; Jacob Kneib, starch; George Schneider, soap and candles; Christian Schwingel, oil cloths; J. J. Fuessler, leather.

Brewers—Fred Dietz, Jacob Fuess, Joachim Knobloch, Jacob Weschler.

Grocers—John Dietly, George Conrad, John Gabel, Matthias Hartleb, John G. Hemmerle, Joseph Kerner, Fred Kneib, Martin Metz, W. F. Rindernecht, Schaaf & Co., Jacob Seib, C. Siegel, F. & M. Schlaudecker, George Witter, John Wolf.

Clothiers—John Gensheimer, Dieffenbach Brothers, Wagner & Hoffman.

Physicians—Dr. C. Brandes, Dr. Chas. Sevin.

Shoes—Joseph Eichenlaub, Christian Sexauer.

Meat markets—Fred & Frank Eichenlaub, John Knapp, Henry R. Musser.

Cabinet makers—John J. Henrichs, John Kern, Martin Esser.

Jewelry—August Jarecki, Gustav Jarecki.

Saddlery—W. & S. Erhart, E. Hemmerle, John Lantz, F. Mutterer.

Smiths—Anthony Motch, Klick & Sutter.

Miscellaneous—Jacob Kunz, hatter; I. Lorenz, dyer; M. Mehl, barber; Wm. Nick, druggist; August Roemer, books; Otto Schirler, weaver; Gregory Ehret, cooper; J. T. Sevin, repairer; Benjamin Schlaudecker, hotel keeper; William Sexauer, upholstery and house furnishing; John Meuser, carriage painting.

These were all on the mainland, but there were Germans among those who did business on the public dock, then very much in trade. Among the merchants of the harbor were Jacob Dreisigaker, Daniel Knobloch and Michael Schlindwein, grocers; Philip Klein, clothier, and Henry Neubauer, shoes.

The population of Erie was then less than 7,000, and it may be seen, by the list given, that the Germans were holding their own. As a matter of fact, the increase in population was greater in proportion among the Germans than those who were English speaking, and this condition continued until about the period of the Civil War, when there was a falling off steadily until in the course of time there were few additions direct from the Fatherland.

The Germans are notable for a number of things, prominent being the tenacity with which they adhere to customs, and that spirit which in Scotland is called clanishness; and this last characteristic naturally becomes developed in a community of people of common nationality settled in a new and distant land. In the case of the Germans established in Erie it did not matter so much that the

language of the people differed from theirs, because, there being so many of them they could get along very well among themselves. They became a self-contained community. Many of the merchants had no customers except those who spoke their own tongue, and the signs over their doors were in the language of the country from which they came; they had their own church organizations; they had societies of their own, so that in Erie at that time there existed a section of Germany—in all but the laws, for whatever may have been the social and business practices of these colonists from continental Europe, they observed and respected the American laws to the full extent of their understanding of them.

There was, however, among the German first-comers a strong desire, that became crystallized into a determination, to perpetuate here the customs to which they had been born and in which they had been reared. There were many of these that were admirable, even from the view-point of the Americans who had, in themselves, inherited ideas of what was proper and desirable. Therefore, the organization of fraternities that had the club idea as their basis came early. The German Beneficial Society, that was organized in 1842, and was prosperous for fully thirty years, was one of the first of these associations, and there were others that though of briefer existence, still flourished until they were merged into later and perhaps broader organizations. The general comradeship that was observed was, however, the chief characteristic to distinguish the German people, and especially the disposition to gather in the evenings or during holidays in garden, grove or hall and, sitting in groups, partaking of the cheer reminiscent of the Fatherland, engage in conversation, or listen to the music, which was always a feature of these gatherings.

Toward the end of the decade of the fifties there was a movement started, and soon an organization was perfected, that was directly in line with this spirit of adherance to the customs of the old country. The exact date has not been preserved, but it was about the year 1857 that the German Free School Society came into existence. The chief spirit at the inauguration of this society was the late J. F. Walther. In his young manhood he was more enthusiastically loyal to the traditions of the land from which he sprang than in his later days, after he had absorbed more of the spirit of Americanism. At the time the German Free School Society was organized, however, he very much favored preserving the Germans in America—at least in Erie—a people apart. So this society was organized to establish a German free school, in which children should be educated in the language of Germany, and the plans had progressed to the extent that it was decided to build a school at the corner of Ninth and German. There were many supporters of the principle for which the Free School Society stood. But it is proper to state that

not all the Germans, nor not all the members of the Free School Society, favored the radical purpose that was declared to be the fundamental principle of the movement. There were members who openly objected to restricting the education to German only. Among the chief of these objectors was Frederick Brevillier, who was not opposed to educating the children in the language of their German parents, but was opposed to restricting their schooling to this tongue, while they were residents of, and to become citizens of, a nation of which the language was the English. At that time he was a director of the East Ward School, and he had in his official capacity come to have an understanding of what the provisions of the state were for the education of its children, and appreciated the fact that these provisions were so wide in their scope that there were none who did not come under their influence. However, among the Germans the German free school idea became thoroughly grounded, and the plan was put into execution, teachers being hired and the work of education proceeding, the organization was maintained. In 1871 the directors of the German Free School Society were, J. F. Walther, William Nick, P. Liebel, Joseph Richtscheit, H. Neubauer, A. Liebel, F. T. Brevillier. It came about in 1877 that the School Board of Erie decided to add German to the studies in the public schools, and when this had been actually entered upon the German Free School Society formally turned over to the School District of the city of Erie all of its property, wound up its affairs and went out of existence.

The Germans, though never indifferent to the government and politics of the nation, state or city, did not for many years take a prominent place among those who were "in politics." It was not, in fact, until quite recently that any of that race came to figure prominently in general political affairs. And yet they were not without their representatives among those who had to do with the public business from the very beginning of the city's existence. The first councils, elected in 1851, included F. Schneider as a member of the Select, and L. Momeyer of the Common Council. Up to the Civil War period there was no council organization without one or more Germans on its roll, except during the period of the Railroad War. For some reason the natives of Deutschland did not seem disposed to mix up in that affair. The rolls show the following names of German councilmen who served from time to time during the period mentioned, some of them being frequently re-elected: Schneider, Momeyer, Siegel, Mutterer, Rindernecht, Wild, Kneib, Koch, Doll, Sevin, Fuessler, Hartleb, Mayer, Schlaudecker, Boyer, Blenner, Bootz, Kuhn, Englehart, Gingenbach, Richtscheit and Walther.

After a time the Germans began to forge ahead—to be elected to office in the civic bodies to which they had been elected. In 1869 F. Schlaudecker was president of the Common Council; in 1872 P. A. Becker was president of the Select Council, and in 1883 Mr. Becker

was elected Mayor. Under his administration occurred two important steps in civic advancement, namely: the lighting of the city with electricity, and the laying of the corner stone of the City Hall, the latter, which took place July 31, 1884, being marked by an imposing ceremony over which he presided. In the politics of the county the first recognition accorded the Germans was the election, in 1877, of E. E. Stuerznickel as sheriff. The next year Capt. Gustav Jarecki was elected to represent Erie in the State Legislature. Two other Germans were elected to the office of Sheriff, W. O. Mehl in 1888, and E. C. Siegel in 1891, but these were Germans of the second generation, and they are about as good Americans as any who claim citizenship under the flag of the Union. Michael Liebel, elected Mayor of Erie in 1907, and again in 1908 for three years, is also of German blood but of American birth.

Nothing so contributed toward breaking down the barrier between the Germans and their English-speaking fellow citizens as the War for the Union. Nothing ever occurred to exhibit their spirit of loyalty to the land they had adopted as that important crisis in the history of the nation. When the call went forth for volunteers to enter the army of defense, the Germans were among the first to respond. Many of them had had military training in the land of their birth, and of these not a few entered as officers, while the rolls of the rank and file in the several regiments contained the names of hundreds of Germans. They enlisted as American volunteer soldiers, and they served as American soldiers, doing valiant service wherever duty called them. One of the Erie regiments was organized and commanded by a German, Col. Schlaudecker, and the list of officers who went out from Erie from among the Germans includes the names of Mueller, Lutje, Wagner, Sexauer, Cronenberger, Woeltge, Liebel, Dieffenbach, Zimmerman and Mehl.

Industrially the Germans have contributed materially to the progress of the county. In the milling business, as weavers, tanners, manufacturers of lumber and products of wood, of shoes, soap and candles, musical instruments, machinery; as brewers, maltsters, dyers, refiners of oil, chemists—in all these lines and others, the Germans have had prominent part. The manufacture of oil cloths, which for years was one of the most important of Erie's industries, was pursued exclusively by Germans. One of the greatest of Erie's present industries was founded, developed, and carried forward to its present splendid proportions by a single family of Germans. It would be difficult for the people of the present time to understand how important to the community the oil cloth industry was, the financial proceeds of which furnished for a time most of the ready money that came into Erie, a result that was due to the genius and skill of Schwingel, Woelmer, Dieffenbach, Curtze, Camphausen and Beckers. And the city owes much to the splendid business foresight of

Henry Jarecki who appreciated and promptly took advantage of the opportunity offered by the discovery of petroleum to build up out of small beginnings the gigantic industry that now bears his name. There are those who are later comers into Erie's industrial world, not so much in its history by the measure of years, but greatly so in the standard of importance. The advent of the Behrends—Ernst R. and Dr. Otto F.—in 1898, when the great Hammermill paper manufactory had its beginning, was the opening of another chapter in the history of manufacturing in Erie county.

For many years the social life of the Germans in Erie, characteristic of that people, was an example to those of the other race and an inspiration, and nothing perhaps exerted a stronger influence than the Erie Liedertafel. This society was organized in 1863. As its name indicates, it was a musical association. But, being German, it was more. It was social. It was the nearest approach to a club that Erie had known. It appealed to the rest of the population of Erie to such an extent that not a few who had little or no knowledge of the German language became members. And yet it remained distinctively German. As a social organization it quickly became immensely popular. Musically it took high rank, and the name of the Liedertafel in connection with any undertaking of a musical character was accepted as a guarantee. It maintained a well drilled chorus, directed by capable musicians paid for their services, and the public performances in concerts drew large and critical audiences. There was also later a mixed chorus, and from time to time operas were produced in a manner to win the approval of the most competent critics. Soon after the organization of the Liedertafel the first Saengerfest held in Erie took place (in 1866), which was one of the most notable events of the period. There was formed, after a time, an auxiliary, called the Liedertafel Ladies Society which proved a valuable adjunct. It turned out in the end, however, that the Liedertafel could not endure. It was not that those who had formed and maintained it for many years had lost interest or enthusiasm. It was due to the fact that death had thinned the ranks, and, out of the next generation, there were not recruits to fill the vacancies. They were becoming Americanized. The newer clubs, and the newer associations, together with the effect of their American education was working a change. In all the attributes that distinguish the German, those of the second generation were also German—except that which clung to the old country customs and traditions. There are not so many in proportion who are singers or players upon instruments of music, and the means of enjoyment and facilities for amusement are so numerous, and so different from what they were, and, also, so attractive to the younger generation, that the old associations and the old customs have fallen into neglect. The Erie Liedertafel after an honorable and brilliant career, fell asleep about 1905.

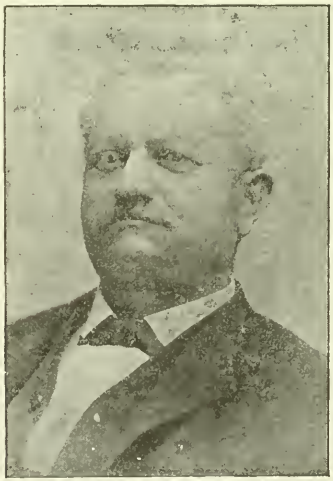
The same experience is to be recorded of the Erie Turnverein, organized in 1868, and for many years a highly successful institution. The annual fests or picnics of the Turners at Cochran's Grove were events that appeared on the calendar in red letters. Other turner societies were the turnvereins of South Erie and East Erie, both of which were most popular and successful soon after their organization.

In 1873 there was dedicated with considerable circumstance the hall or club house of the Philharmonia Society, at the corner of Ninth and Parade streets. Col. M. Schlaudecker was its president, and it had a large membership. The house was provided with parlors, dining room, grill room, a bowling alley and an assembly hall, and besides, a finely shaded garden, provided with seats and tables. A feature of the organization was a full military band under the leadership of Prof. Anton Kohler, a skilled musician. For a few years the Philharmonia prospered. Then the membership began to fall away, and in the course of time it went out of existence. Its club house eventually came into the possession of the East Erie Turnverein, and to this day it is known as the East Erie Turn Hall.

There were other German societies organized at various dates, some of which proved enduring, others going out of existence after a time. The Herrmann's Sohne was organized in 1858. The German Friendship Benevolent Society began in 1863. The Casino Club was organized in 1865 by F. Curtze, A. Roemer and P. A. Becker. The D. O. Harugari was introduced in Erie in 1867, Mozart and Bismarck lodges being formed in that year. Under the encouragement of this order a large German library and a museum of considerable pretensions were established and for years maintained. The museum was under the direction of Capt. W. F. Lutje, an enthusiastic collector and antiquarian, who brought it up to a high degree of excellence. Another feature in connection with the activities of this order was the organization in 1869 of the Harugari Maennerchor, a musical society that attained to distinction. Other lodges of this order are, Erie lodge, 1872; Fritz Reuter lodge, 1888; Germania degree lodge, 1874; life insurance section, sixth district of Pennsylvania, 1876; Elizabeth lodge, the women's degree, 1891. The Erie Saengerbund, organized in 1871, was a musical society for years popular among the German Americans, but it finally went out. The Erie Maennerchor, organized in 1872, became immediately popular and prosperous. It has manifested a degree of stability that gives promise of an extended existence. A piece of ground on State street above Sixteenth was acquired and a handsome and substantial music hall was built in 1889, which contains, besides the club rooms required for the organization a commodious hall with a fully equipped stage, in which concerts are given, and several engagements by German theatrical organizations have rendered it a popular playhouse. The

Maennerchor is still in existence and has a large membership. The Siebenburger is the latest German organization, founded in 1898, and occupying a commodious hall at the corner of Twenty-first and French streets.

Perhaps nothing contributed more to the Americanizing of the Germans than intermarriage. It began early, a good deal earlier than is generally understood. One of the first, perhaps the very first of the Germans to take a wife from among the American women was William F. Rindernecht; and his example found very many imitators, not only among the second generation, but among the natives of the Fatherland. Today it is a very common matter that a German man or woman shall select as a life mate one of another nationality, and most of all are ties formed with Americans. By German, in this connection it is to be understood not to refer alone to those who have come from the old country, but to those of German blood. Nor are there lacking those who, proud enough of their ancestry, yet, recognizing the logic of fact, proclaim themselves, not Germans nor German-Americans, but Americans pure and simple without any qualification whatever, no matter what significance there may be in a name.



DR. E. W. GERMER.

No account of the Germans in Erie would be complete without allusion to Dr. E. W. Germer. He was one of the noblest characters this town of Erie ever knew; gruff and rugged outside as a

chestnut burr, but with a heart of gold. There is no lack of Erie people who remember the good doctor, some because of his splendid social qualities; many because of his inflexible purpose in connection with his position of health officer, and no telling how many because of his generous nature, for he never paraded his beneficences, and if the newspaper fellows learned anything of this trait of his character it was incidental, and not through any parade or boast on his part. I well remember my first acquaintance with Dr. Germer. It was on the day when, after the surrender at Appomattox, the city was preparing for a proper celebration. Eager to have his compatriots duly represented in that great demonstration, preparations for which were crowded into a few hours of a single day, he was early at one of the centres—the office of the *Dispatch*—with an order for handbills, to be distributed. They were to be printed in two languages, and he had the German portion headed in the largest letters to be procured: "Reiter heraus." As early as possible the German type was procured from the *Zuschauer* office, and the doctor himself attended to the distribution of the bills, enlisting the aid of a sufficient number in the work in hand. The result was noticeable in the greatly increased body of horsemen in the procession.

But it was as a sanitarian that he stood pre-eminent, and in that connection that he became famed. He was the first health officer of Erie and as such exercised an autocratic power that was remarkable in the fact that in spite of his tyranny he retained his position until his death. When Dr. Germer first assumed the position of health officer Erie was like any other country town of the period, numbering among its inhabitants not a few who kept pigs and geese. Against this civic abomination the doctor waged instant and unrelenting war. It had been the practice to allow the pigs and geese quite free range, and the commons and even the streets in certain portions of town were none too good to be pastures for these creatures. When, therefore, Doctor Germer moved upon this public enemy, as he denominated it, there was war, and a merry war it was. This was especially true of the First ward, where the Celtic housewife was ready to dispute the ground and defend her property, and there was comedy sure enough when the doctor's red face surmounted by a pompadour of tawny hair appeared on the scene.

The lingual acquirements of a healthy and irate Irish woman are proverbial and her cutting wit are well known. But the doctor was something of a talker himself when occasion demanded, and humorous as well. Nothing more entertaining can be conceived than the dialogues that ensued during his numerous raids. But he had his way. He ferretted out every pigsty and smashed it, and protests and threats were of no avail. He was absolutely fearless where timidity might have been excusable. He was also impartial. The Second ward was compelled to come to time along with the First.

There were in those days no sanitary police or constables. Dr. Germer was all there was of the department of health. He made his own investigations and served his own notices. More than that, he personally executed his mandates. An instance of this was witnessed one day when he undertook to suppress a nuisance in rear of the old Zimmerly house, a frame building that stood on the site of the Park View House of today. Notice had been served and the date fixed when the nuisance complained of was to be suppressed. It had not been complied with. The doctor fixed it.

Probably the first thing in the shape of a sewer that Erie ever possessed consisted of a covered drain extending from Peach street, near Seventh, diagonally across the West park, under Brown's Hotel and the rear of the Gallagher building adjacent, and passing north under the brick building on Fifth street at one time occupied by the *Dispatch* office. The kitchen of the Zimmerly house was connected with this drain by a four-sided wooden conduit exposed for a height of about 10 feet perpendicularly, from the sink extension of the kitchen to the ground of the low-lying back yard. The pipe—if it could be so called—was, of course, without traps of any sort. Besides it was not tight, and much of the slop and waste that passed down it leaked out through the seams of the corners. This was the nuisance and it was to execute his order for its suppression that the doctor had come. He was armed with the necessary process. That was an axe. Passing through the hotel from the front door to the back he descended the flight of steps to the ground in the back yard and, wielding his process, applied it with such good effect that in the space of a few seconds the nuisance was removed. Then he proceeded upstairs to the kitchen floor, and turned his axe upon the sink, nor stopped until it was a complete wreck. That was Dr. Germer's way, and it was a good way. Before the day was over the necessary changes were being made.

Dr. Germer was a scientist. His sanitary ideas were based upon scientific principles, and he had a way at command always of convincing. Sometimes force was his way. Oftener that was not necessary. When it came to fighting trichinosis there were a number of methods employed. The doctor was a skilled microscopist, and he employed the microscope to good purpose in demonstrating the presence of trichinae in pork, while his lectures and newspaper articles were informing to the general public. Of course trichinosis was a new ailment then, and it was not easy to convince people who believed it to be a new medical fad. It was a still harder task to convince the butchers who had meat to sell. Force became necessary with the butchers, but in time the reforms he set about were accomplished and the meat market men came to submit with a sufficient degree of grace to the inspections that were forced upon then.

Dr. Germer's fame was not always bounded by the limits of Erie city. In the course of time he was known and respected throughout the state and had the honor of being the first president of the state board of health. It was during his connection with that body that he suddenly acquired national fame. He was attending a health convention at Washington, when he brought forward the subject of prohibiting the importation of rags, especially from the southern Mediterranean countries where Asiatic cholera was at the time prevalent, and his address where he ridiculed the idea of praying to Heaven for the suppression of a plague due to people's own neglect, caught the entire country. It came to be known as the grasshopper speech because he employed that pestiferous insect as an illustration in a way that was as humorous as it was convincing.

It was through Dr. Germer's personal efforts that a hospital was made available when an epidemic of virulent smallpox came down upon Erie, and it was his labors, well directed and diligently pursued, that discovered the grave of Mad Anthony Wayne, long lost through the indifference of Erie people. He was a marvelously entertaining story-teller, and, brusque and gruff in speech, had a heart as tender as woman's where distress appeared. There was not a selfish thought in his mind—and yet there were very many who judged him otherwise, and not a few who rated him "queer."

During an epidemic of smallpox he was not only health officer and physician to the afflicted, but undertaker as well. Aided by his lieutenant, Katzmeyer, of the pest-house, he buried the dead of the pestilence during the night time, and added to the duties of undertaker that of clergyman as well, reading the burial service by the light of the lantern his assistant held before committing "earth to earth." And yet he was no professor of religion. His beneficences were unnumbered. He was the physician of the poor, and the greater part of his practice as a doctor was for pure love of his kind. Dr. Germer deserves a monument in Erie.

CHAPTER XXV.—THE RAILROADS ENTER.

THE ERIE AND NORTH EAST LINE.—TO BE THE TERMINUS OF THE NEW YORK AND ERIE.—THE ROAD FROM THE WEST.—OTHER PLANS.

Commercially Erie maintained from the beginning a place right in the van in the march of progress. When lake commerce had its beginnings in the early years of the Nineteenth Century, Erie's imports in the salt trade, with exports of bacon, whiskey and flour, constituted the bulk of the commerce of the great lakes, and this condition prevailed for a number of years. It was not until about the time of the war with Great Britain, which began in 1812, that lake mariners made bold to push their efforts to secure trade farther west than Erie. As a matter of fact there was little trade west of Erie that could be secured, for all the western country was still unsettled, barring a few outposts and trading stations where barter in furs was the chief business transacted. So in the beginning Erie was a leader in commerce.

Soon afterward followed the era of steamboats, and in this branch of commerce Erie was quick to forge to the front. The population of the town of Erie was not large, but it included one man who, for genius in commerce and general business, was remarkable. No man of his time, perhaps, exhibited more brilliant abilities in business than Rufus S. Reed, and Erie's early prestige in commerce was due to the activities of Mr. Reed. Under him the steamboat business was begun. His son Charles M., who had inherited his father's instinct, took to steamboating, and in a few years it developed to really prodigious proportions, especially for the period. He was not only in control of the steamboat business, but brought it to a degree that was far in advance of the times. And under his management the business of steamboating was exceedingly profitable. Gen. Reed also identified himself with the stage business, and though that did not compare in magnitude with the business of the boats, it, too, was financially successful. Yet again was his business foresight and shrewdness manifested when, taking advantage of a fortunate situation that offered, he became the leading spirit in the canal enterprise.

There was yet another direction in which he could reach out and become identified with the advance of progress. He saw the dawn of the railroad era approaching and was among the very first to become

identified with it. When the building of railroads came to claim the attention of the business world, and had with some degree of success been begun in the east, the feasibility of introducing the railroad into the new west became at once apparent to Mr. Reed and those engaged in business in Erie, at that time, and when a convention was at length proposed to consider the subject of extending the railroads then undertaken in New York State farther west, the Erie men were ready to take a hand. In 1831 a convention in the interest of railroad extension was held at Fredonia, N. Y., and Messrs. C. M. Reed, P. S. V. Hamot and Thomas H. Sill attended as representatives of Erie. In those days railroad charters, granted by the states, conveyed authority only to the state boundaries, so that when it was proposed to extend the project of building a new railroad parallel with the shore of Lake Erie westward beyond the boundary of New York, it became necessary to obtain a charter from the state of Pennsylvania for that part of it to be constructed in Erie county. There was an agreement entered into on the part of those representing New York State railroad interests to build a road to the Pennsylvania State line, while the representatives from Erie agreed to organize and build from the western terminus of the New York roads to Erie.

It was in furtherance of the plan adopted at Fredonia that the Erie & North East Railroad Company was organized, but it was not incorporated until 1842. Nor was there immediate progress. The Erie men interested in the enterprise were desirous of obtaining a distinct business understanding with the projectors of the New York roads, so that it was October, 1846, before books were opened for subscriptions to the stock of the new company. Nearly all the stock was taken by Erie men, the leaders being Charles M. Reed, John A. Tracy and John H. Walker, and the inducement for undertaking the work was a contract with the Dunkirk and State Line Railroad Company which provided that a road to extend the New York & Erie railroad would be built to connect with the Erie & North East Railroad at the State line.

Erie people were very ready to aid the enterprise of building an extension of the New York & Erie Railroad, for it was the expectation, and the understanding that Erie would thus become the terminus of a railroad that would give direct communication with New York City. It meant much to the people of Erie who saw in the future a splendid development of the fine harbor of which it was justly proud, a development that was certain to prove of immense benefit to the whole people. The charter obtained at Harrisburg for the Erie & North East Railroad, established the terminus at the harbor of Erie.

In pursuance of the contract with the Dunkirk & State Line Railroad work upon the Erie & North East Railroad was begun in 1849, and the track was laid of the gauge of six feet, which was that of the

New York & Erie. Railroad building in those days was not as it is now. Progress was slow; very slow as compared with what is done today. There were but twenty miles of railroad to be constructed. The surveys under the direction of Milton Courtright of Erie were completed in the spring of 1849 and contracts for the construction of the road were let on the 26th day of July of the same year, but the road was not completed until the beginning of 1852, the first train over the new road entering Erie on the 19th of January of that year. This tardiness turned out to be an unfortunate matter for Erie. The Dunkirk & State Line road did not at once enter upon the performance of its part of the contract, and meanwhile there came on the scene a new competitor,—a rival,—in the form of a railroad to be a continuation of the New York Central from Buffalo to the west. The fact that this new opposition was developing was not unknown to the Erie & North East Railroad Company, and the knowledge may have been somewhat responsible for the delay. But the local road had no recourse. Bound both by their contract and the state charter, they were under obligations to build a six-foot track. This they did, and the railroad completed, it was operated as an independent link, for at the New York State line the road that should have connected with it had been built of an entirely different gauge.

Meanwhile railroads from the west had been projected along the lake shore, and, under a charter from the State of Ohio, the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Railroad was built, extending from Cleveland to the Ohio-Pennsylvania State line. There remained here another Erie county link necessary to connect the western road with Erie. A curious expedient was resorted to in order to supply the want. The Franklin Canal Company was chartered at Harrisburg in 1844. It had to do with the operation of a canal between Meadville and Franklin, but on the 9th of April, 1849, the charter was so amended as to authorize the building of a railroad on the route of the canal from Meadville to Franklin, and to extend it northward to Lake Erie and southward to Pittsburg. This charter, by some sort of legal logic was so construed by Judge John Galbraith as to make it apply to a separate railroad line between Erie and the Ohio State line, and the railroad was built, completing a line of communication between Cleveland and Erie, the first train being run from Erie to Ashtabula, November 23, 1852.

Thus it will be seen that Erie was pretty early in the midst of railroads. And so it was, in a different way, however, than people of today would understand such a situation. Because there was this complication: The railroad that entered Erie from the west was of the gauge of 4 feet 10 inches; the railroad east from Erie was a six-foot gauge, but it led, twenty miles east to another railroad of 4 feet 10

inch gauge. This made trouble, for these two breaks—with two others in New York State—were not agreeable to the traveling public, and neither were they to the railroad companies; none of the railroad companies were suited. Therefore the railroad companies set about correcting the evil, and this precipitated a state of affairs at Erie which will be told of in detail in the next chapter. However, the Erie stockholders of the Erie & North East Railroad had continued to hope for the construction of a road of uniform gauge with their line from the State line to Dunkirk, until on January 18, 1853, this hope was abandoned, the formal declaration to that effect being given in the following annual report of the Secretary, J. C. Spencer, Esq.:

The Erie & North East was the first commenced and the first road completed on the lake shore. It was made a six-foot track in accordance with a contract between this company and the Dunkirk & State Line Company, the latter having been got up by the New York & Erie interest to be used for the purpose of making a six-foot connection with this road at the state line, which connection the New York & Erie Company by a written agreement with this company guaranteed should be made. The Buffalo & State Line Company, being identified with the central line of New York roads, the gauges of which are four feet, eight and a half inches, complained that our laying the six-foot track only would be doing injustice to them. This company, therefore, with the consent of the New York & Erie Company, agreed to furnish a track for each of the roads mentioned, corresponding to their respective tracks, six feet, and four feet eight and a half inches. Thus matters remained for some weeks, when, for reasons best known to themselves, without notice or any consultation with this company, the New York & Erie agreed with the Buffalo & State Line Company, the former in violation of their contract with this company, and both regardless of the wrong they were inflicting on the public, to introduce between this road and theirs a four feet ten inch track—a track different from all the roads with which it connected, and between which it only formed an intermediate link, thus compelling all freight and passengers passing between the east and the west to change cars both at the state line and at Dunkirk or Buffalo, as the case might be. Whatever inconvenience or expense, therefore, is incurred in consequence of these two changes, is solely attributable to the Buffalo & State Line Company sanctioned by the New York & Erie Company.

"Much complaint is justly made on account of the unnecessary obstructions, and none regret their existence more than this company. It was out of the power of this company to prevent them, and is therefore out of its power to remove them—they can only be removed by those who placed them there.

"It is thought by some of our friends in Buffalo and Cleveland that Congress, in the exercise of its power to establish post roads, may remove such nuisances. If so, it is but reasonable to suppose that the Buffalo & State Line Company will be compelled to change their imported gauge to one of their own state, and thereby remove the obstructions they have made on this important thoroughfare.

"This being the first report of the directors to the stockholders, and a desire to place this company in its true position on the question of gauge alluded to, we trust will be considered a sufficient justification for this somewhat lengthy statement.

"By order of the board of directors.

"J. C. SPENCER,
"Secretary."

This report gives a full and fair explanation of the influence that was at work. The New York Central and the New York & Erie were in contention, and the former had prevailed. Under the circumstances the New York & Erie was unable to carry out its contract with the Erie & North East. What was then to be done? Only what business sense suggested. In time the short line of road from Erie to the New York state line was compelled to accommodate itself to the circumstances that had been forced upon it by the opposing interests. By this time two-thirds of the stock of the Erie & North East road were held by Buffalo & State Line parties. The railroad war was the result, for the people of Erie lost all patience when it became evident their hopes for Erie harbor were not to be realized. And yet the Erie & North East Railroad Company was not to blame. It was simply manifest destiny.

That the railroad company was not to blame, seems to be fully justified by what occurred subsequently. The officers and directors of the Erie & North East Railroad Company had not lost hope of making Erie the terminus of a direct line of railroad to New York. That was their original plan, but it had been frustrated by the manipulations of the shrewd managers of railroad affairs in New York state. Forced into an acceptance of the plan agreed upon between themselves by the New York railroads, the Erie men seemed to have been defeated. But they were not ready to acknowledge themselves altogether beaten. The ambition to have a direct route to New York independent of the New York Central was not dead, and hope was not destroyed. The men who had been the pioneers in railroad construction, thwarted in their original effort, got together and organized an altogether new enterprise, and it was named the Erie City Railroad Company. It was officered as follows: Milton Courtright, president; J. C. Spencer, secretary and treasurer; Chas. M. Reed, Prescott Metcalf, Ira W. Hart, Miles W. Caughey, John A. Tracy, John McClure, John H. Walker,

James Skinner, Pressly Arbuckle, Wm. M. Arbuckle, J. C. Spencer and Wm. C. Curry, directors.

From the title assumed it might be supposed, as names signify today, that the purpose of the company was to build a railroad in the city of Erie. That was not the intention. The design was to build a railroad to Erie, and the plan as it took shape was to build a line to connect the Erie railroad with this city—in reality to bring about a change of plan adopted by a New York company so as to end the proposed extension of the road at Erie instead of continuing it through over the route selected for what was then known as the Atlantic & Great Western, but later as the N. Y., P. & O. Railroad. For this purpose the proposition was to construct a line 81 miles in length from Little Valley, a point west of Olean, by way of Jamestown to Erie. The route had been carefully surveyed and, as Civil Engineer Thos. Hassard stated, partially graded. It was a route that was declared to be of very favorable grades and of easy curvature, an admirable route for such a line of railroad.

It was directly on the heels of the Erie railroad war that the new company was organized, and the first declaration made was in the form of a pamphlet issued early in 1858, which contained a report of Mr. Hassard, in compliance with a request made by Mr. Courtright, president of the Erie City Railroad Company. The request was that Mr. Hassard should furnish "the result of your surveys, corrected to the present adopted line" (of the A. & G. W.) "as compared with the route from Little Valley here, thence by the Lake Shore road and Cleveland to Central Ohio and westward, and what view the New York & Erie Company took of the matter after having the facts laid before them, together with your own views as to the effect such a line would have upon the New York & Erie Company, if encouraged by them, taking into consideration the great natural channel through which business from the west flows, or as to the value of the line itself, with your views on the subject generally." The reason assigned by Mr. Courtright for calling upon Mr. Hassard for this report was that "having made all the surveys for both of these routes, and being still connected with the main line, I have taken the liberty to apply to you as the only engineer who can give definite and reliable information on the subject."

The report of Mr. Hassard was most favorable for the Erie enterprise. The result of his surveys, he stated, were to demonstrate to the New York & Erie Company the fact that any line passing southward through Crawford county and Central Ohio would be longer than their own line in connection with the roads already built, and would also, in grades and alignment be far inferior; besides, not having any local advantages to make up for these deficiencies, they decided not to embark in a project which would bring them into competition with

roads well established, already doing a very profitable business, and from these shorter lines, easy curvature and low grades, and large local business, able to carry all the through traffic at such low rates as to render the success of the new line very doubtful, if not impossible.

He added: The only line by which the New York & Erie can save distance and make a good connection with the roads west and south from Erie, is the Little Valley & Erie route, via Jamestown. This will give a good line with easy curves and grades, very moderate cost, and connect with the Lake Shore road at its termination in the city of Erie, thus making the whole railway interest west of that point friendly to a connection which will keep the great western traffic of the Erie Railroad upon the present lines.

The comparison of routes that followed was instructive and interesting. Making Little Valley the starting point, it was shown that to Cleveland there was a saving in distance via Erie of 33 miles and 75 miles less of new road to be built. To Cincinnati there was a saving of 18 miles with 300 miles less of new road to be built. To St. Louis there was a saving of 64 miles with 300 miles less of new road to be built. To Chicago a saving of 31 miles with 193 miles less of new road to be constructed.

Thus it was shown that with reference to every trade center of the west the Erie route offered great advantages both in distance saved and in the amount of new road necessary to be built, besides the other very important consideration of being far preferable in grades, alignment and curvature. The question of cost was also introduced, the statement showing that $10,000,000 more would be required to build the 300 miles necessary to complete the A. & G. W. line as surveyed.

Great hopes were built upon the influence to be exerted in behalf of the Erie connection by the western roads. All these lines, said the engineer, are directly interested in preventing the construction of any line running parallel to their routes and in direct conflict with their interests, as in the case of the Atlantic & Great Western, and as a matter of safety to themselves would unite in opposition to any such project, as well as to the New York & Erie Railroad Company if favored by them.

It seemed like a good proposition—a "dead open and shut," as the boys say—that the only thing to be done and the easiest thing to be accomplished was to build that 81 miles of road which would give a connection with Erie and the roads west. But it was never done. The reason why is not far to seek. The antagonistic interests that had in the preliminary fight been able to win out were in a better position to wage another war than they were before. Besides they realized the importance to their line of the business of the western roads quite as much as the projectors of the new road did, and they had a tremendous advantage, namely, a road already completed. Moreover, they were shrewd enough to know a far better way to get around the question of

interesting the western roads. They took an interest in them as stockholders. The upshot of the business, of course, was that the Little Valley connection was never built. The A. & G. W. road was, however, and the judgment of Engineer Hassard was vindicated for before many years it went bankrupt.

Summing up the results of the past, it is now apparent that had the New York & Erie lived up to its contract with the Erie & North East Railroad it might today have been the principal line between New York and the west, and Erie might have been one of the great cities of the country.

As has been related, those in control of the New York railroads declined to carry out the contract entered into between the Dunkirk & State Line road and the Erie & North East Railroad, and then undertook to induce the latter to reconstruct its twenty miles of road so as to accord in guage with both the road from the west and that which had been built east from the Pennsylvania-New York State line. Failing to win out by persuasion the expedient was resorted to of obtaining control of the stock of the Erie & North East Railroad, and this was accomplished, nearly two-thirds of the shares having passed into the hands of the company subsidiary to the New York Central Railroad by the middle of 1853. This coup having been accomplished the Erie & North East Railroad Company set about making preparations for the change of gauge. As soon as the work was begun it precipitated a violent opposition which became known as the "railroad war," but in spite of the opposition the work, begun on December 7, 1853, progressed and on February 1, 1854, was completed and the first train arrived at Erie from the east.

Out of the controversy precipitated by this change of guage there came a series of legal troubles that will be presented in the chapter devoted to the Railroad War, and these, properly adjusted, in due time two new corporations came into existence, known respectively as the Buffalo & Erie and the Cleveland & Erie Railroad Companies. These companies were operated separately for a number of years. Both used the passenger and freight station that had been built in 1851, but separate round-houses were erected, the B. & E. at Holland street in 1862 and the C. & E. at Chestnut street in 1863. Trains were run through over both roads, after a time and though separate organizations were maintained the traveling public were accommodated by a service prophetic of what was to be even if not yet what it is at the present day.

Of course railroad consolidation could not stop with such an incident as that in which the Erie & North East was concerned. When that dispute had been settled all the railroads from Buffalo to Chicago were of uniform gauge, but during the sixties various deals brought about the consolidation of the Cleveland & Erie with the Cleveland &

Toledo, and of that combined road with the Michigan Southern and into this, called the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, the Buffalo & Erie was merged in 1869. Meanwhile important improvements had been made in Erie, and changes were effected. A new union passenger station was built in 1864, to be used jointly by the lake shore roads and the Philadelphia & Erie, this tripartite arrangement required by the settlement in court at the conclusion of the Railroad War. A large freight depot was built at Sassafras street in 1877. At the time it was built it was supposed it would be sufficient for all time. Four years ago, however, a much larger freight station was completed and equipped with loading and unloading devices, such as a traveling crane and other modern conveniences that are required to bring it up to date.

For a number of years after the consolidation into the L. S. & M. S. Railroad Erie was the terminus of two divisions, and engines on through trains were changed here. This, however, was abolished in 1891, and the round-house at Chestnut street was abandoned and finally torn down. During all these years since the railroads parallel with the shore of the lake were first built there has been a system of improvement steadily in progress. At first the streams and ravines were crossed by wooden trestles and bridges. There were many of these within the limits of Erie county. Gradually they were filled up, the streams being covered by arch culverts or bridges covered, with their approaches, by earth filling. In several instances these fills are of prodigious proportions, notably those of Twenty-mile creek, Walnut creek and Elk creek. The double-tracking of the road was accomplished years ago and at the present time the work of four-tracking the road is nearly completed through this county.

Controlled at present by the New York Central Railroad Company, the L. S. & M. S. forms one of the leading railroads in the land. Perhaps it is the foremost of them all. The train service has advanced to a remarkable degree. One innovation has followed another with such frequency that the introduction of a novelty ceases to attract spectators, as used to be the case in the olden time. When the "Fast Mail" was introduced in the seventies people crowded to the station to see it. Now the "Twentieth Century Limited" flies by with scarcely a head turned to look in its direction. The Reeds had a prophetic vision with reference to railroads when in the thirties they turned their minds that way, but that vision stopped far short of what now has become commonplace.

CHAPTER XXVI.—THE RAILROAD WAR.

What Was in Controversy.—Extreme Bitterness Engendered.—Violent Methods Employed.—Serious Personal Encounters.

On the 7th of December, 1853, there broke upon Erie a storm that for intensity of violence, duration and wide-spreading effect, was probably never equaled in any other American community. So bitter was the feeling engendered that for a quarter of a century afterwards one approached the subject only with the greatest caution, and it was hazardous to mention it, for it was possible with but slight reference to circumstances of the period in question to start a small conflagration. Today, however, it may safely be spoken of, for most of those who took part in that memorable conflict have passed over to join the silent majority, and those who remain have permitted time to heal the fever that then raged through the entire community. But people now living in Erie cannot realize the depth and bitterness of feeling that, in the winter of 1853 and for several years afterward, prevailed among the people of Erie. The occurrence that dates from December 7, 1853, was the "Railroad War," today sometimes referred to jokingly, or mentioned to provoke a laugh. At that time it was far from being a joke; it was the most serious thing possible. As one who was of it remarked, there was more acute bitterness engendered by that conflict of the fifties than resulted even from that of a decade later—deeper animosities between former friends, more painful differences in families, and more lasting injuries to interests and to society than any community, north or south, could show as the result of the war that resulted from the rebellion of the states in 1861.

The cause of the uprising of the people has been set forth in the chapter that precedes this, being the attempt of the railroad interests to abolish the break or difference of gauge between two connecting lines of railroad that existed at Erie. The reason why this proposition excited the people to the degree it did and led them to deeds of violence and the exercise of injustice upon fellow citizens was because they saw, or thought they saw in what the railroad people proposed to do, the usurpation of their rights and the positive injury of their property. It appeared, as they viewed the development of the case, as though a plot had been deliberately conceived to ruin Erie. Because this was the situation here: The people of Erie desired to have a railroad that would connect the harbor of Erie with the eastern

cities. They had been promised such a railroad, and the charter that by the state had been granted for that railroad had provided that the terminus of the railroad should be at the harbor of Erie. It was with disgust that they noted the fact that the terminus of the road not only was not at the harbor, but almost beyond the boundaries of the city, more than a mile away from the harbor, and to their chagrin it was found impossible to offer any inducement sufficient to bring the road's terminus to the bay.

However, there remained a hope to the people in the fact that a charter had been obtained for the Sunbury & Erie Railroad, which was to form a section of a road from Erie to Philadelphia, and, while inducements continued to be set before the Erie & Northeast Railroad Company with the purpose or hope of yet securing the harbor terminus, so long as the conditions then existing were maintained by the railroads the people were not greatly disturbed. When, however, it was proposed to change the gauge of the road so that traffic could be carried on uninterruptedly through Erie, the spirit of revolt was at once excited. For they saw in this the closing forever of opportunity and the wreck of the project of obtaining a line of railroad to Philadelphia. So long as there was a break of gauge at Erie there was a chance for business to be done by a railroad from the harbor. If the break of gauge were abolished the Sunbury & Erie would not be on even terms with the other roads. And neither would any other railroad enterprise at Erie. This was the judgment of the business men of the time, and in view of the situation they believed they were striking a blow for their liberties and for civic life when they proposed to stop by any means in their power a proceeding that was to bring upon them as individuals and as a community such disaster. The grievance was not that of being deprived of a chance to sell peanuts or coffee and sandwiches at the railroad station, as has sometimes been stated. It was a matter of far deeper concern.

Of course in this twentieth century we look at railroad consolidations in a vastly different light, and many through lines of railroad from the west to the east have not prevented the development of Erie harbor and many other harbors besides. But in the beginning of the fifties the people did not view railroad affairs as they do now, and when they believed they were being wronged by the railroad corporations they could not wait for the tardy course of existing law. They made laws of their own and enforced them.

So the matter came before the citizens. It was the talk of the business circles, of people on the streets, and came up in councils. At length official notice was taken of the matter. On December 6, 1852, just a year before the destruction of the bridge, councils after discussing the matter passed the following resolutions.

"Whereas, The joint resolution granting to the Franklin Canal Company the right to cross the streets of the city with their railroad where the same is now located, is not sufficiently guarded and restricted to protect the rights of the city; and whereas, the city council will at all times be ready to grant all the facilities in their power to railroads terminating here, when the same will promote the interests of this city, when the policy of such railroad companies shall become settled and fixed with regard to width of track, etc.; therefore,

"Resolved, etc., that the joint resolution granting the use of the streets of the city to the Franklin Canal company, passed November 12, 1852, and also the resolutions passed March 14, 1850, granting the Erie & North East Railroad Company the use of State street from the depot to the lake on conditions therein named, for railroad purposes, be and the same are hereby repealed."

It looked like an open breach. But in reality the people of Erie were not over-hasty. They knew what the city required in a business way and meant to have it if such a thing were possible. Of course, there were all sorts of gatherings and not a few of them characterized by fervid utterances. But there were many cool-headed men who counseled an appeal to reason and good sense. It would be sure to win out, they believed. They had faith in Erie and in the business advantages that Erie possessed. The commerce of this port was not a thing to be lightly regarded they were sure, and no railroad company could, after considering what the splendid harbor of Erie offered, turn aside and decline to accept it. They were undoubtedly waiting for overtures of some sort. This seemed to be the attitude assumed by a fair contingent of the people.

It was in furtherance of this view of the case that the councils again attempted to win over the Erie & North East Railroad Company. The situation had been up for consideration and a committee appointed to examine and report. On May 30, 1853, the report was submitted and councils unanimously adopted the following resolution, submitted by A. P. Durlin, chairman:

"Resolved, That the city councils will give all the aid in their power to the Erie & North East Railroad Company in procuring ground in the canal basin for depots, etc., in case they will run their road to the dock."

It was a generous proposition, to be sure, though there was nothing positive promised. It showed at least that there was a disposition on the part of the representatives of the people, and, after the liberality manifested when the use of State street was freely voted, such a resolution ought to have carried much weight. It is not at all certain that it did. From what subsequently developed it appears as though the representatives of the railroad had been tempor-

izing. This would appear from what occurred at the meeting of June 15, 1853.

It was an adjourned meeting of councils. Messrs. C. M. Reed, J. H. Walker and Smith Jackson were present. Mayor King stated that the purpose of the meeting was to confer with relation to the subject of extending the Erie & North East Railroad to the dock. Mr. Reed said he wished the railroad to be connected with the harbor and that it was also the wish of the board of directors, and it was desirable to know what facilities the city was able and willing to extend to the company. The upshot was that a committee, consisting of Messrs. Durlin, Sterrett, Smyth, Barr, Henry and Hearn were appointed to "confer further" with the directors of the road.

What the result of the conference was does not appear. So far as can be ascertained from the records of the councils there was no conference, for there was no report. For a month there was silence on the subject of the railroad contention in the halls of councils. At length a bomb was exploded among the city legislators. It was at a meeting held on July 18, that it was stated to the councils that measures were now being taken to effect the change of gauge on the Erie & North East Railroad, and there would be a meeting of directors interested on the following day at Buffalo for the purpose of completing negotiations to that end. On motion the mayor was directed to call a public meeting at 9 o'clock a. m., to take the subject into consideration and devise measures if possible to prevent the accomplishment of the design.

This was what marked the beginning of the conflagration. It was the first of the great mass meetings that set the populace in a flame of excitement. They practically slept upon their guns. From that time forward there was no hour, day or night, when the first tap of the court house bell would not be responded to by a vast concourse of people. Nor were the speakers lacking. There were plenty ready to harangue the people and too many of them were neither judicious in the choice of their language nor fair in their criticisms. The mischief—the wickedness—of the whole proceeding, consisted not so much in the noisy advocacy of the claims of Erie and the boisterous arguments in favor of justice, as the personal attacks and the fierce invective employed. Men who had long before been friends became bitter enemies, and the enmity extended to the families. As time passed the bitterness and the heat of the attacks increased, for neither party manifested any disposition to retreat.

The public meeting was a stirring one of its kind, and if councils were desirous of feeling the public pulse they must have been satisfied that they had done so, and read the symptoms aright, for that evening the following ordinance was unanimously adopted and became known thenceforward as the ordinance of July 19, 1853. It was

the motive power for all the violent proceedings against the railroads that were subsequently taken. Here it is:

"Whereas by their act of incorporation the councils of the city of Erie are empowered and required to ordain and enact all such by-laws, rules and regulations as shall be deemed expedient to promote the good order and benefit of the city thereof; to regulate and improve and keep in order the streets and remove therefrom all obstructions; and, whereas, two railroads, the Erie & North East, and the Franklin Canal Company's railroad, of diverse gauges or width of tracks, enter into and meet in said city, the gauge of track of the former being six feet, and of the latter four feet ten inches; and whereas, the good order and benefit of said citizens and the proper regulation of said streets require that there should be no change in said respective gauges, except as hereinafter provided; therefore,

"Be it ordained and enacted, etc.: That the said Erie & North East Railroad Company is hereby prohibited from putting down or using any other gauge or width of track, or using any cars or locomotive engine of any other width or gauge of wheels than six feet; and the said Franklin Canal Company is hereby prohibited from putting down or using any other width or gauge of track, or using any car or locomotive engine of any other width or gauge of wheels than four feet ten inches, in said city, under the penalty of $500 for every such offense, and under an additional penalty of $500 per day for each day that any track put down or used in violation of this ordinance shall be suffered to remain, or cars or locomotives used after prosecution for the first or any subsequent offense: Provided, the Erie & North East Railroad Company may, if they deem it expedient so to do, put down and use in said city a track of the gauge or width of four feet 8½ inches with cars and locomotives to exactly correspond, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

"2. In case any railroad track shall be put down on or across any of the streets of this city in violation of the provisions of this ordinance, the high constable is hereby authorized and required to cause the same to be forthwith removed off of such street or streets; and he is hereby authorized and required to employ a sufficient force for that purpose.

"3. Each and every resident of this city is hereby on request by the high constable, required under the penalty of $5 for every neglect or refusal, to aid him in the discharge of his duties hereinbefore enjoined upon him; and all persons are hereby prohibited under the penalty of $100 for every offense from resisting or obstructing the high constable or any person called to his aid in discharge of the duties above enjoined.

"4. Nothing herein contained shall confer, or be construed as conferring, any right to construct or maintain in said city upon or across any of the streets thereof any railroad track for the construction and maintenance of which a legal authority does not exist independent of this ordinance."

Fortified behind a councilmanic act that abrogated all the civic rights the railroads had possessed, the people seemed to have for a time recovered from the fever that had possessed them. The interest had not waned; the excitement only had subsided, and that was due to the fact that there was nothing doing by the railroad people toward carrying forward their purpose of changing the gauge. Of course, there was nothing doing either toward building termini at Erie harbor. But then, by this time everyone well knew what the upshot would be; that is to say, all knew that the railroads would never be satisfied with anything short of a change that would effect a uniformity of gauge, while the people of Erie were determined to prevent it. But in the meantime there was a lull in proceedings.

All the while, however, the citizens kept viligant watch upon the railroads. Every movement was noted, and every sign of activity reported. The people were on the qui vive, sleeping with open ears ready to be awakened with the first stroke of the bell and to rendezvous at the park. Now and then action was given to the drama by one or another who delighted to play the role of leading heavy. The favorite hyperbole of one of the principal speakers was "a 'helmit' by the wayside," which he declared was what the railroad people proposed to convert Erie into, and the people, sympathetic in the extreme, shuddered at the thought of that lone "helmit"—or even hamlet, as some interpreted the orator.

This period of comparative quiet no doubt induced a number of the leading citizens to attempt a sort of forlorn hope. Whether they had any reason to expect that what they proposed could ever be carried out does not appear, but as a proposition it certainly was possessed of no small degree of merit.

On the evening of November 14, a committee consisting of C. M. Reed, John H. Walker and Smith Jackson from the Erie & North East Railroad Company, and M. Courtright, C. M. Tibbals and G. J. Ball were in attendance on a meeting of council and presented a memorial over their signatures for the consideration of the council, setting forth certain propositions having in view the adjustment of the difficulties existing in this city in connection with railroads. The propositions embodied in the memorial were:

First—That there shall be a railroad of uniform gauge from the harbor of Erie to the city of New York. Second—That it is equally desirable and important to the trade and commerce of Erie that we should be in connection by railroad of uniform gauge with Pittsburg in Pennsylvania and Cincinnati and Columbus in Ohio. In view of the accomplishment of these objects it was proposed that the Franklin Canal Company should extend their road southwardly from Girard or Springfield to the coal fields in Mercer county, and that the Buffalo & State Line Railroad Company, or stockholders thereof, shall make

or cause to be made a reliable subscription thereto of $100,000, or at their option to the Pittsburg & Erie Railroad, the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Railroad Company to take or cause to be taken $50,000 of the Erie City Railroad, the Franklin Canal Company to be at equal expense with the Erie City Railroad Company in purchasing the right of way and constructing the Erie City Railroad to the harbor of Erie from the present line of railroad, engine houses, repair shops, etc., to be built at Erie in due time.

"The acceptance of the propositions made by the Buffalo & State Line Railroad and the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Railroad involves the necessity of a change of the gauge of the Erie & North East Railroad."

Memorialists urged that the building of the Erie City Railroad depended upon the acceptance of the proposed compromise.

Various other considerations were also presented in the memorial in justification of the acceptance of the propositions. After hearing at length the remarks of the committee on the subject matter of the memorial, on motion further action was postponed and a resolution to meet the next evening at 7 o'clock passed both councils.

It seemed like a peace offering. It was the gage of battle. At that moment the eruption broke forth, first with the awful rumblings of earthquake, and finally with destruction in its train. The memorial had been presented and considered. It was to be further considered at a meeting one day in the future. But what a contrast that meeting and its proceedings afforded to what might have been expected from the character of the memorial and the manner of its disposal by the councils!

The meeting was held, pursuant to adjournment, on the evening of November 15. The record at the city hall says:

"Mr. Sterrett was appointed mayor pro tem and Mr. Durlin clerk pro tem, when the following resolutions, adopted by the Common Council, were concurred in by the Select:

"Resolved, etc., that the ordinance passed July 19, 1853, shall be strictly enforced and the mayor is hereby directed to use all due diligence to see that no infraction of the same be permitted.

"Resolved, That the mayor is hereby authorized and directed to appoint 150 special police officers to aid and assist him in executing the said ordinance.

"Resolved, That the mayor forthwith issue his proclamation calling on the citizens of Erie, both civil and military, to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning to assist in maintaining the ordinances and peace of the city."

It will strike most people that this is a most remarkable "further consideration" of a proposition so beneficient as that submitted by Messrs Reed, Walker and Courtright and others. But it must not be

overlooked that the people were keeping posted with regard to the movements of the railroad companies, and the fact that all hands "got busy" at once, and that from that moment forward there was something doing all the time, serves to show that the members of council knew exactly where they "were at." Events occurred thick and fast. Within a week the mayor had complied with the order of the councils and issued his proclamation. It was characteristic of Mr. King. Here it is:

To My Fellow Citizens,
The Military and Our Friends from the Country, Who Have Volunteered Aid.

Believing it my duty to take the best Legal Advice as to the legality of the Ordinance of July, I submitted the question to three legal gentlemen of unquestioned ability, who have furnished me with the following opinion. This opinion I have caused to be printed and laid before you, that you may see that the City Authorities are acting cautiously and advisedly in the matter.

This opinion fully sustaining the Ordinance, I shall see that it is enforced if occasion requires. This can be done by the regular city officers, if not resisted, and I hope there will be no resistance, but we must be ready to enforce the Law if there should be resistance.

I therefore caution and beseech our citizens generally not to interfere, or to do any act calculated to bring about collision or to disturb the peace.

My object is to see the Law executed and peace and order maintained. If I need aid I shall not fail to call on you.

Thanking you a thousand times for your readiness and proffered aid in maintaining the honor and rights of the city, I subscribe myself, Your Obedient Servant,

A. KING, Mayor.

Erie, Nov. 21, 1853.

(Then followed an extended legal opinion, regarding the ordinance of July 19, 1853, signed by Elijah Babbitt, James C. Marshall and Matthew Taylor. The opinion sustained the ordinance.)

Thereupon this resolution was adopted: "That the promptitude, energy and efficiency manifested by our mayor in executing the instructions of the councils in reference to the contemplated change of gauge of the Erie & North East Railroad receive their entire approval and commendation."

Matters were swiftly coming to a head. The unrest in the city permeated every interest. The principal business of the time was that which pertained to the issue between the city and the railroads and every new phase of the situation brought about a meeting of the councils. Laws were enacted with a facility that is astonishing, viewed at this distant day. Everyone was in a fever of excitement, and the members of councils worked overtime to keep pace with the speed with which matters progressed. There was a special meeting called for Saturday afternoon,

November 26, and though the call was of the briefest kind, all the members were in their places.

It was stated to the councils that the track of the Erie & North East Railroad was probably about to be taken up and changed to the 4 foot 10 inch gauge; that the ties had been spotted through the whole distance and preparations completed, and the presumption and reported declaration of some of the directors was that the change was to be effected before the next morning.

Several resolutions were offered and discussed with a view to prevent the anticipated action of the railroad companies. After a spirited debate of some length the following was adopted:

"Resolved, That the chief of police be instructed to give notice to the captain of artillery to detail a sufficient number of men to hold themselves in readiness to fire the signal gun at a moment's warning, and also that the said chief of police be directed to order a sufficient number of men to watch the track from Erie to North East and give notice immediately whenever any change of track is made or attempted."

By the time the resolution had been adopted it was past the hour for the ordinary evening meal, so there was an adjournment until evening when business was resumed. It was a meeting of talk. It could not be called a stormy time for the talk was all one-sided. It ended in the adoption of the following:

"Resolved, That the mayor be instructed to call out the police force of the city to remove the bridges from the streets of the city, now used by the Erie & North East Railroad Company at any time he, the mayor, may deem necessary, in order to preserve the present railroad gauge, and to preserve the peace of the city, in accordance with the ordinance of July 19, 1853. Also any bridge or obstruction crossing any street used by the Western Railroad Company within the limits of the city."

Councils then met in Wright's block, corner of Fifth and State streets, now the Harlan building. Outside there was a vast throng, filling the streets and the hollow roar of the people massed about the building could be heard inside. The instant the resolution was adopted it was known outside and there went up a great shout. The people were ready on the instant to follow the mayor up the street to the railroad and set about the work of demolition.

But the time was not yet ripe. The occasion was not yet opportune, and notwithstanding the mutterings of the crowd, by the officials it was deemed expedient to put the will of the constituted authorities into a form more strictly legal. To that end the business was continued until the next Monday evening, when the following, known thereafter as the ordinance of November 28, was enacted:

"Whereas the Franklin Canal Company and the Erie & North East Railroad Company have respectively caused to be placed upon, over, and across divers of the public streets of the city of Erie, certain iron rails for railroad tracks and certain bridges, embankments, ditches, timbers and other erections and constructions, all of which are without authority of law and obstruct the free use of said streets respectively as public highways, therefore:

"Be it ordained, etc., that the mayor of the said city of Erie be and he is hereby authorized and empowered to issue his order to the high constable of the same, directing him to remove from such streets or any of them all or any of such track or tracks, bridge or bridges, embankments, ditches, timbers, erections and constructions whatever or any part thereof, by whomsoever made or caused, and the high constable, on the receipt of such order, is hereby required forthwith to carry the same into effect and to employ a sufficient force for that purpose.

"2—Any person who shall in any manner obstruct the high constable in carrying such order into effect, or shall replace or aid in replacing any such track, bridge, embankment, ditch, timber, or other erection or construction, upon or over any of said streets, after the same shall have been removed as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay to the use of the city a penalty of $90 for every such offense.

"3—That all privileges or grants of privilege (if any exist) to any railroad company to place or maintain any track, bridge, embankment, ditch, timber or other erection or construction upon, over or across any street in this city, are hereby annulled and revoked and the placing or maintaining of any such thereon forbidden."

This was the final act before the breaking of the storm. Thereafter speeches and enactments gave place to action. The railroad war was on.

It was on December 7, 1853, that the storm which had so long been threatening broke, and from talk the people resorted to action. It was a memorable occasion, and yet at this day there are none to be found who can give with particularity the proceedings of that occasion. The crowd of people who marched to the railroad crossing of State street has been frequently denominated a mob, moving without order or system, but led by the mayor on horseback. Some who live today, even among those who supported the citizens as against the railroad authorities—the Rippers, as they came to be known—have no knowledge of a well-planned organization. Col. J. Ross Thompson, whose father was an attorney representing the opposition to the railroads, and who has a very clear recollection of the matter, declares that so far as he could see and to the extent of his knowledge there was no system or order in the demonstration. Mayor King rode at the head on a large bow-backed horse, and was followed by a vast throng that extended from the park to Eighth street, that was steadily increasing in numbers. The colonel joined in the throng, as everybody in town did, and with them, tramped up through the muddy street to the railroad. There was no music; so far as he could see there

were none armed, and he saw nothing of tools. It was as though all were animated by a desire to see what was to be done. There was no denying the fact that there was common sympathy, and that all in that crowd favored the city's side in the controversy. It was very much like any other notable event in which the populace turned out to see the sights.

It is a rather different story that the late George Burton related, so far as particulars are concerned, and yet he had no knowledge of the preliminary organization. It will be remembered that the city councils authorized the qualifying of a force of 150 special police constables. This was what the mayor did, according to Mr. Burton. It was a sworn posse that the mayor headed. How they were distinguishable does not appear, nor when they were mustered, nor where. So far as can be learned there had been no public meeting that day. But, as Mr. Burton recollected it, there was organization, and it was this force of special constables, headed by Mayor King, that led the procession. They had prepared for work, and they were proceeding in strict conformity to law.

In those days the general aspect of the ground about the railroad was vastly different from what it is at present. The railroad passed over a long bridge or trestle that extended from French street almost to the Turnpike, crossing the valley of Mill creek. The creek itself flowed over a part of what was State street, according to the surveys, the roadway being close to the bed of the stream. The trestle was constructed of wooden timbers quite similar to present day erections of its character.

Arrived on the ground, according to Mr. Burton's account of the transaction, the city engineer, by direction of the mayor made an accurate survey, marking carefully upon the bridge the street lines. Then members of the posse, with saws cut straight down through the timbers. The first rail displaced was pulled up by Robert T. Sterrett, a stockholder in the Erie & North East Railroad. The work begun, the demolition of that portion of the bridge that crossed State street was quickly accomplished. At no time did the constables go beyond the street lines, Mr. Burton stated. They kept strictly within the law. As soon as the State street bridge was torn down the force of constables proceeded to French street, where precisely the same rules were observed, and that too, was destroyed.

After all, it was not quite so dignified a proceeding as the telling of the story thus far would seem to indicate. There may not have been any weapons carried by the crowd. But though weapons were lacking missiles were not, and these were of a decidedly miscellaneous character. Some people in the crowd had provided a plentiful supply of rotten eggs, in anticipation of their coming in handy. And they did. Of course, the railroad officials had no thought of seeing their property destroyed without at least protesting. They did protest. Mr. Ira W. Hart, a leader among the railroad people, proceeded out upon the trestle and ordered

the men at work on the demolition of the bridge to desist. Mr. J. F. Tracy, another railroad official, also appeared on the scene. It was the cue for the carriers of spoiled eggs. At once from a hundred different directions there was a rain of rotten eggs. Some who were not fortunate enough to be provided with these sulphuretted hydrogen grenades, resorted to solid shot. Stones were hurled, and in the storm of missles the railroad people were compelled to beat a hasty and ignominious retreat, while the populace, jeering and shouting, kept up the bombardment as long as any of the enemy were in view. Even the most zealous of the supporters of the citizens' cause will hardly attribute this demonstration to the force of constabulary who were at work enforcing the law. To the populace it was a hilarious incident, and it is probably fortunate that no serious damage was done.

One of the remarkable things in connection with this railroad disturbance, long continued as it was, is that there were so few casualties. In the city, aside from some personal encounters, there was not even a single case reported of bodily injury. Col. Thompson, in speaking of this feature of the controversy, attributed it to the vast preponderance of the opponents of the railroad. If the forces had been anything like evenly matched there can be no doubt but that there would have been more than one bloody engagement, for the feeling of hosility was fierce and very bitter. The railroad men recognized their inferiority in strength, and for that reason did not attempt forcible resistance. They confined their efforts to strategy, using the courts to the best of their ability, and by various devices and technicalities succeeded in standing off their opponents.

After the outbreak of December 7, however, they took fright and many of them fled from the city. It is a fact that the house of John H. Walker was pelted with stones. The Erie people "had it in" for Mr. Walker, whom they termed a turncoat. As may be shown later, Mr. Walker doubtless had good and sufficient reason for a change of belief, but people in those days were not looking for excuses for any of the Shanghais. Fearing violence, many men left the city, and among them Mr. Walker, who boarded a locomotive in the western yard and was taken into Ohio. It is related by Mr. F. F. Adams that Mr. Tracy, driven from Erie in the same way, took up his residence for a short time in Waterford with a relative until the storm should blow over.

There can be no doubt that encouragement was given to the irresponsibles of the community by the passage of a resolution by councils on December 5, just two days before the assault upon the bridge. Of course, it was meant to protect the constabulary, but the element that thrives on disturbance was not of a discriminating character, and readily interpreted the act as favoring them, and they carried on their nefarious work with impunity. The resolution was:

"That the faith of the city be, and the same is hereby pledged to indemnify any and all citizens of the same for any injury in person or property which they may sustain while acting under the ordinances of the city relative to railroads, and while acting under the direction of the mayor or high constable."

As a matter of fact the sentiment was so strongly against the railroad people that they had no chance whatever, for though it was well known the attack upon Mr. Walker's house had been made there were no arrests effected. The feeling was intense and from opposition to a measure that was regarded as against public policy and civic interests, it grew into personal animosity. How much this was fostered by the orators of the time it is difficult at this late day to state. No doubt some of the speakers were not judicious in the language they employed. There are relics of the time to indicate this, though I am sure not all of the speakers were of that sort, for a leader among them was the late Gideon J. Ball, as conservative and well-balanced a man and citizen as ever I knew. But it was the order of the day to strengthen and embellish every utterance pertaining to the railroad difficulty by a profusion of superlatives that, read at this distance, are interesting examples of style. And there were all sorts of expedients employed to foster personal ill feeling. Examples of this are found in the brochure called the "E-pistol of John," printed anonymously, but, it is said, immensely popular among the Rippers during the troublous times of the early fifties. All of these things had their effect in stimulating hatred, which was permitted to extend to the cruel length of including the women identified with the hateful opposition as members of the families of the Shanghai men. It was not excusable and did not carry out the claim of many leading Rippers that the business in hand was done dispassionately. One of the leaders in the controversy, writing an account of the first attack on the bridges, said: "The fact is the law was strictly enforced and the officers and spectators quietly dispersed," but he omitted the spoiled eggs or any mention of them, nor did he mention the cruel boycott that was established. These are stains upon the honor of the Ripper cause.

The performance by the mayor and his force of constables naturally stirred up increased excitement, and, especially beyond the city's bounds was the unfavorable result of the controversy manifest. Leaders among the Rippers attributed it to the activity of the railway interests that had bribed the newspapers. The real trouble, however, came from the interruption of travel. When people are stopped in their journey they do not care a copper cent about the merits of the case; their only interest is in getting on. Stopped at Erie by the people of the place, who had broken the connection, travelers had neither patience nor charity to expend upon the subject. It was an outrage in their opinion, and they were ever free to express their opinion. So it became Erie against the world. It was not necessary for the railroad men to put forth a single effort to

spread the ill-feeling against Erie that was engendered by the controversy here; it spread of its own accord through the agency of the traveling public.

The people of Erie recognized that this state of affairs existed, though, as has been said, they attributed it to the efforts of the Shanghai interests. It affected the people here deeply. It got into the councils, when, on December 12, 1853, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That the mayor be requested to telegraph to the governor of the state, inviting him to visit the city at his earliest convenience.

"Resolved, That the mayor be instructed to procure the publication of a manifesto setting forth fully and clearly the facts in relation to the present railroad controversy for general circulation.

"Resolved, That a committee of two from each body be appointed to confer on the propriety of applying for an injunction on the Erie & North East Railroad."

The committee consisted of W. C. Braley and Adam Acheson, of the Common Council, and P. Sennett and J. B. Smith, of the Select Council. Thus it may be seen that while the representatives of the people were anxious to preserve the reputation of the community they did not propose to take any backward steps. On the contrary, they were determined to continue in the course they had marked out. In order to add strength to their position, George S. Russell was appointed an additional constable and David Zimmerman, James Cummings, Henry Martin and Hezekiah Bates were appointed police constables. The duties of these men were to prevent as far as possible any meetings for discussion of matters pertaining to the trouble, the expressed desire being that there should be no fomenting of strife. The course pursued, however, rather tended to aggravate the trouble, as the so-called Shanghais naturally came most generally under suspicion. Complaints of this discrimination became frequent, and, as a matter of fact the Shanghai genus became marked wherever an individual appeared.

The determination of the people to make the matter a state issue now came to the fore, and it is worthy to be noted that this new piece of stratagem turned out in the end to be what won out for Erie. There was a meeting of councils held on Jan. 19, Hon. Charles W. Kelso being present, who, in a speech submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The Franklin Canal Company, incorporated by act of 9th April, 1849, to construct a railroad from the north end of their canal in Crawford county to Lake Erie, and from the south end thereof to Pittsburg; and under the pretended authority of said act have constructed no other road than one leading from the Ohio state line as an extension of an Ohio road, commencing at Cleveland to the termination of the Erie & North East Railroad, leading from Erie to Dunkirk and Buffalo, at a

point in the southern section of the city of Erie about one mile from the harbor thereof, and at a great distance from the point of termination as required by their charter.

"And whereas, Such road was constructed by those owning and operating the New York and Ohio roads east and west of Erie with a view to secure a continuous and uninterrupted transit through Pennsylvania, to the great injury of the interests of Erie city and county and of the state of Pennsylvania, tending to defeat the main objects of the legislature of Pennsylvania in incorporating said company, and is clearly unauthorized, illegal and a gross abuse of the privileges of the said company. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the mayor, Select and Common Council of the city of Erie it would greatly advance the interests not only of the city and county of Erie, but of the state of Pennsylvania if the state would resume the rights and privileges of the said Franklin Coal Company, as is provided in the 8th section of their act of incorporation.

"Resolved, That the Erie & North East Railroad Company, by Pennsylvania if the state would construct and own a railroad from the harbor of Erie to the Ohio state line, to connect there with an Ohio road, and we recommend such action. We believe that the interests of the state, which are deeply involved by the proposed construction of other roads, which are required by law to terminate at this harbor would be best guarded in this manner from the powerful influences, which interests, rivaling hers, and in direct antagonism to them can employ upon any incorporated company.

"Resolved, That the Erie & North East Railroad Company, by failing to finish their road to the borough of Erie and the harbor thereof, as required by their charter, and by locating it in a manner so as to terminate it a distance of about one mile from the harbor, for the purpose of facilitating a connection with the illegally constructed Franklin Canal Company's railroad, so as to secure an uninterrupted transit through and past this place and harbor to the ruin of the commercial interests of the only port which Pennsylvania possesses on the lake frontier, have misused and abused their privileges, and they should be required to complete the road according to the requirements of their charter.

"Resolved, That copies of the above resolutions be transmitted by the mayor to the governor of the commonwealth at Harrisburg, and that he be requested to call the attention of the legislature at its approaching session to the subjects to which they relate."

Besides, Mr. Kelso offered a petition to be signed by the mayor and councilmen, setting forth charges and asking the state legislature to institute an investigation, when, if the charges are found true, the state was to resume the rights and privileges granted in the canal company charter.

At the same meeting G. J. Ball was present and submitted this resolution, which was adopted.

"Resolved, That the railroad connection proposed to be renewed between the east and west at Erie shall be treated as a Pennsylvania ques-

tion, and we will make common cause with our brethren of Philadelphia and other portions of the state in its consideration and settlement, and when adjusted as it must be with a due regard to the rights and sovereignty of Pennsylvania a just portection will be found secured to all interests at home and abroad."

And still another series of resolutions were adopted, making that meeting a sort of field day for the local congress. They were, as all the others had been, carried unanimously.

"Resolved, That the mayor and councils of Philadelphia be earnestly requested to extend to us their aid and sympathy in this our unequal contest with the most powerful monopolies in New York and Ohio, while contending for our and their most valuable rights.

"Resolved, That the immediate subscription on the part of Philadelphia to the stock of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad in our opinion, would do more than any other act to settle the controversy, as we have reason to believe that the principal object aimed at by New York and Ohio in obtaining a through gauge is to defeat the Sunbury & Erie Railroad, and thereby deprive Philadelphia of her just share of the lake trade."

It was a brave bid for outside sympathy and aid, and it won out as the sequel may show.

Now, the railroad troubles were not confined to the city of Erie. Some of the most dramatic incidents of the entire war took place in Harborcreek, a short distance west of the station. It is worth while before giving an account of what happened at the grand climax to relate what led up to it. When the route of the Erie & North East Railroad was originally surveyed a perfectly straight line was laid out from end to end. At the present time, if the weather be clear, one standing in Fifteenth street, near the Morton house, and looking east along the railroad could see the track beyond North East, but for the natural curvature of the earth's surface. As it is the road stretches in an absolutely straight line as far as the edge of the horizon. There are varying grades, but the line is direct. It is not so with the highway known as the Buffalo road. At the present time, all who have traveled east will remember, there is a crossing of the Buffalo road between Six-Mile creek and Harborcreek village. When the road was built, however, the road was differently laid out. Inclining slightly toward the north, it crossed the line of the railroad on a tangent that was nearly parallel; soon there was another tangent that brought the road again to the south of the railroad; and a few rods further along again the road crossed to the north. Thus, at three different points, within a very short distance, the railroad occupied a considerable portion of the public road; at one point 30 rods, at the second 40 rods, and at the third point 80 rods—in all 150 rods of the highway was appropriated by the railroad, and in such a manner as to render it emphatically a nuisance.

The action of the railroad company in practically appropriating 150 rods of the public highway was vigorously opposed from the start by the

Harborcreek people. It was declared to be an unwarranted infringement upon public liberties, for the highway existed legally before the railroad did. The contention lasted for a considerable time, until at length the railroad company, representing that a contract had been entered into between the Erie & North East Railroad Company and the New York & Erie Railroad Company by which a through line between Erie harbor and New York was to be built, a line of road that would give the farmers of Erie county direct access to the best markets in the country, obtained the consent of the people of Harborcreek to permit conditions to remain as they were.

When, therefore, instead of building the line of road that it was represented had been contracted for the railroad interests took steps to effect a consolidation that would favor the west and discriminate against the farmers of eastern Erie county, there was an instantaneous uprising in opposition. The road commissioners of the township ordered the removal of the railroad track from the highway, and it was promptly done. The railroad people followed soon afterwards and relaid the track. Again it was torn up by the order of the road commissioners, and again it was relaid by the company. Then came the most noteworthy incident in the history of that war.

It was on the 27th of January. The force under the road commissioners were again at work removing the obstruction from the highway when a train carrying a large force of men, stated by some to be 300, came on from the east. They were laboring men, track layers and workmen in the employ of the Buffalo & State Line Railroad Company. The train was in charge of Charles Coffin, conductor. As soon as this party arrived on the scene Conductor Coffin and C. C. Dennis, superintendent of the B. & S. L. road, advancing, commanded the workmen to desist and leave the place. They refused, declaring they had a right to be at work upon their own highway. Thereupon Coffin drew a revolver and renewing his order advanced upon the workmen, who, however, stood their ground. Thereupon the conductor, cocking his pistol, pulled the trigger. It only snapped, but again it was cocked, and a second time snapped. On the third attempt, however, it was discharged and the ball hit a man named George Nelson on the head. He fell but was soon on his feet again, the ball having been deflected by the bones of his skull and causing a wound over the right ear. Coffin followed up the attack by aiming his pistol at Wm. Cooper, but the gun snapped both times the attempt was made to fire. At the same time the followers of Coffin charged upon the farmer people with shovels and picks, and W. W. Davison, a prominent citizen of Harborcreek, was hit on the back of the head with a pick and seriously injured. Though the railroad force was vastly superior in numbers the farmer people made a bold attempt to arrest the leaders, but were frustrated.

When the news of this affair reached Erie its effect was like that of applying a spark to gunpowder. Instantly the whole town was astir. The

military sprang to arms and at once headed toward Harborcreek. Every conveyance obtainable was immediately seized. Farmers who had come to town with loads of wood for sale were surrounded, their wood pitched out on the roadside and their sleighs appropriated. In all manner of vehicles the people proceeded toward the scene, and Col. Thompson, speaking of the incident, states that, having been that day at the scene of the occurrence in Harborcreek and on his return, he was astonished to meet at the bend in the Buffalo road, near Saltsman's, a vast throng of people. Instead of carrying the news of the affair himself he was met almost half way by the crowd, eager for revenge upon the railroad men. It was incredible to him that the intelligence could travel so swiftly. But here was evidence of it. The military were there, with their muskets and a company in charge of a cannon, while it appeared as though thousands more were included in that vast throng.

That battle of the crossing did not end the doings at Harborcreek. The people there were vigilant. The leaders there were John Kilpatrick, Ira Sherwin, Archie Kirkpatrick, the Davisons, John Jacks, and many of the most substantial people of the country round about. The track was repeatedly torn up.

At length the railroad people got the matter before the United States court at Pittsburg, and a deputy U. S. marshal was sent here to serve an injunction process. It was at this time the celebrated incident occurred which has become historic in connection with the trouble. The officer of the court proceeded to serve the writ upon the rippers who were then on the ground, and who ignored the officer. Demanding recognition he flashed the legal document.

"What is that?" Archie Kirkpatrick inquired.

"An injunction under the seal of the United States Court," the officer answered, referring to the stamp of authority which it bore.

Kirkpatrick seized the document and throwing it upon the ground stamped upon it with his heel.

"Now it has the seal of Harborcreek," said the quick-witted if not overly respectful farmer.

It cost him considerable in the end, however, as in the course of a short time officers of the U. S. circuit court arrested John Kilpatrick, Ira Sherwin, Archie Kirkpatrick and John Jacks, and took them to Pittsburg and locked them in jail for contempt of court. They remained in prison for a considerable time. By the time this occurred, however, there was a strong sentiment favorable to Erie prevailing in Pittsburg, and among those who manifested friendliness were Sheriff Magill and his wife, who had charge of the Erie prisoners, and treated them with unusual kindness. This so pleased the people of this city that the ladies of Erie presented a service of silver to Mrs. Magill as a token of appreciation of the kind treatment extended to the Ripper prisoners.

A closing feature of the stirring incident of December 27, at Harborcreek, is one which contained in many of its aspects much of comedy. It is only proper to state, however, that there are two versions to the story. That which seems the most likely to be true is that the defenders of the highway, become zealous in their efforts to effect the capture of those responsible for the grievous injuries inflicted upon certain of the citizens, pushed their efforts to such an extent that a number of them boarded the cars with the purpose in view of capturing the train. It was a clever stratagem, and because of the boldness of its conception no doubt merited success. According to the story told by the railroad people it might have been successful but for a single fact, as the boarders manifested such gallantry that they were driving the occupants forward and out. But they had made one important mistake. They had attacked from the rear. No sooner was it learned what was in progress back in the train than the engineer started the train in motion. Discovering this the boarders made haste to reach the doors and beat a hasty retreat. Necessarily, they had to proceed in single file. Meanwhile the speed was rapidly increasing until the train was going so rapidly that two of the invaders, William Cooper and another, were afraid to jump, and so were given a free ride to a point beyond the state line.

Mr. Cooper in a sworn affidavit, next day, stated that he was on board the train because of a special invitation given by Supt. C. C. Dennis. As soon as he and another were got aboard, he states, the doors were locked so that escape was impossible. Thus they were carried unwillingly to a point which he believed to be several hundred yards beyond the New York and Pennsylvania state line, where they were forced to leave the car. Then, he says, he was set upon by a large body of men and badly beaten, and at the conclusion a man named Bill Kasson kicked him all the way back into Pennsylvania. It is related that subsequently he exhibited to sympathizing friends the evidences of his maltreatment.

It was not the end of the incident. Mr. Cooper instituted legal proceedings against the people whom he alleged had encroached upon his liberties, his bill of complaint charging them with kidnaping and assault and battery. It came to trial in due course, when the result was that the learned judge ruled that, being a white man, the charge of kidnaping would not hold. If he had been a child (a legal infant) the charge might lie, or if adult, he had been a negro, then too, he would have a case. But, being a man, and a white man, he could not establish a case of kidnaping. So that count fell through. Then, as to the assault and battery charge, according to the complaint the offense was committed in New York state, which placed it beyond the jurisdiction of a Pennsylvania court. Therefore Mr. Cooper had no redress. But he became a hero, none the less, among his Ripper friends, while the incident gave the Shanghais an opportunity to crow, which they did.

It became the subject of one of the popular ballads of the time, for in those days the redoubtable Maj. Fitch was in the prime of his mentality, and his penchant for grinding out rhyme found opportunity not to be wasted in so stirring an incident as this. Old Maj. Fitch was perhaps the very last of the minstrels, long subsequent to the aged Palmer that Scott rated the last of his honored profession. And Maj. Fitch, or rather the major's so-called poetry, enjoyed immense popularity while the so-called peanut war lasted.

The warfare continued in Erie, though the action was along what might be termed legal lines. The railroad company succeeded in carrying their case to such an extent that U. S. Marshal Frost was sent to Erie to see that the orders of court restraining the city of Erie from interfering with the railroad people were carried out. The citizens complained that he lent himself to the railroad cause, and not a few alleged that he was in the pay of the railroads. The statement has been made that he superintended the work of relaying the tracks and rebuilding the bridges.

It did not avail, however, for the trestle was a second time torn down, and upon this occasion it is said to have been a most picturesque travesty. The work was done by women! That is to say, all those engaged in tearing up the rails and pulling down the bridge wore women's clothes. But now and then something would occur that would give the snap away and induce a roar of laughter. Someone of the party wanted a jack-knife or a bit of his plug tobacco, and, forgetfully, would hoist up his skirt to extract it from his breeches pocket, disclosing his big boots encasing the legs of a pair of heavy trousers. Again a number of the women got in the way of one of the long ropes attached to the timbers of the bridge, and when the oxen were started up and the rope sprang taut it overturned a bunch of them and revealed a lot of big leather boots kicking out of the feminine skirts.

But there was a step taken at length to dispense with the services of Mr. Frost. One day in the latter part of January, Messrs. Thompson & Grant received a telegram from the office of the attorney general at Harrisburg to arrest the United States marshal. The process was a writ of capias in trespass vi et armis for illegal arrest and false imprisonment. No sooner was the message received than the attorneys set out to obey the command it contained. They waited only long enough to put on coats and hats. To their astonishment the street in front of their office on Park row was filled with people. They told no one what they were about to do, but the people formed a procession in their wake. At every street crossing there were accessions to their ranks. When they had reached the furnaces (Eleventh and State streets) on their way to the station the men had all thrown down their tools and quit work to go along and witness the arrest. Thomas B. Vincent was sheriff at

the time, and he was a Shanghai, but he was in duty bound to carry out the orders of the attorney general. The United States marshal was accordingly arrested, taken down to the county jail and locked up.

The speed with which such a crowd could be gathered in those exciting times was thus again exemplified. It is said that before three strokes of the court house bell could be struck a thousand people would be collected in the park. No doubt this was pretty near true. But the case of the arrest of the U. S. marshal was a little different because there was no ringing of the bell and every effort had been made to keep the business secret. News flew on the wind in those days and seemed to penetrate walls.

At that time there was published in Erie a newspaper called the *Constitution,* owned by J. B. Johnson, a learned and prominent member of the bar of Erie county. Mr. Johnson, was a Shanghai, and his paper, vigorously conducted, was a thorn in the flesh of the Rippers. Not only did Mr. Johnson wield a caustic pen, but there were others who wrote strong stuff for the *Constitution.*

Mr. Johnson had from the first incurred the hatred and hostility of the leaders of the Rippers by his able defense of the railroads, as well, as has already been remarked, as by his caustic manner of ridiculing the men and methods of the opposition. This finally led to a violent encounter and the first real bloodshed of the war. The story is related by an eye witness:

One day, he says, as he was coming into the Constitution building he observed Morrow B. Lowry and Arch Kilpatrick entering Mr. Johnson's room. Their only business there, he knew, was to make trouble; therefore he decided to see what went on. So he followed them in. Mr. Lowry carried a heavy whip and Kilpatrick was armed with a big cane. The words of introduction by Mr. Lowry were few and to the point, and almost before Mr. Johnson had time to see what was on he was given a sounding blow over the head that dazed him and sent his spectacles flying. David B. McCreary was present and immediately took a hand. Looking about for a weapon of defense, Mr. McCreary found a stout stick used for a poker for the big wood stove. Seizing this and swinging it with all the force he could he struck Lowry behind the ear, bewildering him for the moment and cutting a big gash from which the blood flowed freely.

Turning to Kilpatrick, Mr. Lowry called to him to attend to McCreary, but, not understanding what his orders were, Kilpatrick advanced upon Johnson with his cane drawn to deliver a blow that might have been fatal. In this emergency McCreary seized a heavy chair near-by and swung it with such good aim that it struck Kilpatrick square in the face, stunning him and knocking out two of his teeth. Kilpatrick's cane was dropped in the melee, which Mr. McCreary secured, and finally Mr. Lowry, finding that Kilpatrick was really out of the fight

and the odds were thus against him, but hurling invective at Johnson and McCreary, with Kilpatrick quitted the field. That law office, said the witness, looked like a slaughter house, for the blood was fairly spurting from the wound in Lowry's head and had stained his ruffled shirt front and fallen in a stream to the floor, while Kilpatrick was bleeding but little less.

This was not the only sanguinary incident of that memorable campaign. One April morning in 1855 John H. Walker, one of the leading Shanghais, was on his way to the court house and was almost to the steps of the building when he was met by Rodney Cochran, a prominent Ripper, Mr. Walker was one of the principal lawyers of Erie and, the day being raw and cold, was muffled up and holding his wrap close about him, while at the same time he held his law books in his arms. Meeting him there by the steps Mr. Cochran demanded of Mr. Walker that he at once stop proceedings in the suit for damages which he had brought against Cochran. Mr. Walker promptly refused to do so. Just as promptly Cochran struck him a violent blow that felled him. Arising after a brief interval, his hat battered and his face bloody, Mr. Walker passed into the court house, Judge Agnew presiding at the time, and made a statement to the court in detail of what had occurred and entered a formal complaint which resulted in the judge ordering the arrest of Cochran.

But the incident had its sequel, and a decidedly melodramatic sequel it was! At the time of the assault upon Mr. Walker, his son John W., now known as Major Walker, was teaching school in the south. He was then a young man of splendid vigor and a veritable athlete, skilled among other things in the art of boxing. A year later, John W. was at home, and somehow it became known that he had it in for Rodney Cochran in retaliation for what had been done to his father. The anticipated occurrence was witnessed by General McCreary and the facts are obtained from him.

John Walker and Joseph R. Ferguson were standing in front of the *Constitution* office, in which building was the office of General McCreary. They were engaged in conversation. Soon Mr. Cochran came along from the bank with which he was connected, evidently intending to call at the *Constitution* office on business, for he held in his hand a draft. It appeared as though neither Walker nor Cochran had seen the other until they were face to face, less than an arm's-length away. However, as soon as Walker saw and recognized Cochran he aimed one blow at him with such good effect that, taking him on the ear it landed him all in a heap in the entry-way. Mr. Walker was on the point of following up his advantage when Mr. McCreary and his companion in the office hastily dragged the fallen man inside and, locking the door urged Ferguson to get Walker away.

This was done. Standing on the corner that the city hall now occupies, there was in those days a small two-story building called the Park hotel, towards which Walker and Ferguson went. Meanwhile, Mr. Cochran had gathered himself together and he was furious. He stormed about until he was permitted to depart. Once outside he seized a brick and pursuing his late assailant until he had nearly overtaken him, threw it with all the force he could command. It struck only a glancing blow, but spoiled Mr. Cochran's equilibrium, and before he could recover his balance he was again stricken such a blow that he was thrown, dazed and bleeding through the door of the Park Hotel. This time Mr. Walker followed him up and throwing him across a table beat him without mercy.

This was not the end, however. That night, eager for revenge, Mr. Cochran addressed a mass meeting and told the excited citizens how he had been decoyed into the Constitution office by a gang of railroad hirelings and his life had been attempted. At once a movement was made toward the newspaper office. The doors were broken open, the books carried out and burned in the street, then the type was thrown out into the street, the press dismantled and finally the building was torn down and next day only a heap of ruins marked its site. After the demolition of the printing office, the crowd visited in turn the residences of Mr. Walker, Mr. Tracy and Mr. Johnson, all of which were bombarded with stones, but unable to do more than batter the shutters which had been closed in anticipation of such an event (for by that time it had been learned what was going on the park), nothing was accomplished.

Nor was the trouble confined to the men; the women were equally infected with the fever, and they tried a weapon as cruel and deadly in its effect as any that could be employed. The Tibbals dry goods store was one of the principal stores in that line in Erie in those days. Mr. Tibbals, without taking any active part in the controversy became known as a Shanghai. It was so with a number of other merchants. For the purpose of punishing these men all the women of the town were called to meet to take action. Not all the women came, but the great majority of Erie women were in attendance. The action was quick and summary. They voted not to trade with the Shanghai merchants, and each of the merchants was named as he was put under the ban.

Then there was another grievance. The railroad controversy at last got into the pulpit. It cropped out in the sermons, it was present in the prayers. Allusions, of an unpleasant nature were made to those who were selling their birthright and to the powerful who were oppressing the weak. At length it could no longer be borne, and the result was that a number of members withdrew from the old church, and that is how the Park church originated. For many years it was known as the

Shanghai church, and it was so until a new generation came upon the scene.

The last surviving member of the councils of that stormy time was Wm. G. Arbuckle, who died recently at the old family home over in Jerusalem. He remembered well to the last the incidents of the time, and he, too, remarked the facility with which crowds would be brought together, and the rapidity with which intelligence of the doings of even an executive session spread to the people—as though the walls of the council chamber leaked. That day when the ordinance was passed which made resistance effective was memorable. Before the meeting, as Mr. Arbuckle related it, the members were "seen" by a prominent citizen connected in a business way with the railroads. It is not known that he was a stockholder, but he was a spokesman. He, having gotten the members of Select Council together in a retired place before the meeting, laid the matter before them. The lay-out was in the nature of a temptation. The company is rich, said the emissary. They do not care for the matter of a few thousand dollars.

"Now, I am not saying what the rest of us might have done under such pressure," said Mr. Arbuckle at an interview. "This I do say, that there was not money enough nor human power sufficient to move A. P. Durlin. He was a rock. Even if all his coadjutors in council had joined with the tempter, he was not to be moved. We let Mr. Durlin speak for the rest of us."

In the process of time the scales of justice swinging now up one side and again up another, brought about the trial of the mayor and members of the Erie council in the U. S. Court at Pittsburg. It was no small undertaking to proceed to the scene of the trial, for the Erie men had to traverse a hostile country. The route laid out was by rail to Cleveland and thence to Pittsburg. But it was dangerous for a party of Erie councilmen to appear in the city of Cleveland, so strong was the feeling against them. Therefore, the train was stopped some distance east of Cleveland, and the Erie party proceeded in wagons across the country to a station on the C. & P. road. That the arrangement afforded great relief to the Erie men, Mr. Arbuckle relates in his reminiscence of the times. The city fathers of 1853 were vindicated by being acquitted in court.

The councils of Erie had sent an invitation to Gov. Bigler to come to Erie, and he did, arriving here on Jan. 31. Meanwhile the matter had come before the state legislature and upon the lines proposed in Mr. Kelso's address and resolutions approved by councils at their meeting of December 19. An act was passed by an almost unanimous vote annulling the charter of the Franklin Canal Company and investing the governor with plenary power to make such disposition of the road as in his judgment would best promote the interests of the state.

It was in furtherance of the requirements of this act as well as in response to the appeal of the people of Erie that Gov. Bigler came here. He was received by a vast throng of people. Eleven hundred men on horseback escorted the governor from the train and a larger number than that in the cavalcade followed in its wake. He was quartered at Brown's hotel, and the reception that night was a memorable occasion.

The governor promptly took over the road as state property, and proceeded to operate it. The road here referred to, let it be understood, was the line extending from Erie to the Ohio state line. It was now out of the hands of the company, but the arrangements made were that it was to be run in connection with the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula road, under proper restrictions to protect the interests of Erie and of the whole state.

It was the beginning of the end. The matter was quickly carried into the supreme court of the state, by whom William M. Meredith, Edw. M. Stanton, afterwards Lincoln's secretary of war; W. G. Hearst, J. H. Walker and Judge James Thompson were commissioned to bring about a settlement. Briefly the terms were that the Erie & North East Railroad was to contribute $400,000 to the construction of the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad; the C. P. & A. road, or the Erie county extension of it, was to contribute $500,000 to the Sunbury & Erie (now Philadelphia & Erie) road; both roads were to build lines to the harbor and the charter was to be restored to the Franklin Canal Company. The conditions of this agreement were accepted promptly by all parties concerned and the railroads became what they are today,—developing in time into the Buffalo & Erie and Cleveland & Erie, and at length into divisions of the great Lake Shore & Michigan Southern and New York Central route.

For a time during its progress it appeared as though the trouble might assume a really warlike attitude. It is doubtless true, as Col. Thompson points out, that because the situation was so one-sided, the Rippers being so strong numerically, there were no serious casualties nor loss of life. But for a time it seemed as though there might be a change in this respect, for a movement was made to induce the government at Washington to take a hand. Representatives of the railroad interest sought the national capital and laid the matter before the president, praying for the assistance of the war department, all other means tried having failed.

It was in vain, however, as the president, after carefully considering the matter, decided that the question at issue was for the state of Pennsylvania to dispose of. The theatre of action was altogether within the confines of Pennsylvania, and there was not then the same feeling with reference to obstructing the carriage of the mails that there is now. So

the effort fell through and the dispute was permitted to go before the legislature and the courts of the commonwealth.

But it was an anxious and a trying time, especially for those in official position, and the mayor and others in Erie had many sleepless nights. I remember hearing Mr. King state that even years afterwards if there was a ring at his doorbell in the night it brought him to his feet before he was awake. During the whole of that troublesome period he was in a state of high nervous tension. It was not so much fear of what the railroad people would do, though in the minds of the public the Shanghais were the invaders. The apprehension was lest certain elements among the citizens would take advantage of the troubled state of affairs and commit serious depredations. Such occurrences did take place, the stoning of the homes of railroad sympathizers and the demolition of the Constitution office being examples. With the purpose of maintaining order along these lines, the militia were called into service, and there was a prohibition of discussing the railroad trouble in public places. While all these precautions were well meant they were not always understood or duly appreciated. No doubt they aggravated feelings of hostility that developed into hatred. It was a lamentable state of affairs that endured for years, and that was finally softened by the interposition of a more serious matter, the great War of the Rebellion.

And yet, even after the close of the war, the feeling had not entirely died out. I well remember the answer given the enterprising editor of the *Sunday Gazette* as late as the middle of the seventies. Maj. Gideon J. Ball was a frequent visitor at the office of the *Gazette*. He often spent the greater part of an afternoon reading the exchanges and chatting with the editor. One day he was asked by Mr. Frank A. Crandall to give some particulars about the railroad war. The response was prompt, short and emphatic:

"If you place any value on your standing in this community," said Maj. Ball, "never say a word about the railroad war. Do not even mention it."

And that was all that Maj. Ball, than whom no one probably was more familiar with the subject, ever said to the *Gazette* man about that famous trouble. And the editor did want to get that story to print. There were many instances of personal encounter, some of a violent nature, one upon the court house steps, all indicating the depth of feeling that prevailed. It is related by a citizen yet prominent in business affairs in Erie that on the evening of Gov. Bigler's visit to Erie there was an informal public reception at Brown's Hotel. The corridors were filled with people, and of course nearly all were of the Ripper party. While proceedings were at their height Mr. Frank Tracy came in, and pressing his way through the crowd, passed up the stairway. His appearance created a stir throughout the whole of the assemblage, and my informant noticed that several after passing signs between them, quietly slipped out. At

once their purpose was conjectured. They had gone for a few baskets of rotten eggs with which to pelt Mr. Tracy when he was leaving the hotel. It would be a catastrophe, with the governor present, to permit any such outrage. How could it be stopped? My friend thought a moment and then proceeded to act. Finding Mr. Nottingham, of the C. P. & A. Railroad, who was present, he quietly told him what was on the tapis, and urged him to get Mr. Tracy out by some other way. It was done. The incident, however, will illustrate the state of feeling at the time.

But after the greater trouble came upon the people the spirit of rancor and hate gradually subsided. Men could not keep step in the ranks of the army of the Union and cherish the old enmity. For a time the terms Shanghai and Ripper continued to have sinister meaning, but now they are but ghosts conjured up from the distant past.

The railroad war was not without its beneficent effect upon Erie. But for that war perhaps the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad would not have been built. The railroad disturbance here opened the eyes of the people of the rest of the state and especially of Philadelphia. That city itself subscribed for a million dollars of the stock of the new line, at that time the longest line of railroad in the state and by many looked upon as too great an undertaking ever to be realized. The road was eventually built and has done marvelous work in developing the commerce and building up the harbor of Erie. The railroad war was not entirely useless. Let us not therefore vainly consider the might-have-beens, that we cannot be so sure of.

CHAPTER XXVII.—THE RAILROADS BUILT.

THE PHILADELPHIA & ERIE.—LAKE SHORE ROAD.—ERIE & PITTSBURG.—THE ERIE, AND ROADS TO THE OIL AND COAL REGIONS.

One of the principal motives on the part of those called Rippers, in the Railroad War, for the attitude they assumed, was the belief that if the railroads that then existed at Erie were permitted to adopt a uniform gauge, that would mean the death of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad. The railroads did carry out their purpose of establishing a uniform gauge and the Sunbury & Erie Railroad did not die. But it came so near to it at one time that there were many who believed there was no life left in it.

But it will be necessary here to tell about the Sunbury & Erie Railroad. From the very beginning of the history of the State there existed in Philadelphia a strong interest in the northwestern corner of Pennsylvania. Indeed if it had not been for Philadelphia's strong interest there would not have been any northwestern corner worth speaking of. It was through the interest felt in Philadelphia that the Triangle came to be purchased and made a part of the Commonwealth. Nor did the interest end when the adornment of a triangular chimney was put upon the drawing of the State where it appeared on the maps. The interest endured. No sooner had sales begun under the Pennsylvania Population Company—a Philadelphia corporation—than the subject of communication by turnpikes and stage lines was taken up, and among the earliest roads surveyed were a series, connecting with one another, that led from the city on the Delaware to the harbor on Lake Erie. When the era of canals succeeded, communication between Philadelphia and Erie again came up, and at length it was really brought about that canal service from tidewater at the eastern end of the state to the great fresh water seas of the interior was established. Then, when the culmination of transportation methods, the railroad, was reached, again the subject of connecting the two remotest corners of the state came forward among the very first of the projects to receive attention.

As early as the year 1830 the building of a railroad, or series of railroads, between Philadelphia and Erie was projected, and along practically the same route as that which was finally adopted, but the project

did not materialize. In 1833 Stephen Girard, who had landed interests in this county, organized a company with a view of building a railroad to extend from Philadelphia to Erie, and began at Sunbury to build a road eastward that was to be a link in the chain, his route being by way of Pottsville. The enterprise was halted, however, after a few miles were built, owing to a financial depression, and when the central link in the chain was eventually built it was by an altogether different route. It extended from Sunbury to Harrisburg, and was part of what came to be known afterwards as the Northern Central Railroad.

The Sunbury & Erie Railroad was chartered by the legislature in 1837. An organization was at once effected, the stock of the new company was taken by the United States Bank, and engineers were engaged to survey a route in 1838 and 1839. Of course the survey revealed problems and disclosed the fact that the building of a railroad of such great length, far greater than had ever before been attempted in Pennsylvania, would be a costly—a very costly—undertaking. The survey, however, served to show that the enterprise was feasible, and an available route could be found. But the cost of the road was the principal obstacle, so from practically the beginning the progress of the proposed road was halted. But it was never abandoned, so that from time to time enough work was done upon it to keep its charter alive. But the work on the route could not always continue unless there was money with which to pay for it, and in the course of time the money was exhausted for the amount of the subscription by the bank, far from being enough to build and equip the road, was not even sufficient to procure final surveys, the result being that in 1853 all work was stopped and the entire force of engineers, including the chief, were discharged. This was the year in which the Railroad War at Erie was begun.

It was also the year of the resurrection of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad, for many of its supporters had believed it to be dead—an undertaking too great to warrant hope in its being successfully carried out. Its restoration to life and activity was so sudden and complete that it came to be marveled at. And yet it was not at all strange. When the news of the upheaval at Erie reached Philadelphia, and the cause of the trouble came to be known, immediately there was awakened a powerful interest in behalf of the railroad that was to give communication between that city and the lake, and this interest grew so rapidly that early in 1854 the city of Philadelphia subscribed $1,000,000 toward the construction of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad. Intelligence of this was telegraphed to Erie, when the city went wild in a delirium of joy. For an entire night there were goings-on of the most extravagant character to testify the delight of the people. The city of Erie subscribed $300,000 to the enterprise, besides 150 water lots for dock accommodations, and the county of Erie subscribed $200,000. A little

later the State exchanged a portion of its canals for $3,500,000 of Sunbury & Erie bonds; and next year the Cleveland & Erie, under conditions imposed by the court, subscribed $500,000. Thus there was secured to the new railroad a fund of $5,500,000, and the enterprise was now an assured success.

Construction began promptly. By the end of 1854 the road was in running order from Sunbury to Williamsport, a distance of forty miles. Work was begun at this end of the road in 1856, and in 1859 it was completed from Erie to Warren, a distance of sixty miles. It is hardly proper to say it was completed in 1859, although trains could be operated over it, for the Erie terminus yet required that much should be done. The actual terminus then was on the east bank of Millcreek, for the stream had not yet been bridged, and a mere shanty served as a station building. However from this unpretentious depot the business of the road at Erie started, and for a considerable time freight was received and forwarded and passengers arrived and departed to and from Erie, Waterford and even Union Mills (now Union City). By December the road was complete to Warren, and ready for regular business, and the circumstance was celebrated by an excursion from Erie to Warren. The terminal passenger and freight station, on Front street at the foot of State, and the bridge over Mill creek had now been finished and the excursion, which occurred on December 12, 1859, was a notable affair. The Wayne Guards, which represented all that was desirable in the social life of Erie at the time, figured prominently, especially at the grand ball at Warren, when their brilliant uniforms lent gaiety to the affair, and the gallantry of the boys toward the ladies of the river town, earned for the soldiers a due measure of fame. The tickets were good to return on until the 17th of December, and during those five days there was much going to and fro between Lake Erie and the Allegheny river.

The freight business of the new road started very auspiciously, especially along a line upon which Erie then, and for years afterwards, built great hopes. A record of the time exhibits the following statement of crude oil received at the Erie station:

1859		August	2341 barrels
November	21 barrels	September	2227 barrels
December	304 barrels	October	2775 barrels
1860		November	3069 barrels
January	63 barrels	December	6431 barrels
February	115 barrels	1861	
March	414 barrels	January	15092 barrels
April	980 barrels	February	9421 barrels
May	1159 barrels	March	4383 barrels
June	772 barrels	April	5521 barrels
July	1432 barrels		

Meanwhile work upon the other divisions of the road was progressing. In the spring of 1861 the name of the corporation was changed

to the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad Company, but soon afterwards the War of the Rebellion having broken out, the stockholders were seized with alarm, and readily accepted the proposition of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to lease the road for 999 years, the lease being executed in 1862. Work was then pushed rapidly by the lessee and in 1864 it was completed. The first train to be run through was a special excursion train from Philadelphia, which reached Erie on October 5, 1864. It was a great event in the annals of Erie, and called forth the following from the *Dispatch* printed on October 6:

Yesterday was an eventful day for Erie—one pregnant with greater importance than any other which has hitherto transpired. All hail to the iron bond which now joins Erie with Philadelphia and the seaboard. We have already elaborated on this subject so much that we cannot now extend our remarks without useless repetition. Suffice it that at 6 o'clock last evening a special train arrived in this city from Philadelphia, having on board 300 of the most substantial and reliable men of the State, who came forward to participate in the opening of a railroad which will prove to be the greatest enterprise of the State, both in point of prosperity and power, as well as one which will greatly enhance the entire interests of the Commonwealth as a State and as a people. The delegation was made up of citizens of Philadelphia, Harrisburg and intervening points, comprising merchants, manufacturers, shippers, editors, railroad directors, farmers, tradesmen and men of every line and caste in the business world. They were received at the Lake Shore depot by a committee appointed by the city councils and escorted to Brown's Hotel, headed by a brass band. At Brown's they partook of an excellent supper, ordered by the railroad company. They were waited upon by our principal citizens and many of them invited to private residences as guests to be honored and cordially entertained. In the evening a brilliant display of fireworks was made in honor of the event, the principal feature of which consisted of a very fine piece extended in front of the market house on which was blazoned the words "Philadelphia and Erie: The Delaware and the Lakes." The guests of the city were handsomely entertained during the entire evening and we hope were not disappointed in the good will and hospitality of our people.

The *Dispatch* of October 7 contained a detailed report of the continuation of the festivities. The morning of the 6th was devoted to excursions on the bay and lake on the large stream tug Magnet, Capt. D. P. Dobbins. In the afternoon the guests, headed by Mehl's band, marched from Brown's Hotel to Farrar Hall (it was located where Park Opera House now stands) where a banquet was served. It was presided over by John H. Walker, once one of the leading "Shanghais," and he made a most excellent opening speech, concluding with a toast to William G. Moorhead, the president of the P. & E. Railroad, who in turn at the conclusion of his address introduced Governor Andrew

G. Curtin. The Governor was free to compliment all in connection with the road and to congratulate the people of Erie and of the State.

At this point occurred an incident more interesting than any other portion of the proceedings because it illustrated a condition, happily long past, that at the time was most discouraging. When the Sunbury & Erie Railroad was undertaken it was looked upon as an enterprise of such gigantic proportions that there were not lacking prophets who foretold the complete failure of an effort of such proportions. It was the longest line of railroad that had been chartered by one company, and by many was spoken of as the giant. What Mr. Moorhead did at this juncture was to present to the assemblage a bottle of champagne, which was accompanied by a letter of explanation written by Hon. J. W. Maynard, to this effect:

"Please accept the accompanying bottle of champagne with my kindest regards. It was presented to me by T. H. Dupuey, Esq., in 1853, with the inscription on the label: 'To be opened when the Sunbun & Erie Railroad is finished through to Erie and the first train passes over it.'

"Mr. Dupuey was at that time chief engineer on the road. The work had then been suspended for the want of funds. Many who had been of the most sanguine of its friends were then with the most desponding. Our prospects were truly gloomy; the contracts suspended; the entire engineer corps, including its chief, dismissed; and many thought the giant was dead. It was indeed a marked case of suspended animation."

This letter shows the situation that the revulsion of feeling caused by the Railroad War, changed as by magic, allusion to which has already been made in this chapter of railroad history, and at the banquet the payment of Mr. Dupuey's wager of a bottle of champagne that the railroad would never be built, was greeted with cheers. Judge Maynard was not able to be present to make a personal tender of the stake, wherefore the letter that was read by President Moorhead.

Speeches by Councilman Wister of Philadelphia, the editor of the Philadelphia *Press* and other gentlemen closed the proceedings with which the auspicious event was celebrated.

From the opening of the Western Division in December, 1859, the passenger and freight business was done at the little frame station on Front street at the foot of State, until 1864, when the passenger business was transferred to the new union depot, finished that year, an arrangement in accord with the ruling of the court at the time the Railroad War troubles were straightened out, under which the Philadelphia & Erie was vested with proportionate rights in the union station. The old station was continued in use as a freight depot until the completion of the new freight station on Parade and Fifteenth streets in 1880. At that time also the transfer station that had been maintained farther east was

abandoned, provision for transfer having been made in connection with the new station. The extensive repair shop at the "Outer Depot," was built soon after the road was opened, additions for the repair of cars and other work being made as the business of the road demanded.

The first general superintendent of the road was Joseph D. Potts, who took charge in 1864. The general officers of the company were then located in Erie, in Wrights' block, corner of State and Fifth streets (now Harlan's), but in 1874 they were removed to Williamsport. There were three divisions of the road. Eastern, Sunbury to Renovo; Middle, Renovo to Kane; Western, Kane to Erie. Samuel A. Black, appointed in 1859, was the first superintendent of the Western division. He was succeeded in 1862 by William A. Baldwin, who retired in 1868, when Major John W. Reynolds was appointed, serving efficiently until the Middle and Western divisions were consolidated Jan. 1, 1901, being at that time appointed resident agent. Meanwhile there had been wonderful developments in progress both at the port and at the outer depot. East from the freight depot the yards had been extended for a distance of two miles or more affording accommodations for the storage of thousands of cars. At the harbor the developments are entitled to more extended mention, and form part of the history of Erie harbor, for the business of the Pennsylvania Railroad did not stop at the docks. An extensive fleet of vessels, these of steadily increasing tonnage, carried on the business beyond Erie upon the great lakes.

Provision had early been made for a railroad to connect Erie with Pittsburg. Allusion was made in the chapter on the Railroad War to the Franklin Canal Company, which had been chartered to build a railroad from Meadville to Franklin. This road was to have been extended south, along the valley of the Allegheny, to Pittsburg, and north from Meadville to Erie, but by the curious hocus-pocus of the time, having been permitted to build from Erie to the Ohio line instead of from Meadville to Franklin, when the day of final settlement came, it ceased to exist in connection with its original route. The court that declared the charter of the Franklin canal forfeited provided, however, for the construction of a railroad from Erie to Pittsburg. This was done by the requirement that the Erie & North East Railroad Company should subscribe $400,000 to a railroad to connect Pittsburg with Erie. A charter was obtained from the legislature in 1856 for the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad and the company was organized, the principal subscribers being men who had been connected with the Erie & North East Railroad Co. Their subscriptions added to the $400,000 provided by the court, gave immediate impulse to the new undertaking, so that work was at once undertaken. An arrangement having been made to enter Erie over the line of the Cleveland & Erie, work on the Erie & Pittsburg road proper began at a point west of Elk Creek, known as Cross's, and the road was graded to Jamestown,

in Mercer county, and the track laid as far as Albion. It was not until 1864 that the track was laid all the way to New Castle, where the E. & P. proper ended, connection being there made with the New Castle & Beaver Valley railroad to Homewood, where another connection with the Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne & Chicago enabled it to reach Pittsburg.

Meanwhile work had been progressing on the short piece of road by which access to the harbor was to be obtained. This extended from the Dock Junction, at the Lake Shore Railroad two and a half miles west of Erie, down the valley of Cascade creek to the bay. At the harbor docks were built and provisions made for extensive yard accommodations, while yard facilities at the junction were also provided for and a line of track was laid from the junction to the shops of the company, then located at Sassafras and Twelfth streets. Originally constructed to be a feeder of the Lake Shore Railroad, and operated by the E. & P. Company, in 1870 the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad was leased for a period of 999 years to the Pennsylvania R. R. Co. and a year later the lease was transferred to the Pennsylvania Company, a separate corporation, organized out of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to operate the roads west of Pittsburg and Erie that had been controlled by the latter. The superintendents of the Erie & Pittsburg road have been R. N. Brown, J. L. Grant, W. S. Brown, J. J. Lawrence, F. N. Finney, J. M. Kimball, and H. W. Byers.

When the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad had been completed, extensive shops were established in Erie, occupying the square south of Twelfth street. Previously the shop had been the McCarter car works, but when the railroad company came into possession they were greatly enlarged and included every adjunct of an iron works except a foundary, and a large car repair shop as well. At these shops for years locomotive repairs to the extent of re-building were carried on, and the equipment was complete for all the requirements of a railroad of the period. Gradually, however, the work was transferred elsewhere. The Pennsylvania Company, owning extensive shops at Allegheny, the rebuilding of locomotives was the first important class of work to be removed. However, the shops remained in operation until 1898, when they were abandoned, facilities for repairing having been established at the Dock Junction. In 1902 the round house in the city was abandoned and torn down, that having been replaced by a new round house at the Junction. There, while the repair plant is not quite as extensive in the variety of work done, it is much larger in capacity as indeed it must needs be, with the prodigious increase of the business of the present over what has been in the past.

The headquarters of the Erie & Pittsburg road were at Erie until 1881, when they were removed to Youngstown and subsequently were established at the Junction, a short distance from New Castle. From 1881 until the beginning of 1908 the general freight office of the Erie and Ashtabula divisions of the Pennsylvania Company was maintained at

Erie, but in the latter year it was moved to Youngstown, and the road is now represented in Erie by Mr. F. E. Bradley, agent. Although there are frequent rumors of an intention to obtain a separate right of way for the E. & P. from Cross's to Erie nothing more tangible than the rumor has developed.

The Atlantic & Great Western Railroad was a project of the decade of the fifties. Whether the ultimate purposes of the projectors of the Erie Railway enterprise would have been definitely accomplished if the road of six feet gauge had been built through to Erie and the harbor of Presque Isle Bay made the terminus of the road can never be known probably. And if it had been the limit of their desire at the time, it is yet more than likely they or their successors would have been moved, as the railroad business advanced, to do exactly what the others did, and, leaving the harbor push out into the west. However, the outcome of the clash with the New York Central interests, before the line between Dunkirk and the Pennsylvania State line was built, precipitated what, in accordance with the speculation just enunciated, might have occurred. Headed off on the lake shore, the Erie Railroad decided to push a line to the westward at some distance to the south. This western extension was the Atlantic & Great Western Railroad, and is the same enterprise it was hoped to forestal by building the line of road from Little Valley to Erie harbor, for which the Erie City Railroad Company was organized in 1853. This extension connected with the line of the Erie Railway at Salamanca, and was completed as far west as Corry in June, 1861. In 1862 it was constructed westward and passes through Concord, Union and Le Bœuf townships leaving Erie county and entering Crawford directly south of Mill Village, the road following the valley of French Creek. This road was originally of the gauge of six feet, and for a considerable time the oil country roads, built of narrower gauge, because they had a large interchange of freight with the A. & G. W., had a third rail in use in order to accommodate the wider gauge cars of the Erie system. The broad gauge was, however, in 1884, changed to the standard gauge of the country.

The A. & G. W. Railroad, financed originally principally by English capitalists, did not prove a profitable enterprise, and after a number of years of unsuccessful operation became bankrupt. In 1882 it was reorganized as the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio Railroad, and in 1883 was leased for ninety-nine years to the New York, Lake Erie & Western Railroad, and it is now operated in connection with the Erie Railway, all other names and terms being sunk in the one word "Erie."

The dream of making Erie, or if not Erie then some part or place of Erie county, the centre of the petroleum business, possessed a very large proportion of the people of the county with great pertinacity for a time.

At one period it seemed as though Corry had been elected to be that centre, located as it was upon two railroads, one leading to New York as well as to the west, and the other to Philadelphia and the great lakes. A little later Union (now Union City) sprang into prominence as a rival of Corry for the oil business, and the results of this spirit of rivalry was the organization of a company to build the Union & Titusville Railroad. The enterprise came into existence in 1865, and Titusville was then the centre of oil. The road was built and completed for operation in 1871, when it came under the control of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. This was an excellent arrangement for the latter, as by it a direct line of its own into the oil country was obtained. But there were changes impending. When the Union & Titusville road was built oil, both crude and refined, was carried in barrels. A few years wrought a revolution. Oil was transported in pipe lines, or if carried on the railroad was conveyed in tank cars. Besides that, the business did not drift toward Erie at all, but in the direction of Cleveland, and worse yet, the production of oil in the original oil region fell away until it became of insignificant proportions. There was a corresponding falling away of the railroad's business until in 1892 of 1893 it was abandoned. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, however, still exercises control over the franchises of the road.

When petroleum was discovered in Crawford county and the first big strike in 1858 on Oil Creek, started the great oil excitement, all that region of country was to all intents and purposes a remote wilderness. It was not thickly settled and the only means of communication were the rudest of dirt roads. When, therefore, a strike that produced 1,000 barrels of oil every twenty-four hours was made and the facilities for caring for all this wealth were as nothing, it is not strange that people got busy and that this spurt of activity was in the direction of securing a railroad. As a matter of fact there was more than one railroad enterprise, but in 1862 a road had been finished from Corry to Miller Farm. It was a railroad laid in a hurry. Thomas Struthers was the chief promoter and pushed it to completion in three months. They used to say of it in the early days that they didn't stop to grub out the big stumps but went around them with the railroad. It was probably a libelous statement, but it certainly was a rough road to ride upon. Nevertheless it was a boom to that part of the country. For three years it was operated by the original company, but in 1865 the controlling interest in its stock was purchased by Dean Richmond and Thomas A. Scott, the former representing the New York Central and Lake Shore equally, and the latter the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and Samuel J. Tilden was made trustee of the three corporations. Next year, 1866, the road was extended to Petroleum Centre, where a connection was made with the Farmer's road to Oil City. In the early days there had been considerable

freighting of oil down the Allegheny river and some as well down Oil creek. But soon after a continuous line from Corry to Oil City had been built the Allegheny Valley Railroad was completed and there was then a continuous line to Pittsburg. Another link was built in 1867, which was intended to give the Oil Creek road direct connection with the Lake Shore road. This was called the Cross-cut road and extended from Brocton to Corry, by way of Mayville, at the head of Chautauqua Lake.

There was thus established a continuous line of railroad from the Lake Shore road at Brocton to Pittsburg. The failure of old Oil region proved disastrous to what had been a prosperous business venture, and in the course of time the Oil Creek road fell into the hands of the Allegheny Valley management and becoming part of the Western New York & Pennsylvania system they were consolidated as the Buffalo, Corry & Pittsburg Railroad. It is now operated by the great Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which runs trains through from Buffalo to Pittsburg.

The New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad, popularly known as the Nickel Plate, was built by a company organized in 1880 to build a road from Buffalo to Chicago by way of Erie, Cleveland, Fostoria and Fort Wayne. It furnished one of the most striking examples of a railroad built in a hurry and at the same time quite well built. Grading was begun in June, 1881, and in August 1882 the first through train passed over the road, the entire 525 miles having been completed in a little more than a year. In Erie, from French street to the western city limits the railroad occupies the centre of Nineteenth street and this portion of the track was laid, ties and iron, so that a locomotive and cars could pass over it, during daylight on Sunday April 2, 1882, Sunday having been chosen in order to evade the service of court process. Regular trains began to be run over the Nickel Plate Railroad on October 23, 1882.

In the beginning it was said this road was built by an organization known as the Seney syndicate, and paralleled the Lake Shore road for the purpose of creating a market for it. Whether this was true or not does not signify, but in the winter of 1882-83 a controlling interest in the road was purchased in Erie by Wm. H. Vanderbilt and others in the interest of the Lake Shore railroad. At the time it was built it was understood by the citizens of Erie that, as a compensation for practically abandoning Nineteenth street to its use, extensive shops were to be erected and maintained here. This was never done, however, nor did Erie become the terminus of a division, that dignity going to Conneaut, where the shops were built. The station of the road is at Holland street, but for several years the principal passenger business at Erie was done at Peach street, a room in the old Densmore building being rented by the company for that purpose during that period.

Soon after the Erie Extension Canal, that had been acquired by the Pennsylvania Company, had been closed, a movement was set afoot to

organize a company to build a railroad over the route or right of way of the canal. The prime mover in this enterprise was the late Hon. William W. Reed and the road he projected came to be popularly known as the "Canal Bed road." Mr. Reed had long been connected with the canal, and it was he who was the leader in the organization that had been effected to acquire the property and greatly enlarge it, a project that was thwarted by the sale to the Pennsylvania Company. Mr. Reed had faith to believe that that piece of property could be made profitable, if not as a canal, then as a railroad. He was thoroughly familiar with all of its physical features, and had unbounded faith in the practicability of what he proposed. Nevertheless he encountered great difficulty when it came to disposing of the stock, and more than one severe disappointment fell to his share. At one time he had reason to believe that a company of Dutch capitalists would furnish the necessary means, but reverses in other matters prevented them, and not long afterwards Mr. Reed, having other undertakings on his hands besides the Canal-Bed road, met with reverses on his part which practically ruined him. Among his other assets that were put up to pay his debts, was the right of way of the canal railroad, which was advertised for sale by the sheriff. The official name of the railroad was the Erie, Shenango & Pittsburg Railroad. For some reason the sale of the right of way did not attract many buyers, and the result was that Miss Sarah Reed, sister of William W., was so fortunate as to become its owner.

It was not very long afterwards until interest in the Canal road was revived. An organization that came to be known as the Huidekoper and Dick syndicate, of Meadville, decided the property was worth buying and developing, and came forward with a proposition. The negotiations entered into resulted in the sale of Miss Reed's property, whereupon the new owners organized the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie Railroad Company. It was given out that this new corporation purposed acquiring dock facilities at the harbor of Erie, and some sort of a deal was entered into to that effect, the deal, with an agreement to build a costly station at Erie, obtaining from the city a franchise for a track on Twelfth street from Raspberry to Sassafras. It is not definitely known what caused the failure of the dock project at Erie harbor, though it is surmised the railroads already on the ground contrived to occupy the land in advance. The docks were never built at Erie. Neither was the railroad permitted to enter Erie at grade, and it became necessary by a deep cut to effect a passage underneath. The track into Erie was laid in November, 1891, and in the spring of 1892 the road was opened for business.

The Shenango road did not follow the route of the old canal out of Erie. Running west on Twelfth to Raspberry street, a curve began there which carried it under the tracks of the Erie & Pittsburg and Lake Shore railroads into the valley of Cascade creek, out of which it passed on a short piece of its own track to a junction with the Nickel Plate at

the Green Garden road, and from there to Wallace Junction, fourteen miles from Erie, the Nickel Plate track is used. Almost immediately upon leaving the Nickel Plate road the canal right of way is entered upon, and this was followed through Erie and Crawford counties. Failing to secure harbor facilities at Erie a branch line was constructed from Cranesville to Conneaut, Ohio, and there the estuary of Conneaut creek was converted into what in time became one of the most notable iron-ore ports on the lower lakes.

In the year 1896 the interest of the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie Railroad passed into new hands and the road then became known as the Pittsburg, Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad, the word Bessemer becoming the trade or traffic appelation and the ownership, spoken of generally as the Carnegie interests. Under this latest management the road made gigantic strides. Originally it terminated at Butler and reached Pittsburg on the Allegheny side of the river of the same name over the Pittsburg & Western, and trains are still run that way, although the connecting line is now the Baltimore & Ohio. But the Bessemer owns its own line of road to the Monongahela, and up that river, and practically the entire route is now double tracked, has a road-bed of broken slag, and the rails are laid on cross-ties of steel. At Albion, in this county, very extensive yards have been constructed, with capacity for the storage of 3,000 cars, and in every detail of construction and equipment of road and rolling stock the Bessemer road is a Twentieth century institution. In Erie the station, built in 1898, is not of the upset price specified in the franchise terms, but provision against the future was made by the purchase of the old church property at the corner of Twelfth and Peach streets. Whether or not an imposing station shall occupy that site is an unsettled question, for the reason that if grade crossings shall be abolished, the probabilities are that all railroads entering Erie will use one common Union Station.

None of the railroads entering Erie has a more checkered history than this road, for, be it known, there have been from first to last sixteen charters obtained to cover the consolidated properties that now go to make up the Bessemer system. Mr. Reed's enterprise was but the northern end of what is now an important railroad, made up of numerous railroads, and it was with this ultimate end in view, of course, that Mr. Reed conceived the idea of building the "Canal Bed" railroad. Data furnished by the present management of the Bessemer, makes it possible to furnish a sort of catalogue of the various organizations that were finally fused into one practical and profitable railroad.

The Bear Creek Railroad Company, organized 1865, and its name changed to Shenango & Allegheny Railroad Company in 1867, under various acts of the Legislature.

The Ohio River & Lake Erie, 1868.

The Erie, Shenango & Pittsburg, a reorganization of the Ohio River & Lake Erie, 1878.

The Northeastern Ohio, in 1888, under the general railroad law of Ohio.

The West Penn & Shenango Connecting Railroad Company (formerly called the Connoquenessing Valley Railroad Company) in 1881.

The Pittsburg, Butler & Shenango in 1889, by a reorganization of the last above named company after a judicial sale under a decree of the Mercer county courts.

The Erie Terminal Railroad Company, one of the constituent companies, organized in 1891.

The Conneaut Terminal Railroad Company, also one of the constituent companies, organized in 1892.

The Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie Railroad Company. There were five organizations of this name, the first being a reorganization in February, 1888, of the Shenango & Allegheny (formerly the Bear Creek) road. The second, organized June 8, 1888, by the consolidation of the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie and the Erie, Shenango & Pittsburg. The third, organized June 9th, 1888, was a consolidation of the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie and the Northeastern Ohio. The fourth was formed in August, 1890, under an agreement filed in Pennsylvania and Ohio in October of that year, consolidating the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie and the Pittsburg, Butler & Shenango. The fifth was formed under agreement in March, 1893, filed the same year in Pennsylvania and Ohio, consolidating the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie, the Conneaut Terminal, and the Erie Terminal.

The Butler & Pittsburg, one of the constituent companies, was organized in 1896.

The Pittsburg, Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad Company was formed under agreement dated December 22, 1896, filed in Pennsylvania and Ohio in January, 1897, consolidating the Pittsburg, Shenango & Lake Erie and the Butler & Pittsburg Railroad companies.

The Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad Company is a corporation organized December 31, 1900, under the railroad corporation act of Pennsylvania. On April 1, 1901, this company entered into a lease and agreement with the Pittsburg, Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad Company, under the terms of which the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad Company assumes control and operates the property of the P., B. & L. E. R. R. Co. for a period of 999 years, with the Carnegie Company as guarantor.

This is railroad evolution illustrated by one of the best known of Erie's railroad corporations.

There were other Erie railroad enterprises, but these proved to be still-births. One, it is true developed to a point where the "throwing of

dirt" had begun, but none of them really succeeded in effecting a genuine organization.

There had always been a strong hope entertained that connection with the Erie Railway might be secured. It was with that purpose in view that the first railroad in Erie county was built; it was because that that railroad when built did not bring the Erie Railway's terminus to Erie that the "Railroad War" occurred; it was in the hope of retrieving that disaster by yet bringing the Erie Railway here that the Erie City Railroad was organized in 1853, and the same motive was behind the organization of the Erie Southern Railroad in 1875. The plan at that time was to construct a line of road from Erie to Mill Village, and this was the first big project undertaken by the Board of Trade after its organization. It made quite a promising start. Among the leading promoters were the Carrolls, J. C. Spencer, Myron Sanford, John Clemens, F. F. Adams, J. R. Cochran, and many others of the leading business men of the time. Subscription books were opened and the first instalments on the stock paid in. But the enterprise eventually fell through. Thomas H. Carroll was treasurer of the company. In about a year after the company was organized the payments made by subscribers were returned by the treasurer and the company went out of existence in a business like way

Again in 1882 there was another railroad flurry. This project was chiefly in the hands of Senator Morrow B. Lowry, and it was called the Pennsylvania Petroleum Railroad. Its plan was to build a short line of road, from Erie through Edinboro to connect with the Erie Railway, and work was actually begun at several points. In Erie Liberty street had been secured, and grading was done from Twenty-sixth street to Eighth, the purpose being to follow the valley of Little Cascade creek to the harbor. But the stock subscribers were not of enduring faith. Notwithstanding work had actually been begun the bottom dropped out of the enterprise with exemplary suddenness, and in a comparatively brief space of time the Pennsylvania Petroleum Railroad was lost to memory.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—SLAVERY IN ERIE.

Gen. Kelso's Slaves.—Slaves Sold for Salt.—The Rees and Moorhead Slaves.—The Underground Railroad.

Slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania in 1780, but it was not a radical abolition at that date. Slaves existed for a considerable time thereafter, and Erie county has had slaves, though not in large numbers. The exact conditions of emancipation in Pennsylvania are concisely set forth by Judge John Reed of the Ninth District of Pennsylvania in his Modification of the Commentaries of Blackstone, published in 1831. He says:

"No child born since March 1, 1780, or imported from abroad, can be a servant for life or a slave. By an act of the Legislature of that date, all servitude for life, or slavery of negroes, mulattoes and others, 'Is utterly taken away, extinguished and abolished forever.'

"The first sort of servants in Pennsylvania is the children of slaves who, under particular regulations, are bound to serve until twenty-eight years of age. As slavery existed at one time, to a considerable extent, it was deemed prudent by the Legislature to abolish it gradually. It was therefore provided at the date of the act above referred to, that a particular registry of all negro and mulatto slaves should be made in a given time, by the clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the proper county, and of the children of such slaves as should be thereafter born, within six months after their births respectively and all such children so recorded were declared to be servants till twenty-eight years of age, but their children were to be free. As none but the children of persons in being on the first of March, 1780, are subject to this sort of servitude, it also will soon have passed away. The slightest defect in the registry, either of parent or child, or non-compliance with the requirements of the act, is fatal to the title by which such service is claimed. Many have been discharged."

It will thus be seen that slaves, living at the time the act was passed, remained slaves until their death, but their children were slaves only until they reached the age of twenty-eight years, while the children of the latter were free from their birth, even though the parents had not yet reached the age limit which gave them freedom.

In the year 1797—or 1798, for the date is not known exactly, Gen. John Kelso came to this county from Dauphin county and settled on the land of the Harrisburg & Presque Isle Land Company in Fairview, near the mouth of Walnut creek, five years subsequently moving to Erie and building a home on the bank of the bay at the foot of State street—there is a Kelso house still standing on the old site, at the northwest corner of State and Second streets. Gen. and Mrs. Kelso brought with them to Erie, a family of seven children and besides Charley Logan and his wife Fira (a slave) with her three sons who under the law were also slaves until they were twenty-eight years old. That family circle of fourteen (including the slaves) was a large establishment for pioneer times. It would be a large one even now. Before long Mrs. Kelso found it too large, and by her advice two of the boys were sold. George, the oldest, was disposed of to Rufus S. Reed, the consideration being one hundred barrels of salt. Bristow, the next boy, was sold to Mr. Brown. These slaves continued in service here until their manumission by the expiration of the lawful probationary period; and after having obtained their freedom they became established as useful if humble citizens of the place. For many years Bristow was the ice cream caterer of the town. The mother, Fira, was famous as a cook, and the reputation for hospitality that the Kelso home achieved was due to Fira's skill. During the last days of her long life she was free. Perhaps, her old master, the General, was quite willing to keep her after she was past service, and it may be that she desired to leave him, but at any rate she died at the age of 101 years while living with her son George.

Thomas Rees, when he settled in Harborcreek township, brought in three probationary slaves. One was named Robert McConnell, another James Titus, but the name of the third is not known. These served until the expiration of the probationary period under the emancipation act, when Mr. Rees provided for the two former by giving them fifty acres of land near Gospel Hill. From these three slaves descended the colored element of the population of Harborcreek, which in the process of time reached a considerable number, more of the black race being settled in that township than in any other in Erie county.

Another instance of slavery was found in the Moorhead family, one of the pioneers of that family having brought to Erie a slave woman and her son. A search for particulars relating to this case brought the following, obtained from the History of Lancaster County, Pa., by Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans:

"The Moorheads were a family of Scotch-Irish settlers in this township, but not as early as some others. Thomas Moorhead took out a patent, August 17, 1761, for a tract of land about a mile north of Mt. Joy. He died in 1763, leaving a widow, Christiana, and the following sons and daughters: James, Robert, Elizabeth, Jane, Margaret and

Christian. Thomas Moorhead divided his land between his sons, James and Robert. James was a soldier of the French and Indian war and a captain in the war of the Revolution. He married Catherine Byers, daughter of John Byers, of Salisbury township. For some time he was engaged in hauling military stores from Philadelphia to Boston during the Revolution. When returning from one of his trips, and when passing through Connecticut he bought a colored woman named Phoebe and brought her to his home here and took her with the family when he moved to Erie."

While living in the family of Mr. Moorhead as a domestic servant on the farm in Lancaster county, Phoebe became the mother of a boy named Cæsar Augustus. This occurred in 1790. Cæsar, then, came to Erie county along with his mother when the Moorheads about 1801 or 1802, settled in the section of Harborcreek that has ever since been known as Moorheadville. Few of the oldest people now living in that part of the county remember Phoebe, who continued until her death to fill the place of a house servant in her master's family, but many knew Cæsar, who became a notable character, not only in Moorheadville, but in Erie as well. He married an Erie woman of his race but continued with the Moorheads whom he regarded as his own people, and even after he became free by the operation of the law he continued to remain on the old place. His former master gave him a piece of ground, four acres in extent, with a small house, and stocked it with a cow and other animals and here he lived until his death at about the age of eighty.

The Honorable John Grubb was a slave holder, and as near as can be ascertained it came about in this manner. When the estate of his father-in-law, Thomas Cooper of York county, came to be settled up, there was a negro slave of the name of Jack, aged twenty-five, that had to be disposed of, and he was put up for sale. Mr. Grubb became the purchaser for one hundred pounds. It is not certainly known whether this slave was brought to this county and became one of the force of negro farm laborers maintained by Judge Grubb at his country place in West Millcreek, but if he was, undoubtedly he had been freed soon after coming here, for the Judge was well known to be among the earliest of anti-slavery men of these parts.

P. S. V. Hamot at one time held a number of slaves, but there are no records that show how these were acquired, nor is it known how many he held. In an Erie newspaper of June, 1825, Mr. Hamot advertised a runaway slave, of the age of nineteen years.

Judge Cochran also was the owner of a slave for a number of years, and until the legal period of his servitude expired, but the character of his bondage, according to all accounts, unlike what real slavery is understood to be, was of the mildest sort.

Erie county has, however, a better record as an anti-slavery section than as one of forced servitude, and strangely enough, as will be shown,

among the leaders in helping fugitive slaves to their freedom the names of Judge Grubb and the Moorheads have prominent place. It was during his term of service as associate justice that Judge Grubb distinguished himself as the friend of the fleeing negro. It is related that he presided at the trial and hearing of a case where an alleged fugitive slave had been apprehended and it was desired to remove him from Erie county to the South. It was the first and probably the only case of its kind ever tried here, and the decision then rendered the first of its kind in the state. Consequently it was much commented upon. The captors of the fugitive, full of swagger and bluster, brought the runaway to the court house roped upon a mule, and seemed to be intent upon impressing the court and people with their importance. There was a great crowd in attendance. John H. Walker was the attorney for the negro, and after hearing the case the court decided that no crime had been committed by the black man which would subject him to be apprehended under the laws of the Commonwealth, and he was therefore entitled to his freedom from the arrest. And the Court closed his decree in these virile words: "He is free. Let no man lay hands upon him."

It was in 1836, soon after the occurrence narrated above, that the Erie County Anti-Slavery Society was organized, with Joseph Moorhead as president and William Gray as secretary.

Later came that other organization, mysterious in its character but active and efficient in its operations, that went by the name of the Underground Railroad. Erie's prominence as a station on the Underground Railroad in the days when that peculiar product of slavery thrived, though then understood and appreciated by those initiated into the freemasonry of that peculiar cult, is little known today. Possibly even yet there are some who do not fully understand what the Underground Railroad was but the great majority of intelligent people do not need to have the term explained to them. Erie was a central point at which many lines converged, and from Erie other lines diverged, one going east, by the shore of the lake, another across the water to the land of freedom from slavery, the route generally from the mouth of Four-mile creek (for a reason later to be explained) to Long Point lighthouse. Here and hereabout there were many active agents of the Underground line and several depots, some of them still standing although the agents who employed them for their beneficent purposes have long since passed over.

It will interest many to have some of these depots pointed out—that is, those that remain standing. They are few. At the foot of French street nearly the last building on the west side near the foot of the hill —part of the old Bethel property—is what was long known as the Himrod station. This property was owned in those days by William Himrod, a man of large heart, generous impulses, a lover of his race,

and one of Erie's most valued and exemplary citizens. Peculiarly situated, rambling in its plan or arrangement, and convenient to the harbor, it was a most admirable situation for the last point in the long journey toward freedom. Another depot was the Josiah Kellogg house on Second street, a handsome old-fashioned brick edifice that stands back from the street and just on the edge of the hill whence slopes now the lawn of a portion of Lake View Park. These are about the only places left in Erie of the numerous houses in which the fleeing black men from the south were concealed while endeavoring to make their way to Canada and freedom.

At the time there were way-stations a short distance away. For example there was one well-known depot at Eagle Village on Federal Hill, but it long since disappeared—about the time that Eagle Village itself became lost, and even Federal Hill has been missing from the geography of this region since the city's boundaries embraced and obliterated both.

For "those days" were the years back of the sixties. Enduring from a period soon after the war with England in 1812-13, the Underground Railroad went out of existence with the booming of the guns that fired on Fort Sumter that April morning in 1861, but during its existence thousands of men and women, and not a few babes in arms, passed over the lines of that mysterious thoroughfare and found freedom. And Erie was pretty nearly on the main line.

The principal routes that led into Erie were those that came up from Kentucky, for that portion of Virginia which was contiguous to the Ohio, and that formed the pan-handle conspicuous against the western boundary of Pennsylvania had but few slaves—the mountainous sections of every country have ever been the homes of free men. So, from Kentucky chiefly the runaway slaves came. Their course northward was generally along or parallel with some stream that was an affluent of the Ohio, such rivers as the Beaver or Shenango, and yet there were other considerations that caused these lines or routes of travel to vary. Negroes traveling alone and on foot, as would be the rule of fugitive blacks, had small chance of effecting their final escape into Canada unaided. They were too valuable to be permitted to run away from their masters without an effort to recover them, and there were plenty of professional man-hunters ready to put forth even laborious efforts to win the big rewards almost invariably offered for the recovery of slaves that had escaped. Therefore, lone negroes had but small chance of effecting their ultimate escape unless they were assisted, and parties of fleeing slaves had still less chance.

They were aided. Even in the state from which they ran away there were white men ready to befriend them, furnish them with food and clothing and even money, and to direct their steps toward the land where freedom was theirs to enter upon. But it must not be taken for

granted that this aid, generously extended, made the way plain and the escape easy. On the contrary, with all that the friends of the fugitives could do in the way of hiding them as they rested, if there were not means also to help them secretly on their way, they would surely have been captured, for the hunters after runaway blacks had the skill of sleuth-hounds in following a trail and a patience, industry and endurance that would deserve unstinted praise if they had only been employed in a more deserving cause.

Therefore the routes and the courses pursued varied. All tended toward the north. The pole star was the beacon by which the course in a general way was steered, and the trend of the streams marked the way, affording many aids in time of distress. But the hunters in pursuit and the expedients necessarily adopted from time to time, changed the survey of the underground line as new parties of fugitives passed over it.

Many of the fugitives escaped into the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, where they were sure to find friends, and in Washington county there were many stations on the line where the passengers were forwarded to Pittsburg, thence north up the streams that flow into the Ohio, and through Mercer county found their way to Meadville and then into Erie county.

One favorite route was from Meadville by way of Cambridge and Mill Village to Union (it was then known as Union Mills), and then up over the Lake Pleasant road. The records of the faithful conductors of the lines from the lower or southern part of the county are defective. There had been but little attempt made to preserve the noble roster. In the days when they were in service these conductors were known only to the members of the guild, and these, each for his individual safety as well as for the safety of the others bound to him by a sort of freemasonry and the stronger tie of deadly peril mutually shared, kept secret the membership while the business of operating the road called for their services, and afterwards—well, then there were other things to think of and most of the conductors who were young enough to enlist took upon themselves that other peril of serving as a soldier of the Union and going forth to fight for the preservation of the integrity of the nation. There was thus a break in the continuity of that other service that caused many names that should appear upon the rolls to be dropped and never restored.

Some, however, are still well remembered, though many of them are camped with the dead. Among these the name of Hamlin Russell is preserved, and at his place in Belle Valley, between the Wattsburg and the Lake Pleasant roads, was situated the last station on the route through Union City before reaching Erie. Arrived at Hamlin Russell's, although the fugitive might well believe his trials nearly over as he could from there see the blue waters of the lake that marked the last

boundary between him and freedom, there were still desperate chances to be taken and eternal vigilance to pay as the price of liberty.

Erie, however, held a number of faithful and fearless men who were in frequent communication with Mr. Russell, ready to receive the passengers, and if the pursuit was hot, to effectually conceal them. Among the most prominent of these Underground Railroad men of Erie in those days (the forties especially, and into the fifties) was Jehiel Towner, and many a black man owed his escape from slavery to this staunch and faithful friend of the persecuted race. Not less reliably the friend of the fugitive was the late Henry Catlin, Mr. Towner's son-in-law, and more than one fleeing wretch was safely concealed in the paper bins and other corners of the office of the *True American* until he could be forwarded safely on his way to freedom.

Thus has one route of the railroad been located. But there was another branch of the Meadville line. This led through Corry and Beaver Dam in Wayne township, up to Wattsburg. Now at Wattsburg there lived for years a faithful minister of the gospel known to all the countryside as Parson Rice, and this man was also privately known as one of the most active and efficient of the conductors on the Underground Railroad. Mr. Rice was especially well acquainted and trusted in the Gospel Hill neighborhood in South Harborcreek and also in that other locality known since its settlement in 1813 or thereabouts as Wales, and his course when entrusted with a passenger was towards Erie through South Harborcreek. There was one place highly regarded as a depot on the line, and that was the woolen mill of John Cass in the valley of Six-mile Creek.

Long ago the valley of that stream fairly swarmed with industries, such as woolen mills, tanneries, grist mills, saw mills and the like, and traces of these remain to this day, although it is many years since the last of them was abandoned and the building, disused, fell into utter decay.

Situated well up the stream in a rather narrow valley enclosed by high and bluff, heavily wooded sides, was the Cass woolen mill, shut in from the world, so far as any of its occupants could see. It was quite a large building, two stories in height, with a number of outbuildings contiguous and adjacent. This mill was a favorite place for the concealment of runaway negroes, (if concealment were necessary), until they could be taken to Wesleyville to be sent across the lake.

But there was still another route, and that led to Erie from Ohio. Many slaves that entered Ohio as far west as Cincinnati worked their way eastward as they traveled toward the north, for Cleveland was a favorite place of deportation, and so also was Ashtabula. It was not always possible to get out of Cleveland by steamer or sailing vessel, for the espionage there was particularly sharp. Ashtabula also

was carefully looked after, for was not that under the shadow of Joshua R. Giddings, the great anti-slavery champion, and his partner Ben Wade, not less violently an abolitionist? Therefore it became necessary to adopt a new route. This led, variously, considerably to the south, and Warren and Youngstown were frequently in the track. There is a little town not far over the Pennsylvania line in the Buckeye state, noted for its devotion to education as many another place in the Western Reserve is, and also at one time known as the place of abode of a Universalist clergyman named Charles L. Shipman. Later we came to know Mr. Shipman as of Girard, a venerable hale old gentleman with a patriarchal beard, and eyes that could win the friendship of a stranger at a glance—Elder Shipman he is familiarly and affectionately called by all who know him and many who do not. Elder Shipman was the principal conductor in his younger days at Andover, and there were few who would put more painstaking care into the work of forwarding his passengers. There have been cases on record where he conveyed them himself to Linesville; then to Albion, where the old tannery was a refuge; and then to Girard. Here there was an honest farmer man named Elijah Drury, a friend and coadjutor of Elder Shipman, whose aid was effectual in forwarding their charge to Federal Hill or Eagle Village. That was situated where the Ridge road crossed the Edinboro or Waterford pike (now Peach and Twenty-sixth streets) two miles from Erie, and here a good old doctor, Dr. John Brown, took charge, either forwarding the passenger to Erie, or to Wesleyville, according as the coast was clear.

These all were roads that entered Erie. There were as many that, departing, gave opportunity for the fugitive slaves to complete their escape. Mention has already been made of the Himrod property at the foot of French street. This was a famous depot or waiting room for passengers who were to embark at the port. Of course, it will be understood that forwarding runaway slaves by vessel was one of the most difficult methods of all. No other mode of travel was as closely watched. But yet there were many shipments out of Erie harbor.

The most important point of sailing, however, was from the port of Wesleyville—the mouth of Four-mile Creek. Few communities had so large a contingent of Underground Railroad men; in few places was the anti-slavery sentiment so strong. The leader at Wesleyville was Frank Henry, a remarkable man from whatever point of his many-sided character he might be viewed. Brave and bold as a lion, he had the heart of a child and the gentleness of a woman. Pure of heart, he abominated iniquity and yet had had experience with the world so that he knew men, their wickedness and their wiles, as well as their virtues. He was tireless in waiting upon duty and never weary in relieving distress or assisting the unfortunate. To know Frank Henry was to love him. And yet Frank Henry could hate, and did hate,

though there were very few that he did not promptly forgive as soon as the heat of passion had passed. Frank Henry was the leader or perhaps, talking of a railroad, might be styled the superintendent. But there were others zealous in the work. Thomas Elliott was one of them and the Chamberses, and a goodly contingent from the Welsh settlement, besides Mr. Trimble and old Major Fitch.

The principal depot or waiting room at Wesleyville was the little old Methodist church, and there many a hunted fugitive found an asylum. Few of the worshippers knew the use to which the church was put, for though perhaps all of the membership and congregation were heartily in sympathy with the cause for which the Underground Railroad stood, there was danger in a too general knowledge of it, and only the elect were permitted to be aware of the doings of those who had the business in charge. The church of those times was a primitive affair, with a gallery around three sides and a garret above, and this loft was pressed into service for the concealment of the passengers when services were held, the fugitives remaining in the garret until after the congregation had dispersed and then taking up their position around the big box stove plentifully supplied with cordwood in case the night was cold. Here they waited until a favorable opportunity afforded by which they could be embarked for a passage across the lake to Long Point.

As the water route was not available at all seasons, there was yet another route over which the runaway slaves were forwarded. This was overland. A convoy was provided, generally a team with a good wagon or sleigh. By this conveyance the runaways were carried eastward where, assisted by the Moorheads, they were turned over to Elder Nutting at the state line, who conveyed them to the Knowlton station at Westfield,—whence they were forwarded to Fredonia, where Mr. Pemberton took charge and they eventually reached Buffalo, at which point there was little difficulty in landing them on the opposite side of the Niagara river.

These were the routes of the Underground Railroad through this part of the country and hundreds of escaping slaves passed over it. As has been already stated, the business of aiding these fugitives in their efforts to gain freedom covered many years, and the business was especially brisk in the fifties. Sometimes but a single person claimed the attention of the zealous conductors, again there were large parties, and it is yet among the traditions that the barn of Henry Teller at Girard has sheltered so many at one time that it was crowded. Possibly this is somewhat of an exaggeration, but there is no doubt but that as many as half a score at one time have been traveling together.

Many an adventure full of stirring interest took place on the Underground Railroad, and many a time have the conductors been hard put to find a means to carry forward their work. But they were fer-

tile in expedient, and full of courage. Perhaps the most interesting story-teller of all the train was Frank Henry. He had a talent that way. Frank is still well remembered in Erie, for he lived until October, 1889. At that time he was assistant city editor of the *Dispatch,* but previously, for a term of years, had been keeper of the lighthouse at the entrance to the harbor, a position he was compelled to relinquish because of rheumatism which afflicted him terribly, a disease that was a relic of the times when, as a conductor on the Underground, he endured all manner of hardships and exposure in the interest of the cause. It was in the year 1880 that he was first induced to relate some of his experiences to the public, and many of these given to Mr. Frank H. Severance, then editor of the *Gazette,* were published and subsequently appeared in a historical work entitled Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier. Here are a few of the stirring stories that Mr. Henry told.

In the year 1841, Captain Daniel Porter Dobbins, afterward superintendent of life saving stations in the Ninth U. S. district, was a resident of Erie. The Dobbbins residence, let us state right here, was an old-fashioned house of generous and hospitable proportions, that stood on the corner of Third and State streets, where the Sands block is now located. The house itself was moved round the corner to make room for that block, and is still standing on Third street, somewhat altered from its original appearance.

In politics Captain Dobbins was one of the sturdy old-time Democrats, not a few of whom, in marked contrast to their "copperhead" neighbors, secretly sympathized with and aided the runaway slaves. Captain Dobbins had in his employ a black man named William Mason, who, tired of receiving nothing but blows as a reward for his toil, had some time previously left his master determined to gain his freedom or die in the attempt. After a varied experience he succeeded in reaching Erie and was given employment by Captain Dobbins. He was a stalwart negro, intelligent above the average, altogether too fine a prize to let slip easily, and the professional slave hunter lost no time in hunting him out.

For many years prior to the Civil War a large class of men made their living by ferreting out and recapturing fugitive slaves and returning them to their old masters, or, as was often the case, selling them into slavery again. Free black men, peaceable citizens of the northern states, were sometimes seized to be sold to miscrupulous men ever ready to buy them. There was but little hope for the negro who found himself carried south of Mason and Dixon's line in the clutches of these men who were generally provided with a minute description of the runaways from the border states, and received a large commission for capturing and returning them to bondage.

One day, as Mason was cutting up a quarter of beef in Captain Dobbins' house, two men came in, making plausible excuses. Mason

observed that they were watching him closely and his suspicions were aroused at once.

"Is your name William?" one of the men asked.

"No," said Mason curtly, pretending to be busy with the beef.

Then they told him to take off his shoe and let them see if he he had a scar on his foot. On his refusing to do so they produced handcuffs and called on him to surrender. Livid with desperation and fear, Mason rushed at them with his butcher knife, whereupon the fellows took to their heels. They then proceeded to get a warrant from a magistrate upon some trumped-up charge, and put it in the hands of an officer for execution.

While the incident in which the butcher knife figured was occurring, Captain Dobbins came in and to him Mason hastened in appeal. Swearing "by the hosts ob heaben" that he would never be taken alive, he begged piteously for the help and protection of his employer. His appeal was not in vain. Calling upon Mason to follow he hurried with him to the Josiah Kellogg house, then one of the finest places in Erie. It still stands on Second street, east of French, a fine old fashioned brick house overlooking the harbor. Mrs. Kellogg at once comprehended the situation and soon the fugitive was so well hidden that, as the captain said, "The devil himself could not have found him, sir."

Expeditious though they were, they were none too quick. Captain Dobbins had scarcely regained his door, when the slave hunters came back with the sheriff and demanded Mason.

"Search the premises at your pleasure," said the captain, and the house was ransacked from cellar to garret. Of course Mason was not to be found. At that time there lived in Erie a big burly negro named Lemuel Gates, whose strength was only surpassed by his good nature and who was ready to lend himself to the cause of humanity. The captain owned a fast horse and while the sheriff and the hunters were still lingering about the house on the watch, he hitched up, and taking Lemuel upon the seat by his side, drove off in the gathering darkness. He took good care that the spies should see him as he drove past at a furious pace, and then headed direct for Hamlin Russell's place at Belle Valley. The chase was on and Captain Dobbins won out. Telling Mr. Russell what he was about, and slipping a coin into Gates' hand, with the injunction to make tracks for home as fast as he could, the captain took up his course for the city again. At the point where the Lake Pleasant road and the Wattsburg road join the pursuers were met.

"Where is Mason," they demanded.

"Find out," said the captain, who drove leisurely homeward, while the slave hunters worked themselves into a fine passion in a fruitless search of Mr. Russell's premises.

Early one morning a few days afterward Captain Dobbins saw a vessel round the point of the peninsula, sail up the channel and cast an-

chor in Misery bay, awaiting a lull in the storm then prevailing. Soon a yawl put off, and reaching shore, was met by the captain, who found in the skipper of the vessel an old shipmate—who heartily entered into Captain Dobbin's plans.

But there were serious difficulties in the way. It would not do to openly borrow a boat, but after a search an old and leaky skiff was found. It was a desperate hazard, but the best that could be obtained, so the captain decided to make use of it. At that period there were no docks or steamboat landings at the eastern end of the bay as now. The waters broke upon a shingly beach at the base of the bluff upon which the Kellogg house stood. Concealing the skiff in the leafy top of a tree that had fallen into the water, Mason was called when night had fallen, and after some difficulty found a place in the skiff. That frail bark leaked like a sieve. Mason wore a stiff "plug" hat and this was called into requisition to bail the water out and keep the crazy craft afloat. Meanwhile the wind had risen, and both men worked with the energy of despair, Captain Dobbins at the oars and Mason bailing. For a long time it seemed a hopeless task, but at length the schooner was reached and Mason was taken aboard. The cargo was staves, among which the negro was safely concealed. Captain Dobbins then set out upon his return and reached the mainland in safety, before break of day.

Knowing that pursuit was now impossible, for there were no tugs in those days, Captain Dobbins quietly told the officer that he was tired of being watched and would show where Mason was. At the time there were a lot of his friends gathered about him for the affair had created a great stir.

"Do you see that sail?" asked the captain, pointing to the vessel in the offing which was steadily retreating.

"Well?" was the impatient answer.

"Mason is aboard of her." At that there was a hilarious shout on the part of the bystanders, while the crestfallen "nigger-chasers" sneaked off.

"Pretty well done—for a Democrat," said Mr. Russell to the captain a few days afterwards. "After your conversion to our principles you will make a good abolitionist."

"In the summer of 1858," said Mr. Henry—"Mr. Jehiel Towner sent me a note from the city of Erie asking me to call on him that evening."

It is only proper here to say that these notes were of a peculiar character, possible of interpretation only by the initiated and therefore harmless if they should fall into improper hands. It is possible to give Mr. Towner's note, and here it is:

Erie, Pa., 51, 7, 5881.

Dear Frank:

The mirage lifts Long Point into view. Come up and see the beautiful sight. I can't promise a view tomorrow. Truly,

JEHIEL TOWNER.

"When night came," said Mr. Henry, "I rode into town from my home in Harborcreek and saw Mr. Towner. 'There are three passengers hidden in town, Henry,' said he, 'and we must land them somewhere on the Canada shore. You are just the man for this work. Will you undertake to get them across?'

"You must remember that we never had anything to do with 'runaway niggers' in those days, nor even with 'fugitive slaves;' we simply assisted passengers." I knew well enough that there was a big risk in the present case, but I promised to do my part, and so, after talking over matters a little, I drove home.

"The next night just about dusk a wagon was driven into my yard. The driver, one Hamilton Waters, was a free mulatto, known to everybody around Erie. He had brought a little boy with him as guide, for he was almost as blind as a bat. In his wagon were three of the strangest-looking 'passengers' I ever saw; I can remember how oddly they looked as they clambered out of the wagon. There was a man they called Sam, a great, strapping negro, who might have been 40 years old. He was a loose-jointed fellow, with a head like a pumpkin and a mouth like a cavern, its vast circumference always stretched in a glorious grin; for, no matter how badly Sam might feel, or how frightened, the grin had so grown into his black cheeks that it never vanished. I remember how, a few nights after, when the poor fellow was scared just about out of his wits, his grin, though a little ghastly, was as broad as ever. Sam was one of the queerest characters I ever met. His long arms seemed all wrists, his legs all ankles; and when he walked his nether limbs had a flail-like flop that made him look like a runaway windmill. The bases upon which rested this wonderfully-made superstructure were abundantly ample. On one foot he wore an old shoe—at least number twelve in size—and on the other a heavy boot; and his trousers-legs, by a grim fatality, were similarly unbalanced, for while the one was tucked into the boot-top, its fellow, from the knee down, had wholly vanished. Sam wore a weather-beaten and brimless 'tile' on his head, and in his hand carried an old-fashioned long-barreled rifle. He set great store by his 'old smooth-bo,' though he handled it in a gingerly sort of way that suggested a greater fear of its kicks than confidence in its aim. Sam's companions were an intelligent looking negro, about 25 years old, named Martin, and his wife, a pretty quadroon girl, with thin lips and a pleasant voice, for all the world like Eliza in Uncle Tom's Cabin. She carried a plump little piccaninny against her breast over which a thin shawl

was tightly drawn. She was an uncommonly attractive young woman and I made up my mind then and there that she shouldn't be carried back to slavery if I had any say in the matter.

"The only persons besides myself who knew of their arrival were William P. Trimble and Major F. L. Fitch. The party was conducted to the old Methodist church in Wesleyville, which had served for a long time as a place of rendezvous and concealment. Except for the regular Sunday services and a Thursday night prayer-meeting, the church was never opened, unless for an occasional funeral, and so it was as safe a place as could well have been found. In case of unexpected intruders the fugitives could crawl up into the attic and remain as safe as if in Liberia.

"It was my plan to take the passengers from the mouth of Four-Mile creek across the lake to Long Point light house on the Canada shore, but the wind hung in a bad quarter for the next two or three days, and our party had to keep in the dark. One rainy night, however—it was a miserable, drizzling rain and dark as Egypt—I was suddenly notified that a sailboat was in readiness off the mouth of Four-Mile creek. At first I was at a loss what to do. I didn't dare go home for provisions, for I had good reason to believe that my house was nightly watched by a cowardly wretch, whose only concern was to secure the $500 offered by Sam's former master for the capture of the slaves. In the vicinity lived a well-to do farmer, a devoted pro-slavery Democrat." (This man was Gen. John Kilpatrick, a notable leader of the Rippers in the Railroad War). "Notwithstanding his politics, I knew the man was the soul of honor, and possessed a great, generous heart. So I marshaled my black brigade out of the church and marched them off through the rain, single file, to his house. In answer to our knock our friend threw open the door; then, with a thousand interrogation points frozen into his face, he stood for a minute, one hand holding a candle above his head, the other shading his eyes, as he stared at the wet and shivering group of darkies, the very picture of dumbfounded astonishment. In less time than it takes to tell it, however, he grasped the situation, hustled us all into the house and shut the door with a most expressive slam.

"'What in —— does all this mean?' was his pious ejaculation.

"He saw what it meant, and it took few words of explanation on my part. 'They are a party of fugitives from slavery,' said I, calling our friend by name. 'We are about to cross the lake to Canada; the party are destitute and closely pursued; their only crime is a desire for freedom. This young woman and mother has been sold from her husband and child to a dealer in the far south and if captured she will be consigned to a life of shame.' The story was all too common in those days and needed no fine words. The young girl's eyes pleaded more forcibly than any words I could have spoken.

"'Well—what do you want of me?' demanded our host, trying hard to look fierce and angry.

"'Clothing and provisions,' I replied.

"'Now, look here," said he, in his gruffest voice, 'this is a bad job —bad job.' Then, turning to the negroes: 'Better go back. Canada is full of runaway niggers now. They'e freezin' and starvin' by thousands. Was over in Canada t'other day. Saw six niggers by the roadside with their heads cut off. Bones of niggers dangling in the trees. Crows pickin' their eyes out. You better go back, d'ye hear?' he added, turning to Sam.

"Poor Sam shook in his shoes and his eyes rolled in terror. He fingered his cherished smooth-bore as though uncertain whether to shoot his entertainer or save all his ammunition for Canada crows, while he cast a look of helpless appeal upon his companions. The young woman, however, with her keener insight, had seen through the sham brusqueness of their host. Though she was evidently appalled by the horrible picture of what lay before them across the lake, her heart told her it was immeasurably to be preferred to a return to the only fate which awaited her in the south. Her thoughts lay in her face and our friend read them; and not having a stone in his broad bosom, but a big, warm, thumping old heart, was moved to pity and to aid. He set about getting a basket of provisions. Then he skirmished around and found a blanket and hood for the woman, all the time declaring that he never would help runaway niggers, no sir! and drawing (for Sam's delectation) the most horrible pictures of Canadian hospitality that he could conjure up. 'You'll find them on shore waitin' for ye,' said he; 'they'll catch ye and skin ye and hang ye up for a scare-crow.' Seeing that Sam was coatless, he stripped off his own coat and bundled it upon the astonished darkey with the consoling remark: 'When they get hold of you they'll tan your black hide, stretch it for drumheads and beat "God Save the Queen" out of ye every day in the year.'

"All being in readiness, our benefactor plunged his hand into his pocket and pulling it out full of small change thrust it into the woman's hands, still urging them to go back to the old life. At the door Sam turned back and spoke for the first time:

"'Look hyar, massa, you's good to we uns and fo' de Lo'd I tank yer. Ef enny no'then gemmens hankah fur my chances in de souf I 'zign in dar favo.' 'Foh de good Lo'd I tank ye, massa, I does, suah.' Here Sam's feelings got the better of him and we were hurrying off, when our entertainer said:

"'See here, now, Henry; remember, you were never at my house with a lot of damned niggers in the night. Do you understand?'

"'All right, sir. You are the last man who would ever be charged with abolitionism, and that's the reason why we came here tonight. Mum's the word.'

"The rain had stopped and the stars were shining in a cheerful way as we all trudged down the wet road to the lake shore. Our boat was found close in-shore and Martin and his wife had waded out to it, while Sam and I stood talking in low tones on the beach. Suddenly a crash like the breaking of fence boards was heard on the bank near by and to the westward of us. We looked up quickly and saw the form of a man climb over the fence and then crouch down in the shadow. Up came Sam's rifle and with a hurried aim he fired at the moving object. His old gun was trusty and his aim true, and had it not been for a lucky blow from my hand which knocked the gun upwards just as he fired there'd have been one less mean man in the world and we should have had a corpse to dispose of. I scrambled back up the bank, with my heart in my mouth, I'll confess, just in time to see the sneak scurry along in the direction of the highway. I watched a long time at the creek after the boat left and seeing no one astir, started for home. By the time I reached the Lake road the moon had come up and a fresh carriage track could be plainly seen. I followed it a short distance down the road, where it turned, ran across the sod, and ended at the fence which had been freshly gnawed by horses. It then turned back into the highway, followed up the crossroad to Wesleyville, and thence came to the city.

"The fugitives reached the promised land in safety, and I heard from them several times thereafter. The man Sam subsequently made two or three successful trips back to the old home, once for a wife and afterwards for other friends. He made some money in the Canada oil fields and some time after sent me $100, $50 for myself to invest in books, and $50 for the fishermen who carried them safely across to Long Point and liberty."

CHAPTER XXIX.—ERIE'S WAR REGIMENTS.

Lincoln's Call and Erie's Response.—Heroic History of Erie's Soldiers in Every Arm of the Service.

And now comes the most difficult task of all in connection with furnishing a history of Erie County: the task of setting forth what the heroic boys from Erie did on the battle fields of freedom; how gallantly they defended the government; what they endured and what they suffered. An adequate history of the Erie regiments would require, not chapters, but volumes. Brave men went into that awful conflict from every part of the Union, but none braver than the Erie boys ever carried a gun or faced a foe; and none more nobly did their whole duty. Loyally they followed the flag wherever the way led; whether on the march through scorching heat or biting cold; or if it meant a bivouac in the rain and a bed in the mire; or a skirmish, or a stand before an advancing foe; whether it called for the furious charge, even upon a hopeless hazard. And it was the same, whether it were the routine duty of the camp, the construction of a work of defence, the laying of a corduroy road, the building of pontoons, or even the awful and sickening duty of burying their dead in the dreadful trenches. It was theirs to feel the weariness of travel from the forced march; the racking fever that came out of the swamps; the hunger and the thirst that stress of circumstances brought them to; the torture of the fearful wound of minie ball or bursted shell; the horror of the prison pen, and the long, long, weary term of suffering in the hospital. It was theirs, mayhap, to carry out of the dreadful fray wounds that would stay by them the rest of their days, or to leave leg or arm behind, or even to yield up their lives, their bodies perchance to lie in unknown graves, mingled it might be in the heaps of slain in trenches.

That was war; such war as no one living will ever want to see repeated. Through such dreadful experiences hundreds of Erie boys passed, not many of them unscathed. In such, hundreds fell. Heroes, all of them, each is the subject of a separate story, but a story that can never be told, unless by the Recording Angel. Here, in this record, an attempt can only be made to give an outline of what, as regimental bodies, the sons of Erie did who went away from their

homes, impelled by high patriotic duty, to pledge themselves, even to the sacrifice of their lives, for the salvation of their country.

It is related in a later chapter with what celerity the Erie regiment was organized in response to President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men for three months' service, and how readily they went away from home, expecting at once to engage in warlike service. They never got nearer to the scene of action than Pittsburg, and there the expiration of their term of enlistment found them. Though idle, they were not disinterested in what was occurring. The disaster at Bull Run alarmed but aroused the Erie men at Pittsburg as well as the people of the whole nation, and, as soon as the meaning of the news of that defeat came to be comprehended, Col. McLane telegraphed to Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, for authority to raise another regiment for active service. On July 24th he received the order he sought. At once he sent hand bills throughout the northwestern counties of the state, calling for a thousand able-bodied men, and the officers and soldiers of the old regiment began recruiting. The old fair-ground, near Wesleyville, was selected for the camp of redezvous and called Camp McLane. Nearly 300 of the old regiment re-enlisted for the new one, but the response for this new body was not by any means as prompt as for the first, so that it was five weeks before the required number was obtained. On the 8th of September the last company was mustered in, and on the same day the regiment was mustered by Capt. Bell of the regular army. From that date until the 16th of September the time was occupied in drilling and filling the ranks to the maximum number. It was a memorable occasion when the new regiment, the Eighty-third, left Erie for Washington.

The Eighty-third Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers was organized with John W. McLane as colonel; Strong Vincent, lieutenant-colonel; Dr. Louis Naghel, of Indiana, major. The companies were these:

A, Titusville, Captain Morgan.
B, Meadville, Captain Morris.
C, Erie, Captain Graham.
D, Edinboro, Captain Woodward.
E, Waterford, Captain Campbell.
F, Meadville, Captain McCoy.
G, Tionesta, Captain Knox.
H, Conneautville, Captain Carpenter.
I, Erie, Captain Brown.
K, Erie, Captain Austin.

Having reached the front, where at any time active service might be demanded, no time was wasted in bringing the command up to as

high a standard of proficiency as possible. Col. McLane, a born soldier, was a strict disciplinarian, and in this respect was ably supported by the brigade commander, Gen. Butterfield. Drill and practice in all the evolutions and details of a military occupation were kept up until the Eighty-third became so noted as to win special commendation from the general, and, a little later, in open competition was awarded an entire outfit of uniforms and equipments that had been imported from France. This outfit consisted of all the tents, tools and equipments necessary for a regiment, dress and fatigue uniforms, shoes, underclothing and a hundred and one things necessary and unnecessary—things that might by any circumstances or conditions to arise be useful or ornamental, but which in the service that ensued proved to be of no value whatever. The uniforms, for example, while showy enough, were found, when tried on, to be entirely unfit. The coats, broad enough at the shoulders, were so narrow-waisted that unless the men wore corsets they could not be buttoned on. However, it was a prize trophy and valued accordingly until it had to be abandoned. The Eighty-third Regiment was accompanied to the front by Mehl's band, regularly enlisted, under M. W. Mehl leader, and consisted of 17 musicians. It soon came to be regarded as a superfluity, and on August 11, 1862, was mustered out.

The serious work of the regiment began in May, 1862, when it had its baptism of fire in front of Richmond. The first hard fighting was at Gaines' Mill, June 27, 1862, one of the bloodiest on the Confederate side and one of the most stubborn on the Union side of any of the war, and in this battle the Erie regiment distinguished itself, but paid dearly for its valor. The Eighty-third had the hottest corner, and the brigade commander sent word to the colonel to hold the position. "He needn't have sent me any such word," said Col. McLane, "I intend to hold it." And they stood fast, until at length the enemy took the position, walking over McLane's body in doing so. The regiment retired only after having been a second time recalled by the same brigadier who had at first ordered them to stand. The Eighty-third had the experience of many hard battles before the war was over, but none in which there was harder fighting or more thrilling bravery displayed than at that opening battle. The Erie regiment, screened by a hastily built breastwork of logs, held a position on the extreme left of the Union army, and, aided by artillery, repulsed the foe in three furious charges, when it was discovered that they had partially succeeded in their design, to break through, sweep down the river bank, secure the bridges, and cut off retreat. Finding itself cut off from the rest of the army with the foe advancing upon the right as well as in front, there was nothing for the Eighty-third to do but come out from cover and fight in the open. Heroically they stood to it while men fell thick and fast on all sides. Col. McLane

was instantly killed by a minie ball and Major Naghel, second in command, was killed by a shell. The regiment, now led by Capt. Campbell, fought even fiercer than before; the wounded upon the ground endeavoring to use their muskets with effect. Such bravery was not to be withstood. In the end the Confederates gave way.

It was only a breathing spell. The fight was resumed at length, the captain commanding ordered a retreat to the log barricade, and this position, occupied also by the Forty-fourth New York and Sixteenth Michigan, was held until after night-fall, when, surrounded by the enemy, it was decided to effect a retreat by squads, which was successfully accomplished. In the first battle the Eighty-third had 61 men killed, the largest number of fatalities of any one battle in its eventful history.

After an interval of three days the Eighty-third was again called upon for severe duty. On July 1, 1862, the battle of Malvern Hill occurred. The Erie regiment was not in the line of fighting when the battle began, but the impetuosity with which the rebels charged one part of the line, early made it necessary to call in the Eighty-third as support. Coming upon the scene it was found that a Union battery of artillery that had defended its position with great gallantry for a considerable time, was moving away, driven by the enemy. The latter, the Erie boys met and stood off with splendid fortitude though their ranks were thinned by the galling fire. The battery, seeing the turn in affairs, faced about, and resuming its position, aided by the infantry, repulsed the enemy. Goaded by the repulse, the Confederates fought with fierceness and the battle became bloody in the extreme. The rapid fire of the soldiers of the Eighty-third was resistless and in the end the Confederates were forced to retire. But it was a costly fight for the Eighty-third; the loss in the engagement was 33 killed, 115 wounded and 18 missing. With the loss at Gaines' Mill the total for four days was 362 killed, wounded and missing, out of 554 that entered. The killed and those who died of wounds in these two engagements were 111.

The next battle was Second Bull Run or Manassas, Aug. 31, 1862, another fiercely contested engagement on the part of the Eighty-third, which left upon that field 26 dead, and among the wounded, Lieut. Col. Campbell, the major and one captain; two lieutenants being among the killed. The total loss in dead and wounded was 97. Captain Judson, in his history of this valiant regiment, speaking of its condition at about this time, remarked, upon the regiment going into camp on an old campground: "At night they laid down to rest in the old camp which they had left over three months before. But what a contrast did the Eighty-third of now present to the Eighty-third of then! They left that camp with over 600 muskets. They returned to it with about 80. The whole regiment scarcely filled one of the old company streets."

At Antietam, at Chancellorsville, and at Fredericksburg the regiment, recruited from time to time, took part, doing gallant work, especially at Fredericksburg, but fortunately without serious loss at either place. At Gettysburg, however, the work done by this regiment was of the most important character. Upon it the success of that field, the decisive battle of the war, depended. The Eighty-third at Gettysburg had been placed in the vale between the two Round Tops. Col. Vincent, commanding the brigade, however, comprehending the importance of occupying Little Round Top, led his command thither, and becoming strongly posted, resisted every effort of Gen. Hood to take it by his charges in front, and of Gen. Longstreet by flank movement. It was the key of the battle, and was held with a stubbornness that had come to be regarded as characteristic. The soldiers, screened by the scrub oaks and the bowlders, fought desperately. Col. Vincent, standing on the top of a huge bowlder, urged his men on to yet more daring deeds, but fell at length, mortally wounded, living long enough, however, to learn that the victory had been won. Another officer, Capt. Sell, received a wound from which he died.

The Eighty-third then entered upon the Wilderness Campaign, taking part in the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Laurel Hill, North Anna, Bethesda Church and Petersburg. The term of enlistment having expired, the regiment was reorganized September 7, 1864, into six companies. The last notable engagement was that of Peebles Farm, September 30, 1864, when the regiment, then reduced to a battalion, charged upon the Confederate works and won to first place its banner upon the parapet of the enemy's redoubt. It was a fighting regiment from first to last, and really never knew defeat.

It was not until years afterward that the grim story of its service, as compared with the rest of the Union army was told by the aid of cold figures from the official records. George L. Kilmer, commenting upon the results of that dreadful war, says: "Pennsylvania lost more men killed in the Civil war, in proportion to her quota, than any other Union state, and the Eighty-third Pennsylvania lost more men numerically, killed in battle, than any other regiment in the state, and stands second in the list for the highest losses in killed among the Union regiments." These official figures from the records at Washington are instructive. The original muster was 1,000 men, the total enrolment, 1,808; the killed, 282; died of diseases, accidents, etc., 153; officers killed, 11; officers died of disease, etc., 2; total of killed and wounded, 971. In so far as the official records show, the Eighty-third regiment suffered greater losses than any other in the service. The regimental record of the Fifth New Hampshire shows a total loss of 295, but this included men missing and not again heard from. From the records on file at Washington it appears that the

actual loss of the Fifth New Hampshire was 277. In the record of the Eighty-third the missing were not entered among the fatalities, those actually killed in battle or who died of wounds numbering 282, which was 15.5 per cent of the total enrolment of 1,808, and the total killed and wounded, 971, being more than 53 per cent of the total that had served from first to last. The losses in each of its numerous engagements were as follows:

Hanover Court House	1
Gaines' Mill	61
Malvern Hill	50
Manassas (Second Bull Run)	26
Chancellorsville	1
Fredericksburg	4
Gettysburg	18
Guerillas in Virginia, Dec. 10, 1863	1
Wilderness	20
Spottsylvania, May 8th	57
Spottsylvania, May 10th	2
North Anna	2
Bethesda Church	1
Siege of Petersburg	15
Peebles Farm	10
Hatchers Run	5
White Oak Road	1
Gravelly Run	4
Total	282

With so many casualties there were necessarily many changes among the officers and these may be given as they appear in succession on the rolls. The colonels were John W. McLane, Strong Vincent and O. S. Woodward; lieutenant-colonels, Hugh S. Campbell and Dewitt McCoy; majors, Louis H. Naghel and William H. Lamont; Surgeons, William Faulkner and J. P. Burchfield. The captains of the Erie county companies were: C, John Graham; D, O. S. Woodward (colonel), Chancey P. Rogers (colonel); E, Hugh S. Campbell (afterwards colonel and provost marshal for this district), Amos M. Judson, W. O. Colt (colonel); I, Hiram L. Brown (afterwards colonel of 145th Regt.), John M. Sell and John H. Borden; K, Thomas M. Austin and John Hechtman. Lieutenants of Erie companies: C, Aaron E. Yale, John W. Vannatta, Bethuel J. Goff, Joseph Grimler; D, Plympton A. White; E, W. O. Colt (colonel), James H. Barnett, Alex B. Langley, Edward L. Whittelsey (captain of Co. A, in new organization); I, John M. Clark, Wm. J. Wittich, Fred C. Wittich, Abner R. Edson; K, Wm. E. Bates, Henry Austin, Edmund W.

Reed, Noble L. Terrell. The regiment was formally mustered out July 4, 1865.

Following very closely upon the organization of the first three years' regiment from this county came that of another which, when mustered in, came to be known as the One Hundred and Eleventh. The commission to raise this body of troops was issued to Matthias Schlaudecker, a prominent German citizen of Erie, on September 2, 1861, only a few days before the Eighty-third had mustered in its last company and completed its organization, and Col. Schlaudecker, securing hearty co-operation, went about the work of recruiting at once and with vigor. He sent out patriotic appeals and had them circulated in Erie, Warren, Crawford and Elk counties, and at the very beginning secured valuable aid from George A. Cobham, Jr., of Warren and Thomas M. Walker, of Erie. An office was opened in Erie and the fair ground not far from Wesleyville, that had been the camp of the Eighty-third, was secured as the place of rendezvous, and named Camp Reed. The work of enlistment progressed rapidly and the ranks were filled with the best of material and the work of drilling and instruction went forward under the direction of Col. Schlaudecker. Schlaudecker, who had been major in the Erie (three months) Regiment, was an experienced military man, having seen service in the German army; he was, therefore, capable to teach these "young ideas how to shoot." When orders reached Erie on January 24, 1862, for the regiment to start, it was in readiness except for the regimental organization, and this was quickly effected by the election of M. Schlaudecker as Colonel; George A. Cobham, Jr., Lieut.-Col.; Thomas M. Walker, Major, and John A. Boyle, Adjutant. The regiment included these officers of the line:

Company A—Capt. Josiah Brown.
Company B—Capt. Arthur Corrigan.
Company C—Capt. Richard Cross.
Company D—Capt. Elias M. Pierce.
Company E—Capt. Samuel M. Davis.
Company F—Capt. John Braden.
Company G—Capt. William A. Thomas.
Company H—Capt. John P. Schlaudecker.
Company I—Capt. Frank Wagner.
Company K—Capt. Jonas J. Pierce.

Next day, January 25, 1862, the regiment moved for the front, reaching Harrisburg on January 27th, where the outfitting and equipment were effected, and on March 1st, Baltimore was reached.

In the middle of May the regiment was sent to Harper's Ferry to reinforce Banks, then retreating down the Shenandoah, but was prevented from getting into action by the defeat of Banks at Win-

chester. The first service was at Charleston, when the enemy's skirmishers were driven. Subsequently the regiment was attached to Cooper's brigade of Sigel's division, remaining for some time inactive. Afterwards, toward the close of June, it was assigned to Prince's brigade of Augur's division. Soon afterward followed the battle of Cedar Mountain, August 9, 1862. There had been a great deal of sickness in the regiment. Large numbers were ill in the hospital, and Lieut. Col. Cobham was one of these thus disabled, while Col. Schlaudecker's illness was so serious that he was furloughed on that account. The command of the regiment therefore devolved upon Major Walker. The battle of Cedar Mountain was a desperate struggle which lasted from 2 o'clock till dark, the One Hundred and Eleventh being finally driven back with a loss of 19 killed, 61 wounded and 13 missing. This was the regiment's real initiation.

The next important battle in which it participated was Antietam, where for eight hours it was engaged in severe fighting and bore itself so gallantly that it was presented on the field with a stand of colors. It went into the fight with 300 muskets and lost 33 killed, 71 wounded and 7 missing. Captain Corrigan was among the killed; Major Walker, Capt. Wagner and Lieuts., Todd, Bancroft, Cronenberger, Black and Woeltge wounded.

Then the regiment moved to Loudon Heights, toward Leesburg, and Fredericksburg, and went into winter quarters at Fairfax. A month later it took part in the "Mud March," and while at Acquia Creek was transferred to the Second brigade, Second division, Twelfth corps. Col. Schlaudecker having been honorably discharged in November, at the end of January Lieut. Col. Cobham was promoted to colonel; Major Walker to lieut.-colonel, and Adj. Boyle to major. The One Hundred and Eleventh won high commendation on inspection from Gen. Hooker.

May 1st to 6th, 1863, the regiment participated in the campaign in the vicinity of Chancellorsville, out of which it came with a loss of 6 killed, 8 wounded, and 3 missing.

In July it was at Gettysburg, engaged first in fortifying Culp's Hill and afterwards in defending that position, which was done with splendid courage and spirit, resulting at length in driving the enemy. In that engagement Lieut.-Col. Walker's report was that his command expended 160 rounds of ammunition to the man. The loss was 6 killed and 17 wounded.

On September 24th the Eleventh and Twelfth corps were detached from the Army of the Potomac and transferred to Rosecranz's army at Chattanooga. It was a holiday time for the soldier boys, transported as they were, though in box cars, across Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, and with their corps, the One Hundred and Eleventh reached Murfreesboro on October 6th. Meantime there had been

large additions made to the regiment, though 100 of the recruits, drafted men, deserted enroute.

On the 28th of October, at Wauhatchie, in the night, a determined attack was made by the Confederates, who had been reconnoitering from Lookout Mountain. The enemy in three brigades came stealthily down, but were met by the One Hundred and Eleventh and checked until the remainder of the Union forces became organized, when, though the attack was a determined one, it was met with unsurpassed valor and the foe withdrew with heavy loss. The regiment lost at Wauhatchie, 13 killed, 31 wounded and one missing. Major Boyle and Lieut. Pettit were killed; Lieut.-Col. Walker, Capts. Warner and Wells and Lieuts. Haight, Tracy and Black were wounded.

On the 24th of November began the famous engagement by which Lookout Mountain was stormed and taken by the Union troops, and in this action, which lasted two days, the One Hundred and Eleventh bore conspicuous part, distinguishing itself by gallant fighting in the "Battle Above the Clouds." Col. Cobham, in the series of engagements was acting as brigadier general, and Lieut.-Col. Walker led the regiment.

The campaign ended on December 1, 1863, when the regiment reenlisted for a second term, and departed for home, December 28th, on Veteran Furlough. It was an occasion memorable in Erie when the regiment arrived, on January 14, 1864. The streets were gay with flags, bells rang, cannon boomed and the band was playing. Escorted by Ex-Col. Schlaudecker and a company of marines, the regiment was marched to Wayne Hall, on French street, where a dinner was spread, and then the veterans were free to visit their homes for the vacation.

The holidays were over on the 26th of February, when the regiment returned to the front, to become part of Sherman's army that, early in May, set out upon a campaign that was a continuous series of engagements, ending in brilliant victories. The first engagement was at Resaca, May 15th, when the One Hundred and Eleventh, leading the advance up the fortified hill, planted its colors on the ramparts. It was a heroic action, but it was impossible to hold the position, and the brave boys retired, not defeated, however. They found shelter a little below, and every effort that was made to flank Cobham, in command of the brigade, was futile, and in the night time the men performed the most original exploit of the campaign, as sappers and miners under-mining the fort, and dragging it, with its guns down the mountain by the use of drag-ropes. The loss at Resaca was 30 killed and wounded, among them Capt. Woeltge killed and Capt. Wells wounded.

From May 25th to June 1st, at New Hope Church, there was fighting without cessation, out of which the regiment came with a

loss of one officer (Capt. Todd) and 8 men killed; Lieut. Tracy and 40 men wounded, and 3 missing, an aggregate loss of 53.

The battle of Pine Knob was fought June 14th. The One Hundred and Eleventh was in the right of the line and led the attack of Geary's division. Charging furiously on the enemy, he was driven over the first ridge, then over the second, and the Union forces halted only before the third ridge, but held their ground. Here the night was passed; and during that time Sergt. John L. Wells, upon a personal solitary reconnoitre, discovered the enemy's peculiarly strong points, and reporting them to headquarters, saved a possible defeat and won a promise of promotion from the commanding general. Having soon afterwards been taken a prisoner of war, the promotion did not come to him until 1869, when Gen. Geary, then Governor of Pennsylvania, remembering his promise, sent to Sergeant Wells a commission as brevet Lieutenant-Colonel (We know him now as Capt. Wells). The regiment lost at Pine Knob, 14, of whom two were killed and two mortally wounded.

At Culp's Farm on June 17th, in a charge on the entrenched enemy, the regiment lost 3 killed and 5 wounded. At Grier's Plantation, on the 21st, the enemy was driven and there was a loss of one man killed and Lieut. Haight and 9 others wounded. The battle of Kenesaw was fought on the 27th, the regiment having but two casualties as the result.

The battle of Peach Tree Creek was the most disastrous in the history of the regiment. Close to Atlanta, it was one of the hardest fought in the campaign. The action began on July 19th, and in the first charge the One Hundred and Eleventh lost one killed and two wounded. Next day on the same field the regiment was engaged in the fiercest fight of its history, in thirty minutes losing 80 in killed and wounded, out of scarcely more than 300 men. Among the killed were Col. Cobham, and among the wounded Lieuts. Hay, Moore, Sexauer, Gould and Dieffenbach. Sgt. Maj. Logan J. Dyke lost an arm in this fight. Col. Cobham had for a year led the brigade of which his regiment was a part.

The siege of Atlanta followed, lasting from about the 22d of July until September 2d. On the latter date Col. Walker was sent on a reconnoisance with the One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania, the Sixtieth New York and details from the One Hundred and Second New York, and Seventh Pennsylvania Cavalry. He found the entrenchments vacant, and pursuing the reconnoisance, found that the Confederates had evacuated. The city was entered by Col. Walker's force and Col. Coburn's of the Third division, the One Hundred and Eleventh and the Sixtieth New York heading the line, and in front of the city hall Col. Walker took possession of Atlanta in the name of General Sherman.

For a time the soldiers had a rest. They had earned it. The One Hundred and Eleventh was assigned to provost guard duty, and occupied a commodious and comfortable house in the heart of the city. The army remained until after the election of President Lincoln for the second term, and then, early in November, set out on the famous march to the sea, and the subsequent chase of Johnston up into North Carolina. But the days of fighting were over. There was no more fight left in the southerners. On April 14, 1865, Johnston surrendered, and the campaign was over. And so was the war, for on the 9th of the same month Gen. Lee had surrendered to Gen. Grant. Meanwhile the One Hundred and Ninth had been merged with the One Hundred and Eleventh and Lieut. Col. Walker had been promoted to a full colonelcy, and later, by brevet was made a brigadier general.

The regiment was mustered out July 19, 1865. The record shows that from first to last this regiment had an enrolment of 1,847; its total deaths were 304, and its total deaths and wounds 549. The historian of the regiment, John Richards Boyle, D. D., says, however, "But as 100 of its substitute recruits almost immediately deserted and 42 others who were assigned to it never reported, and as 310 other officers and men were merged into the command from the One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania after the fighting was over, the actual strength of the regiment in the field was not more than 1,395. Even this estimate is excessive, as a number of names are counted twice because of second enlistments. The casualities of the regiment, therefore, during its field service were about 40 per cent of its total strength. Four of every ten of its men fell in defense of the American commonwealth.

The organization of the One Hundred and Forty-fifth regiment, did not occur during the flush of the first patriotic uprising, when enlistments were rather easily secured, but came well along in the second year of the war and twelve months after the second Erie regiment for actual war service had been begun to be enlisted. When it had been decided for a third time to call upon the young men of this part of the state to come forward and enlist in defense of the government, something was known of the horrors and risks and hardships of war. The enlistments at this time were therefore a proof of the deep seated patriotism that animated the men who came forward to offer themselves to whatever the hazard of war might have in store for them. The regiment was organized September 5, 1862. It was more largely than any other an Erie county regiment, companies A, B, C, D, I and K having been recruited in this county, companies E and F in Warren county, H in Crawford and G in Mercer. The organization was under these field officers: Colonel, Hiram L. Brown; Lieut.-Col., David B. McCreary; Major, J. W. Patton. Col. Brown had been a member of the Wayne Guards, a captain in the Three-months Erie regiment;

and a captain in the Eighty-third, wounded at Gaines Mill. Lt.-Col. McCreary had been a member of the Wayne Guards and a lieutenant in the Three-months regiment. The officers of the line were:

Company A—Capt. J. W. Reynolds.
Company B—Capt. M. W. Oliver.
Company C—Capt. Dyer Loomis.
Company D—Capt. Charles M. Lynch.
Company E—Capt. Samuel M. Davis.
Company F—Capt. John Braden.
Company G—Capt. Wm. A. Thomas.
Company H—Capt. J. Boyd Espy.
Company I—Capt. Washington Brown.
Company K—Capt. J. W. Walker.

There was no time allowed for drill or to perfect the command in discipline, for the call for troops at the front was urgent, and by the 11th of September the regiment was on its way forward without arms or equipment. Halting for two days at Camp McClure, they were equipped with Harpers Ferry muskets, and on the 17th went into the fight at Antietam, where the boys, fresh from their Erie county homes, and not yet versed in the soldier's primer, frustrated by their bravery and address the enemy's attempt at a flank movement. For two days afterward they were engaged in picket duty. Thus was the hard work of the soldier and the danger of it handed out to the boys at the very beginning. But worse was to come. The enemy in making his escape did it so precipitately that the field was left thickly strewn with his dead many of whom had lain on the field four days. The pollution of it was past conception and the horror of it beyond being appreciated except by the awful experience of it. The cleaning up of this field and the burial of the dead was assigned to the One Hundred and Forty-fifth. As a result, within a week between 200 and 300 were disqualified for duty—by sickness.

Fredericksburg followed soon afterwards, and in this severe engagement, the regiment took part in much of the hardest fighting. Of those who crossed the river at the beginning of the engagement, 500 in number, 226, nearly one-half, were either killed or wounded. Captains Wood, Mason and Brown, and Lieutenants Clay, Brown, Carroll, Vincent, Riblet and Hubbard—nine commissioned officers—were either killed or mortally wounded. Col. Brown received two severe wounds, one of which was believed at the time to be mortal. Captain Lynch and Lieuts. Long and Stuart were among the wounded and the only field officer in the entire brigade who escaped uninjured, were Col. Von Shock of the Seventh N. Y., and Lieut.-Col. McCreary of the One Hundred and Forty-fifth.

In the spring of 1863 the regiment was assigned to Hooker's army for the pending campaign, and when at length the army moved the One Hundred and Forty-fifth was detailed to construct corduroy roads to facilitate the movement of artillery and heavy wagon trains, and later to assist in laying pontoons at United States Ford. In Hooker's army the Hundred and Forty-fifth was attached to the Second Corps, and on May 1, while the regiment was being mustered for pay, the first gun of Chancellorsville was fired. Immediately the corps was thrown forward on the road leading to Fredericksburg, the First division forming the advance line. At evening a position was taken by the division in a slight ravine where works of defense were constructed, but at daylight the main body withdrew, leaving only a heavy skirmish line in the works. The fight raged during the whole of the 2d, resulting at night in the complete route of the Eleventh Corps, on the extreme right, and during the night the battle still raged furiously. Early in the morning of the 3d a detail of 150 men of the Hundred and Forty-fifth, and 100 from the other regiments of the brigade, under Lt.-Col. McCreary were ordered to the relief of the skirmish line, left in the works. There they were fiercely engaged and successfully resisted the enemy, foiling every attempt to turn Hancock's flank. When the army fell back the troops on the skirmish line failed to receive orders, and, along with the detail from the Hundred and Forty-fifth, fell into the enemy's hands. The rest of the regiment meanwhile was engaged in supporting the batteries around the Chancellor house, which had been massed to resist the advance of Stuart, and was exposed to a severe fire of musketry and artillery, and Major Patton was mortally wounded.

Gettysburg was the next engagement of importance, the regiment meanwhile doing picket duty and moving forward with the troops of its division in an endeavor to head off the enemy, who was moving northward. The opportunity to checkmate the army of Lee did not come until on July 1, 1863, the field of Gettysburg was reached. In this famous battle the Second Corps had the duty of replacing the Third Corps, badly broken in the terrible action of the Wheat Field. The brigade of which the Hundred and Forty-fifth was part, was led by Col. Brooke, who heroically took his stand where the conflict was still in fearful progress, and at length drove the enemy in confusion from the position he had attained, silencing a battery. It was a position that could not be held, however, for the enemy in heavy force were executing a flank movement on the right, exposing the brigade to capture or annihilation. There was no alternative but to retire. The Hundred and Forty-fifth held the extreme right of the brigade in this terrible encounter, and suffered severely. Out of 200 men who entered the fight there was a loss of upwards of 80 killed and wounded. Capt. Griswold and Lieuts. Lewis and Finch were

mortally wounded; Col. Brown, Major Reynolds, Adj't Black and Capt. Hilton were wounded, the last named losing a leg.

Afterwards, until October, 1863, the regiment remained quiet, when it became actively engaged in the forced marches under Meade against Lee, and had part in the engagements at Auburn Hill and Bristoe Station, suffering the loss of a number killed and wounded. Though for a considerable period there were no battles recorded by fame in which the regiment bore part, it was till constantly occupied, enduring gallantly the toil and hardship of the soldier's life. On Nov. 26, with its brigade it set out on the Mine Run campaign and upon reaching Germania Ford, it was found that the pontoons were insufficient to construct a bridge. Col. Brooke however, volunteered to wade the stream, now breast-deep and wintry cold, and the men without a murmer followed. After a brisk charge they drove the enemy from newly constructed works. The Hundred and Forty-fifth was part of Gen. Warren's force which marched from before daylight on the 29th of November until dark for the purpose of turning the enemy's flank.

During the winter, near Germania Ford, the regiment was recruited to nearly the original strength, and on May 5 and 6, 1864, again in motion, hotly engaged the enemy at Brock Road. Capt. J. Boyd Espy's company, sent out on the 5th to form a junction with the outposts, stood at its post for nearly two days without food or water, it being supposed at headquarters that they had been made prisoners. But they were accidentally discovered and relieved. It was here that Col. Brown was placed temporarily in command of the Third brigade, Major Lynch assuming command of the regiment in the absence of Lt.-Col. McCreary.

At the Po River, May 10, 1864, occurred the battle of Spottsylvania. The attempt of Hancock to withdraw a force with which he had endeavored to take a strong defensive position on the other side of the river, brought on a spirited attack by the enemy. This was met by the brigades of Brooke and Brown with such a determined front and effective fire that the foe was driven back. The woods in rear of these brigades took fire and for a time they were in deadly double peril, but succeeded in making a safe passage back. Lieut. Baker was killed in this action. On the 11th the fighting was resumed, the enemy putting forth desperate efforts and losing heavily, but being defeated in the end. The Hundred and Forty-fifth was a heavy loser in this day's fight. Capt. Devereaux, and Lieuts. Sampson and Brockway being among the killed, and Capt. Espy and Lieut. Free among the wounded.

At Cold Harbor on May 16, after a most desperate charge upon strongly constructed works, the men of the Hundred and Forty-fifth in the face of a fearful artillery fire, were compelled to throw themselves upon the ground. There, by a flank movement of the enemy, the

entire force was captured, including Lt. Col. McCreary, Capts. Lytle, McCreary, Smart, and Dean and Lieuts. Mackintosh, Rounds, Carlisle and Linn, together with about 80 enlisted men. The men were taken to Andersonville, the officers to Macon and afterwards to Charleston, at the latter place being exposed to the fire of the Union guns. On July 22 Major Lynch was taken prisoner.

During the remainder of the year 1864, what was left of the command did duty in the trenches besides being engaged in the battles of Reams Station and Deep Bottom. In the spring of 1865 the regiment, at the battle of Five Forks, rendered efficient service with the detachment sent to the aid of Gen. Sheridan, and had part with its division and corps in bringing the war to a close, by the capture of Richmond and the final victory at Appomatox. It participated in the Grand Review at Washington May 23 and 24, and on May 31 was mustered out. The war over and the prisoners released, it was with feelings of mutual joy that Col. McCreary and his fellow officers rejoined the regiment, and together they set their faces toward their home, arriving in Erie on June 5.

At the time of the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, besides the Wayne Guards there were in Erie two small companies of Artillery, one under the command of Capt. C. F. Muehler, called the Perry Artillery Company. Among the very first offers in response to the call of President Lincoln for volunteers was Capt. Muehler's company, and it was at once accepted. It was found, however, when it came time to organize it, that it was far short of enough to fill the ranks of a battery of that arm of the service. At about the same time Capt. Peter B. Housum of Franklin undertook to raise a battery of artillery and achieved only partial success. However, by consolidating the two there was an adequate force, and this was accomplished at Pittsburg November 6, 1861. In the organization Capt. Housum was promoted to Lieut. Colonel, and the officers chosen for the company were C. F. Muehler, captain; Alanson J. Stevens, first lieutenant, and Samuel M. McDowell, second lieutenant. The company was then mustered in as Muehler's Independent Battery B., and although Capt. Muehler resigned soon afterwards, from its muster in until its muster out at the end of the war it continued to be known as Muehler's Battery. Before the battery was finally mustered out, the vicissitudes of war made many changes among its officers; promotions came upon the heels of death with unfortunate frequency. Capt. Muehler's resignation promoted Lieut. Stevens to captain, but in succession came Captains McDowell and Jacob Ziegler, while the lieutenants first and last were Stevens, McDowell, Ziegler, Lutje, Shatzer, Hassinger, John Muehler and Camp.

In this organization the late William L. Scott took peculiar interest and far more than common pride and he was able frequently

to be of great service to it. Through his attachment to this battery there grew up between him and Capt. W. F. Lutje (for he was brevet-ed after his forced retirement by a wound) a strong friendship that endured as long as Mr. Scott lived. After the company was mustered in it proceeded to Camp Nevin where it was drilled and instructed, and during the last days of 1861 was stationed at Mumfordsville and Nashville and early in 1862 was moved to Corinth. It was with the main army in northern Alabama and Mississippi, and with the other forces, by forced marches headed Bragg on his way to Louisville. Too late to have part in the fight at Perryville on October 8, 1862, it joined in the pursuit of Bragg and brought him to a stand at Murfreesboro, where the battery was in the thickest of the fight, doing signal service and receiving the congratulations of Gen. Rosecrans. On September 19, 1863, it was again hotly engaged at Murfreesboro, and here Capt. Stevens was killed.

Then for a time the battery was shut in at Chattanooga, but on November 25th took a prominent part in the battle of Mission Ridge, where Bragg was swept from the field. During the winter most of the men re-enlisted, and next spring the battery moved with Sherman on his campaign, and during two hundred days was attached to the Fourth corps. At Kenesaw, in a fierce fight, Capt. McDowell was killed. Jacob Ziegler then became the commander of the battery. On the fall of Atlanta, Sherman sent Thomas back into Tennessee to look after Hood, Muehler's Battery accompanying, where it took part in all of that army's engagements, including Franklin and Nashville, where the final victory occurred. After the surrender of the armies in the east the battery was sent to Texas, where it remained on duty until October 12, 1865, when it was mustered out.

Three companies or troops of cavalry were recruited in this county, and they were assigned to as many different regiments. The first company organized was that of Captain George H. Russell, the recruits coming chiefly from the neighborhood of Union City. It was mustered in March, 1862, and was assigned to the Twelfth Pennsylvania Cavalry, as Company L. Its officers from first to last as the fortunes of war effected the changes, were Captains, George H. Russell, Elmer F. Jennings, W. H. McAllister, (promoted afterwards successively to Major and Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment) O. B. Tourtellot; Lieutenants, Melvin H. Fenno, Henry A. Drake, Bela B. Scoville.

Captain Thomas Lennon of Erie organized a company which was mustered into the service in September, 1862, and became Company C of the Sixteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Its officers were: Captains, Thomas Lennon, Andrew F. Swan (promoted to Major), Robert C. Caughey (breveted Major), Joshua M. Carey; Lieutenants, after Swan and Caughey, James P. Crawford (discharged on ac-

count of wounds), Samuel H. Brown, Albert L. Hazleton (discharged in 1863), Lockwood Caughey (died of wounds at the battle of Deep Bottom), George W. Brooks, John N. Minton.

Captain Miles' Company was mustered in October, 1862, and was assigned as Company I to the Fourteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Its successive officers were: Captains, W. W. Miles (killed at Millwood, Dec. 7, 1864), George R. Wetmore; Lieutenants, C. C. Holliday, Alex. G. Warren, Freeman P. Bartlett, Edgar J. Pierce.

All the regiments in which these companies served were under Gen. Pleasonton and later Gen. Sheridan, in the Army of the Potomac, bearing their part in the operations of that army. Capt. Swan's company took part in the battle of Gettysburg with Gregg's brigade, and Col. McAllister's command was concerned in the battle of Winchester under Sheridan.

CHAPTER XXX.—THE LAKE NAVY.

Seamen Enrolled for Lake, River and Coast.—The Part Played by the Michigan.—The Plot to Capture the Ship.

Nor were there Erie boys lacking when it became necessary to strengthen the navy, for the blockading service, for the gunboat service on the rivers, and later for the engagement of the Confederate forces, both afloat and strongly fortified ashore, in most of the southern coast cities. Here there was a most liberal response to the call for recruits to the naval service. It had always, from the settlement of the white race here, been a chracteristic of the place that her people largely inclined to follow the water. Here most of the prominent lake navigators and steamboat men before the breaking out of the war had lived, and from this port sailed not only these, but no reckoning how many rated from the raw apprentice to the first-class seaman. And Erie enjoyed the fame of having here built one navy, of having stationed here the only American naval vessel of the Great Lakes, and of being as well a port in which the traditions of heroic service in the navy had made her young men ambitious. Then when the great opportunity offered, and patriotic duty made so strong an appeal, it is not to be marveled at that by the hundreds they were ready to offer their services and enlist under the flag.

The Michigan was then stationed at Erie, and there most of the recruiting was done. Here the story of the Michigan may properly be told. She is not now known as the Michigan but by the figurative equivalent of Wolverine, for the name of the State was desired to be bestowed upon a battleship of the modern navy in order that in dignity Michigan might be classed with its sister states. But yet the old Michigan or the Wolverine stands unique in the American navy and in the world in a number of respects. She is the first iron ship of war ever built. She was made possible by the passage of an act in Congress on September 9, 1841, appropriating $100,000 for the construction of a vessel of war on Lake Erie. It will thus be seen that not only is she the first iron vessel but the oldest ship in active service as part of the American navy at the present time.

The Michigan (or Wolverine) was built in Pittsburg, taken apart, transported to Cleveland by ox-carts, thence to Erie by lake, assembled

and completed at this port and launched November 9, 1843. She went into commission on August 15, 1844, with Mr. Inman in command, and has therefore been a vessel of the United States navy in continuous service ever since, a period of sixty-five years. Built at that early date she of course conformed to the ideas of that time, being of the side-wheel pattern, but to this day more than a half century later, no change has ever been made in her hull or machinery, her armament alone being changed from time to time, and this continuing to the present, her crew obtains full instruction in everything up to the calibre of the ship, that modern practice requires. The second captain of the Michigan was Stephen Champlin, who commanded the Scorpion of Perry's fleet in the Battle of Lake Erie.

Sixty-five years is a long period of service for a war-ship, but perhaps in the case of this ship it might be said she has had no service. It would not be proper to say this. She did not have hard war service, but she had by no means been idle, and before this chapter is finished it may be learned that she also performed real war service and had her adventure. At the beginning she seemed to be regarded very much in the light of a school for the young officers of the navy, and assignment to the Michigan was a service all were eager to secure. Perhaps it was not alone for the experience to be derived from connection with the representative of Uncle Sam's navy that sailed the unsalted seas. Looking back over that period and permitting the history like a moving-picture show to pass before our gaze, there may be a general condition that will color it with a rosy tint. For here were conditions. Erie, that always boasted of a high order of society, was also famed for the beauty of its daughters. The American navy from the days of Paul Jones had renown for the gallantry of its sons. Here were the foundation elements of romance. The result: for years Erie has been known as the mother-in-law of the American navy. And the title belongs to her. From first to last there have been as many Erie wives of naval officers as the years that number the service of the old ship,—yes, and more.

Besides the work of lending aid in case of distress, which in the olden days was frequently done, there have been occasions when the Michigan was of service in other ways. In the year 1853 it became necessary for the government to take cognizance of the doings of a man named James J. Strang. He was a Mormon. He placed himself at the head of a considerable colony and, setting forth that he had a divine commission as the successor of Joseph Smith, established himself on one of the Beaver Islands in northern Lake Michigan and proclaimed himself king. He went so far as to sink a trading schooner and was carrying things with a high hand. At this juncture orders came to the taken back to Detroit. A little later, 1853 or 1854, there was a threat warlike act was accordingly fully and faithfully performed, Strang being Michigan to go to Detroit, take on the sheriff and arrest the king. This

of a Fenian invasion of Canada from Buffalo, but it was frustrated by the presence of the Michigan. In 1866, however, the Fenian trouble became more serious, for then the invaders did obtain a footing upon Canadian soil and a fight ensued in which several were killed and wounded, but upon the retreat of the Fenians a number of arrests were made by the Michigan, which put an end to the Fenian war. The account of the Michigan's services while guarding the Confederate prisoners at Johnston's Island concludes this chapter.

The roster of the Michigan for the year 1852 shows the following officers: Capt. Bigelow, First Lieutenant McDougal, Second Lieutenant Collins, Third Lieutenant Crossen. The second lieutenant of that time, a citizen of Erie then and for years afterward for he made Erie his home and his children atttended school here, was destined to become a man of far more than ordinary fame—indeed, to attain to distinction. It was during the war of the Rebellion. He had a most excellent record throughout all that great conflict. In 1861 he commanded the Anacosta of the Potomac fleet and was at the engagement of Acquia Creek; in 1862 of the Unadilla of the South Atlantic squadron, took part in the capture of Port Royal; in 1864 as commander of the Octarora in the West India service. It was that year that Commander Napoleon Collins distinguished himself. He was transferred to the Wachusett on special service, and on October 7 entered the port of Bahia, Brazil. It does not appear what his errand there was unless that may be judged from what occurred. At that period there were a number of Confederate privateers scouring the seas and destroying American commerce, and the Government was exceedingly desirous of destroying the destroyers, but no matter how alert the Yankee captains endeavored to be they were not equal—or had not been—to the task of capturing any of these very elusive craft. Commander Collins found the Confederate privateer Florida in the harbor of Bahia. Presumably his orders were to trail her with a view to capturing or sinking her. But Napoleon Collins, seeing the Florida within easy reach choose not to run any chance of losing her. Right there, in that Brazilian port, he went about capturing her and succeeded, and then he conveyed her to Hampton Roads, where she was sunk. Of course this exploit created a stir. The Brazilian government promptly lodged a protest against so flagrant a violation of the neutrality laws, and of course the government at Washington was under the necessity of taking cognizance. Secretary Seward ordered that Collins be tried by court-martial. It is presumed that the enterprising Collins lost nothing by his temerity, for in 1866 he was promoted to captain, in 1871 advanced to commodore, and in 1874 became rear admiral and was given command of the South Pacific squadron and died at Callao August 5, 1895.

For many years the Michigan has been employed in making surveys on the Great Lakes, and also in affording opportunities for instruction and drill to the volunteer naval reserves. Its most important work, how-

ever has been that of recruiting for the navy, and this is kept up to the present time. But, as was stated at the beginning of this chapter, at and during the period of the War of the Rebellion recruiting was a most important service. Early, about sixty young men went to New York to enlist under the command of Lieut. T. H. Stevens, formerly of the Michigan. During the war the old ship was in command of Capt. John C. Carter, and he enlisted upwards of 700 men, who were sent forward in detachments, sometimes to New York, or to Philadelphia or Washington, but many were sent to Natchez or St. Louis or to some one of the river towns that were for the time being headquarters for the gunboat service. These were enlistments of ordinary seamen, but in that great war Erie was represented as well and largely in the lists of naval officers of the time. The lists included these:

Regular officers, U. S. Navy—R. B. Lowry, Thomas H. Stevens, R. N. Spotts, James E. Jouett, James W. Shirk, Leonard Paulding, D. Lauman, Napoleon Collins, Captains and Commanders; W. H. Rutherford, chief engineer; W. Maxwell Wood, surgeon; J. P. Loomis, Walter W. Chester and George A. Lyon, paymasters.

Volunteer service—Masters: John H. Welsh, M. J. Cronin, James C. Marshall, Jr.; Ensigns: A. J. Louch, M. E. Flannigan, Patrick Donnelly, William Slocum, James Hunter, George W. Bone, Felix McCann, Philip Engelhart, James S. Roberts, C. M. Bragg, John Dunlap, Frank Oliver, James Downs, J. M. Reed, John Sullivan, Norman McLeod, Warren Burch, the two Reeds, Patrick Murphy and Braxton Bragg; Engineers: Patrick Maloney, Robert Riley, William Bass, Bennett Jones, P. H. Fales, Jonas Slocum, William Moran, John Miles, George Odell; Gunners: John Murray, William Barton, Thomas Carpenter; Carpenters: J. G. Thomas, John O. Baker; Master's Mates: Patrick Sullivan, Horace Sprague, Robert Roberts, Thomas J. Dunlap, William Marsh, Henry C. Warren, William E. Leonard, Jesse H. Rutherford, Joseph K. Kelso, James Cummins, Henry Van Velsor.

In the summer of 1864, the lake frontier was plunged into a state of feverish excitement and apprehension. There were rumors of threatened attacks upon the lake cities; rumors that the rebels, driven to desperation by their reverses in the south, had planned a diversion to effect the capture of a number of steamers, which were to be manned and armed by Confederate refugees in Canada, and, reinforced by the rebel prisoners at Johnson's Island, these were to attack all the great cities on the lake and destroy them. Here in Erie the alarm was keen, and for a time there was great activity. It did not long endure, however, and many people came to regard the rumor as a cruel canard.

It was not a false report. On the contrary there was ample foundation for it all, but the real extent of the plot is known to but few—how near the desperate rebels came to carrying out their purpose, which for

the beginning was to capture the U. S. steamer Michigan and release the prisoners at Sandusky, and then, with a thorough-going, well-armed naval vessel to range the lakes, destroy at their will everything along the shores—how near it came to being carried out, one who had a hand in foiling the rebel plans still lives to tell, and he has furnished a detailed and reliable account of the whole proceedings. The narrator of the yarn is Capt. James Hunter, who during the time was an officer on the Michigan, that was then engaged in the duty of guarding the harbor of Sandusky and Johnson's Island, at its entrance, where the Union military prison was located. The story of this affair is the history of the most active part played by the Michigan in that famous war.

Recently Capt. Laird, preparing a history of the old ship, asked Capt. Hunter to give an account of the attempt of the rebels to capture her, and the captain furnishes the story appended, which is given in practically his exact words:

Capt. James Hunter, of Erie, Pa., was an ensign in the U. S. navy during the war of the Rebellion, and served on the Great Lakes and on the seaboard during that war. He was on board the U. S. S. Michigan, Great Lakes, from September, 1861, to February, 1862, then ordered to sea, serving on the gunboat Port Royal, with Capt. George U. Morris, who commanded the Cumberland during her engagement with the Merrimac; was ordered back again from about May, 1863, to October, 1864, to the Michigan, Commander John C. Carter, U. S. navy, then in command. Acting Master Martin was executive officer, and the other officers were Ensign Chas E. Eddy, Ensign Pavey, Gunner Murray, Third Assistant Engineers Bennett Jones, Robert Riley and William Baas. Engineers Riley and Baas are still living in Erie.

For those days the armament of the Michigan was considered quite a powerful one. It consisted of fifteen guns—one 68-pounder Paxton gun, smooth bore, pivot, mounted forward; six 30-pounder Parrotts, rifled, forward on spar deck; six 25-pounder Dahlgrens, aft on quarter deck, and two 12-pounder Howitzers, on hurricane deck. The following is the statement of Capt. James Hunter of how the Confederates attempted to capture the U. S. S. Michigan and release the rebel prisoners of war confined on Johnson's Island, Sandusky, Ohio, while the man-of-war was acting as guardship over them:

The U. S. S. Michigan was ordered to go to Johnson's Island, and to report to Commandant Hill to assist in guarding the 2,600 Confederate officers confined as prisoners of war on the island during 1863-64. Upon arrival of the ship took bearings of entrance to channel so as to get the elevation and range and then fired the ship's guns on trial.

The Michigan now commanded the channel and entrance to the harbor. A tug, the Gen. Burnside, was hired to go out each night on patrol duty, Ensign Hunter in charge, with Boatswain's Mate Peter Turley and a complement of men, whose orders were to search every

vessel coming into the harbor, and if necessary signal to the Michigan with rockets that a vessel had refused to stop and be searched. During the day the man-of-war's boats performed this patrol work.

After being at Johnson's Island some time the Michigan's officers were introduced to a Mr. Cole, by a U. S. army officer, while Mr. Cole was stopping at the West House, a Sandusky hotel. There were only three line officers to stand deck duty on board the Michigan, consequently each could only get ashore every third day for two or three hours in the afternoon, as two of these officers must be on board at all times.

"While we were on shore," says Mr. Hunter, "Mr. Cole was always on hand to meet us and gave us every social attention possible in a seeming effort to win our favor, and Ensign Pavey and Mr. Cole formed a very close friendship. Mr. Cole endeavored to lavish his money on us whenever opportunity offered, at one time sending a case of champagne to Mr. Pavey, but the other officers, outside of Mr. Pavey, did not indulge in any of the wine—for their own private reasons. When I went ashore he asked me how I liked the wine. I told him it was sent to Mr. Pavey, therefore Mr. Pavey would have to drink it. He said he sent it to all the wardroom officers, and that he would send us another case, which he did, evidently to gain our favor. The single case, however, was all the wine that ever came aboard, notwithstanding other stories. Subsequently Ensign Pavey was, for neglect of duty, detached from the ship and ordered to the seaboard, and Mr. Cole lost his most intimate friend on the Michigan."

There had been a great many rumors that the Confederates would make a bold attempt to capture the Michigan and release the rebel prisoners on Johnson's Island, and Ensign Hunter was sent under secret orders several times to visit the Welland canal, Port Stanley and Detroit, because he could pass as a Canadian, having sailed much on the Great Lakes, and being familiar with these places, his orders being to investigate if there was any truth in these rumors of Confederate plots.

On one occasion he was ordered in the forenoon to go to Detroit, to investigate a rumor there, that the Confederates were coming to take the Michigan. Before starting, while Ensign Hunter was at lunch, Capt. Carter sent his orderly, Private Snyder, who said:

"The captain wishes to see you in the cabin."

Ensign Hunter promptly reported in the cabin, when the captain said: "Mr. Hunter, you need not go, for here is a telegraphic dispatch that the rebels are coming on the steamer Philo Parsons from Detroit, and that some of our ship's officers are traitors; that you are to be poisoned, and that Mr. Eddy and Mr. Murray are to be put out of the way, and that Mr. Cole is a spy!"

Ensign Hunter replied: "Captain, I am a thorough Union man, who, upon orders from the secretary of the navy, paid my own fare to New York to enter the service. As for Mr. Martin: he is from Connecticut,

and I will vouch for him. Mr. Eddy is from Rhode Island, and is true blue. Mr. Jones, engineer, is a Welshman, and is thoroughly loyal. Mr. Riley has been twenty years in the navy, and I'll guarantee him; I know him well, and Mr. Baas is a German by descent, and is a true Union man."

The captain said: "Do you know this man Cole?"

"Yes, sir, I do."

"What acquaintance have you had with him?"

"I asked him where he belonged; he said Philadelphia; that his mother was a widow; that he was dealing in oil stock at Enniskillen, Canada, and he wanted me to resign from the naval service and go as captain of the schooner Fremont, and take a load of oil to Liverpool, England."

The captain said: "Mr. Hunter, get your side arms on and come ashore with me in the gig to call on Commandant Hill!"

After a consultation with Commandant Hill in regard to the dispatch, it was finally agreed that the Michigan should continue to guard the entrance to the harbor, and watch out for the arrival of the steamer Philo Parsons, and that the commandant would send an armed military force to watch the railroads and telegraph lines at Sandusky, for fear the rebels might come by rail. The program was faithfully carried out both by Capt. Carter and Commandant Hill.

Speaking of what followed, Mr. Hunter says: "I was ordered to return on board with the gig, tell the executive officer, Mr. Martin, to get the ship ready for action, send the gig back for Capt. Carter, then take the barge, arm myself with a revolver, go ashore and arrest the spy—Cole—and bring him on board ship. After departing from the commandant's office, his orderly ran after me and said:

" 'You are wanted back at headquarters!'

"I returned immediately, and was told not to take a revolver, but to arrest the spy quietly, as he was certain to have accomplices.

"I then went on board the Michigan and delivered my orders to the executive officer, took the barge and went ashore to Sandusky. Peter Turley was coxswain of the barge, and Peter Shufell, later a policeman at Erie, James Brown, John Dougherty, still living in Erie, and William Grant, now on the Erie police force, were among the members of the barge's crew. Just as I was leaving the ship in command of the barge, Richard Gregory, captain's steward, now living in Erie, who had been on shore, told me that Mr. Cole wanted to see me.

"Upon landing I ordered Coxswain Pete Turley to turn the barge around, bow out, and the boat's crew to sit ready at their oars, and for Coxswain Turley to follow me.

"I said to Turley: 'Now, there is going to be some trouble shortly, and I want you to stand by to help me. If you hear me give that

peculiar long, sharp, Australian whistle of mine—Co-o-o-o-o! Whee-e!!—you come at once, as I am going up stairs in the West House.'

"On reaching Cole's room I found it was empty. I thought the bird had flown, and as I had in my orders previous to this time authority to use the telegraph lines and railroads if I wanted them, I ran down to the hotel clerk, and asked: 'How long since Cole left?'

" 'He is all ready to leave, but just now he is in parlor B.'

"On going into parlor B, I found the spy—Cole—putting on his shirt, his supposed wife sitting already dressed for traveling, and their trunks all packed and ready for a start.

"He was glad to see me and said: 'Did you receive my message from Mr. Gregory? Take a drink,' he said, 'out of the demijohn.'

"He insisted on my taking a drink several times, so I took a swallow in my mouth, but was afraid that it might be drugged, and pretending I had a chew of tobacco in my mouth, I choked and coughed, then went to the spittoon and spat the liquor into it.

" 'Take another, Hunter,' said Cole.

"I replied, 'After you, Cole.'

"He took one, and as I did not want to arouse his suspicions, I took a drink, thinking if he could stand it I could, but I was careful to see that he swallowed his before drinking myself.

"Cole then told his wife he had some business to attend to and that he would return in a few minutes, but he never came back. 'Come on, Mr. Hunter,' he said, and we both went to the bank, Coxswain Turley following in our wake, dodging from lamp post to lamp post. Cole drew out $900 in gold. We came back to the West House and a U. S. army officer from the island asked us to take a drink. We had one and then I treated. I then, in a familiar and friendly way, took Cole by the arm, and while walking toward the barge, I said:

" 'What's up, Cole? Gregory told me you wanted to see me.'

"He said: 'I'm going to have a little private party this afternoon, a short distance out in the country, and I want you to go along and have a good time.'

"I told him that I could not go without the executive officer's permission but if he would wait at the dock I would go on board and get it. Cole's purpose was to get the officers away and disable the ship.

"By that time we were at the boat. I still held him by the arm, and Turley was close behind us. I gave Cole a quick push from behind, and away he tumbled into the barge. I followed close after him, and Coxswain Turley jumped into the stern and took the tiller.

"I gave the order, 'Give way!'

"Cole shouted, 'No, no! No, no! Put me back! Put me back!'

"I said: 'You are all right where you are, Cole, and we'll have a good time this afternoon. Give way, men!'

"He told the men, 'Pull lively, then, and I'll treat you all when we get back to the dock!'

"On arriving alongside the ship the sentry at the gangway, told me to bring the prisoner into the cabin.

"Cole, who was a small man, had lost his nerve and wilted, and I took hold of him and assisted him into the cabin. Capt. Carter said to him: 'I suppose you know why you are arrested, Cole?'

"Cole said: 'Captain, if you will give me just five minutes private conversation with you, I will explain everything.'

"Capt. Carter replied: 'No, I guess not. Mr. Hunter here is an officer and has arrested you. Search him, Mr. Hunter!"

"I then put my hand in his hip pocket, took out his revolver, cocked it, handed it to Capt. Carter, and told him to cover Cole with it. Then I proceeded to strip Cole naked, the captain covering him meanwhile with the revolver.

"After searching the pockets of the prisoner, and taking all letters, papers and valuables from his clothes, he was told to dress, and Sergt. of Marines Stevenson was called and ordered to put him in irons in a room in the wardroom.

"On searching the papers taken from him we found his commission as a major in the Confederate army. We also found the names of seven men belonging to Sandusky, who were his accomplices, also that of a U. S. regular army captain stationed at Columbus, Ohio. Some were to cut the telegraph wires, and others to spike the guns at Sandusky. Then, going ashore and reporting to Commandant Hill what we had found on the prisoner spy—Cole— the commandant caused the immediate arrest of the seven Sandusky citizens and the U. S. army officer.

"Capt. Carter ordered Mr. Martin to go ashore in the cutter, and bring aboard from the West House all of Cole's trunks and effects. When brought on board they were soon searched and contents noted.

"The Michigan had been cleared for action—guns loaded, steam on the engines, anchor hove short, and officers and men at their stations—waiting for the arrival of the steamer Philo Parsons, which did not arrive at Sandusky. There were reasons for her non-arrival."

To begin with, the Philo Parsons took on twenty-five barrels of coal tar at Detroit as a part of her cargo, and a large wooden box. On coming down the river, twenty miles from Detroit, at a place called Malden, as usual, she stopped for passengers, and among the large number of passengers taken on board there were the daring and desperate Confederate raiders, Beale in command, who was afterwards hanged. As soon as they were on board they broke open the before-mentioned wooden box, which was full of arms and ammunition. They then armed themselves, took charge of the steamer, stationed their own men in the pilot house and engine room, made the crew and real passengers close prisoners in the hold, then proceeded on their way toward Sandusky.

On nearing Sandusky, and not getting the pre-arranged signal from the spy—Cole—the Parsons dared not venture into the harbor, as Cole had expected to have most of the Michigan's officers on shore at that time, and then signal to the Parsons that all was in readiness for the capture of the man-of-war.

The rebels upon entering the harbor, intended to set fire to the coal tar, and while the Parsons was burning they expected the Michigan to send all of her ship's boats to rescue the passengers—the supposed passengers being the rebels on board—as the crew and real passengers, men and women, were confined in the hold, and would have been burned to death. The Michigan's boats' crews not being armed, the rebels had planned not to allow them to come on board the Michigan, but either demand their surrender as prisoners of war, or turn the ship's great guns on them and sink them in their boats. But that part of their desperate plan to capture the Michigan never took place, for want of the pre-arranged signal from Cole, the spy.

Failing to get the signal and judging something had gone wrong, the steamer Parsons turned round and went to Kelley's Island. From there she proceeded to Middle Bass Island, and there they put the women passengers ashore, and made the men passengers carry wood on board for fuel. While lying there the steamer Island Queen, on her regular route to Toledo, with 100 volunteer Union soldiers on board, going there to be mustered out, their time having expired, came alongside the Philo Parsons at night time, it being very dark. She was captured by the rebels, and the Union soldiers were put in the hold as prisoners. The engineer of the Island Queen, while the capture was going on, the rebels having stationed themselves in all parts of the vessel, continued to work his engines so they would not stop on the center. The rebels ordered him to stop the engines at once. Not doing it, and looking out into the dark to see who gave the orders, he was shot in the face, the ball entering alongside the nose and coming out near the ear. The engineer afterwards endeavored to get a pension from the government for this wound, which bothered him considerably, but it was never granted.

The rebels then made a hawser fast to the steamer Island Queen, broke the sea-cock in the engine room which feeds the boiler, so that the water would rush in and sink the vessel, and then they cast her adrift in the darkness of night on Lake Erie. They then proceeded with all speed back to Detroit, where they took clothing and shoes off the captured passengers, broke up the piano in the cabin on board, then scuttled and sank the Philo Parsons on the Canadian side of the Detroit river, and went ashore on Canadian soil.

The Michigan's history after the ship was cleared for action, waiting for the arrival of the steamer Philo Parsons, is as follows. All hands stood at their guns at quarters, during the night until very early in the morning when the ship got under way and proceeded out of the harbor and went to Kelley's Island. There she heard that the steamer

Philo Parsons had been captured by the rebels. On inquiring what direction she took, Capt. Carter was told that she went under full steam to the north'ard. The Michigan then proceeded at full speed in the same direction. When between Marblehead and South Bass Island, a row boat was picked up with the clerk of the steamer Philo Parsons in it. He was rowing on his way to tell the Michigan what had happened, and from him was got the information of some of the doings of the "rebs" on the Parsons. Going a little further, another rowboat was picked up, coming from Put-in Bay. In it was the son of old Ossawatomie (John) Brown, who was hanged at Harper's Ferry. He was coming to tell the Michigan about the rebel raider's doings after capturing the Parsons. Capt. Carter sent him back to Put-in Bay, thanking him for his efforts to furnish the information.

The Michigan then proceeded at full speed to the mouth of Detroit river, hailing a schooner that came out of the river, asking if she had seen the Philo Parsons. The captain of the schooner answered: "No!" The Michigan then went to Bar Point and hailed a tug, which had just come down the river, asking if the Philo Parsons had been seen up the river, but the captain of the tug answered "No!"

Capt. Carter then called a consultation of the ship's officers in the cabin to decide what further to do. Not knowing of the whereabouts of the Parsons, or how many guns she might have on, it was thought that she might go to Cleveland, or to some other of the lake cities, or possibly might capture some large lake steamer, and turn into a commerce destroyer on the Great Lakes. As a result of this consultation it was finally decided to return to Sandusky. On their way back the steamer Island Queen was seen aground on Chickenolee reef, she having drifted there after being scuttled and cast adrift by the raiders. When the Michigan arrived at Sandusky the officers heard of the sinking of the Parsons in the Detroit river.

Cole, the spy, had told of a man living in Sandusky, who acted as messenger between him and the rebel raiders in Canada. Sergt. of Marines Stevenson, with a guard of marines, went on shore and arrested this traitor and brought him as a prisoner on board the Michigan, which then steamed to Johnson's Island, anchored, and resumed the previous duty of guarding the island and the rebel prisoners there.

Afterwards Gen. Dix came and held an investigation at the West House, Sandusky, examining Capt. Carter and Ensign Hunter. Some time after this, Capt. Carter was ordered to appear before the United States court at Cleveland. When he returned on board the Michigan, he ordered Ensign Hunter to go to Clevland and report before the same court. There Mr. Hunter saw Cole, the spy, his supposed wife, clerk of the steamer Philo Parsons, engineer of the Island Queen, captains of both steamers and others. The result was that Cole was sent to Fort Lafayette, and Beale, the daring commander of the rebel raiders, was hung. The captain of the Island Queen died only a short time ago.

CHAPTER XXXI.—MINUTE MEN AND CONSCRIPTS.

REBEL ALARMS.—THE GETTYSBURG SCARE.—THREATS OF INVASION BY LAKE.—THE HOME GUARDS.—THE THREE DRAFTS.

People of middle age living today can have but an extremely vague idea of the intensity of feeling that prevailed during the four years of the war of the Rebellion. Erie was a long way removed from the scene of activity, which at no time approached nearer than Gettysburg, and that, though an invasion of the state, was hundreds of miles from this lake city. But yet there was the keenest tension of feeling prevalent here; anxiety, apprehension, fear. Hundreds of Erie boys and men were at the front, and every day brought a fresh burden of anxiety—cumulative it seemed—upon the sort of logic, that, having been spared in previous engagements, each succeeding battle lessened the chance of eventual escape from the deadly bullet or the fearful havoc of the bursting shell. And there was the dread apprehension of calamity impending. It did not always go well with the Union cause; too many times during the first two years at least, was it true that victory had perched upon the Confederate banners, and while all tried bravely to have faith in the ultimate triumph of the Union cause, there were occasions when faith was sorely tried and apprehension made the heart flutter and feel sore.

And then the bulletin boards after the news of a great battle had been received! The hundreds of ghastly faces that haunted them, waiting to see posted the names of those who had fallen in the fight—oh, it was agonizing at times! Then the long lists that were written of names taken from the rolls by Confederate bullets in the Virginia battle fields, and the breaking hearts of those who read in the posted list the names of father or brother or son who had gone down before the awful fire and would never return! No; we who live today can form but an imperfect idea of the state of feeling that then prevailed, for we have never since had anything to compare with those terrible dark days of the war of the Rebellion. Our experience in the war with Spain, and the trouble in the Philippines is as nothing with what that was.

But here in Erie we were not without apprehension, that bordered close upon fear. It was not the fear of the draft, though that car-

ried terror into many homes as the necessities of the government demanded recruits and took them whether willing or not. It was fear from another cause and I will try to tell about it and what effect it had upon Erie.

The year 1864 was marked by a turning of the tide at the front. Grant had inaugurated his hammering campaign in Virginia and Sherman had started upon his march to Atlanta and the sea. There were losses. Bulletins continued to tell how Erie boys were yielding up their lives at Spottsylvania, in the Wilderness, and in the gallant fights from Chickamauga to Atlanta, but the news of the time encouraged all kinds of hope; for though the battles were fierce and the carnage fearful the Union forces were steadily advancing and the end seemed to be promised. But all was not over yet, for the cloud of the draft came over the people and the terrible suggestions of it.

I was then a lad of fifteen; too young to be a soldier, but for the Union, and ours was a Union household though not a one was an eligible, unless, indeed, the head of the house should become a volunteer, for he could not have been drafted—he was not then a citizen. But one night he came home with a musket on his shoulder and a belt about his waist which had the insignia "U. S." on the buckle and upon the cartridge box attached. There was consternation and grief instantly. Father had enlisted. Let me make haste to state, however, that the grief was not universal. It did not include the sterner sex. While my mother overflowed in tears and the children were silent, the boys of the family, at least the oldest of us, secretly felt a pride in that musket and a joy to think that our father was to be one of those to resist the rebels; and our fingers itched to handle that gun—as a matter of fact, before we were driven off to bed that night each in turn had a chance to put that mighty old fusee upon his shoulder and march across the floor. But my mother was not silently tearful. She had words of expostulation. Why should he, who was only a newcomer in this country, enlist into the American army, she was saying. For I must here state that it was considerably within a year that we had come from Canada.

That, however, did not signify much, and I remember that in my mind it seemed an argument of but little weight, for, boy though I was, I knew more than one of the older boys of my acquaintance who had crossed the border and enlisted in the service of the United States. From the school which I attended, (St. George's, it was named), I knew one who had become a sailor in the gunboat service of the Southern rivers and had yielded up his life; another, one of the big boys, had run away and at Detroit enlisted to be a drummer boy; one of the young men I knew as an officer of the Sunday school I attended had bravely died at Port Hudson, and among the greatest heroes in the eyes of all the boys of St. George's was the uncle of a class-mate, a captain of the Yankee army, who paid a visit to his

home town during a furlough, and, with another, whose rank was major, but who lived in the southern part of the city, attracted more attention than the hundreds of British soldiers stationed there at that time did altogether. It is a fact that there was an intense spirit of attachment to the cause of the United States in that Canadian city. And this notwithstanding the fact there were two regiments of British infantry and half as many more of other arms of the military service—artillery, engineers and cavalry—barracked there at the time. Boys are impressionable creatures. They quickly hear, and are profoundly impressed by, what their elders say. And they can remember. My memory of the happenings in this regard seems to me today to be pretty clear. And what I had heard and observed produced convictions—convictions that have been lasting. I can remember the impressive effect produced upon me when the red-coated Sixty-third regiment marched down Wellington street after its splendid band. But it was a far deeper impression that resulted when I saw Major Magee walking along Richmond street in his soiled uniform of blue and observed all eyes turned toward him and heard the suppressed remarks of those who lined the walks, "He is a Yankee soldier on leave."

Therefore, to me it did not seem an improper or an unreasonable thing that my father, who had ever been in speech an enthusiastic supporter of the cause of the American Union, should shoulder a musket in its behalf, even though he were freshly from Canada.

But (don't laugh, though it may be a standing joke among the veterans who "saw service") his enlistment was in the home guards.

The organization of a company of home guards in the fall of 1864, mention of which was made above, was not the first call for minute men from Erie to come forward to the defence of the State against invasion. It was in fact the last, for on three previous occasions calls had been made and promptly responded to. The first occurred in September 1862, when the State authorities became alarmed for the safety of Harrisburg and a hasty call was sent out to all parts of the State. Six companies were at once got together including a number of the leading business men of the city and the contingent of minute men proceeded to the State capital. Happily there was no necessity for any fighting, and all returned early in October.

It was rather different however, less than a year later. No community kept much closer watch upon developments at the front than Erie did. At the time there were three regiments from Erie, serving in Virginia, and here we were almost as well posted regarding the movements, not only of our own men, but of the enemy as well. Early in June it became known that Lee, with a vast army, had set out to invade Pennsylvania. The intelligence, when it reached here, carried terror with it; the very mention of Lee's bold campaign suggested fearful things, and his boastful declaration that he would water his horse in Lake Erie made many a man apprehensive. He had

been able to enter Pennsylvania, what was there, then, to prevent his sweeping the entire length and breadth of the State. Erie county was worked to a high pitch of excitement, and when Gov. Curtin made an urgent appeal for militia to defend the State, instantly measures were taken to effectively respond. A monster meeting was held here at which earnest speeches were made by Messrs. Lowry, Sill, Galbraith, Walker, Marvin, McCreary and others, pointing out the duty of all citizens to rise up and drive out the invaders. About 400 enlisted and at once they were conveyed to Pittsburg, when they reached there, however, they were met with the intelligence that the battle of Gettysburg had been fought, the Confederates beaten and they were being pursued through Virginia by the victorious Union hosts.

Here, at home, there was intense relief, and perhaps even more than relief was felt by hundreds who were for a time in abject fear, not only for what might happen even here, so far away from the scene of strife, but for the safety not alone of the men who had been for long doing active service under the flag, but of those undisciplined men who had gone out upon the hasty call. The experience, however, did much to solidify the feeling of determination on the part of Erie people to defend their state against invasion. The home guard spirit, implanted in loyal breasts, did not die. On the contrary, it endured, confirmed by the stories of heroic deeds performed on Pennsylvania soil, and of the splendid services and untimely death in that famous battle of some of the best and bravest of Erie's young men.

There was no organization, but the spirit endured. About a year later the rumor was circulated that the rebels had set out to make another invasion and that their object was to capture Pittsburg and destroy the plant at which the cannon used by the Union Army were made. It was a well defined rumor, given with so much of circumstantial detail that there was a genuine uprising. A meeting was held at the court house and speeches made, and it was agreed that the ringing of the court house bell should be a signal for all to gather at the railroad station, prepared to go forward. The very next day the bell was rung.

Strange to relate, at this present time there is no agreement in the stories of that occurrence. Among those still living who hurried to the station that morning, is Mr. C. C. Shirk. He had returned from service in the river gunboat fleet, and the call for men to defend Pittsburg found him among the first to report at the station. He describes the gathering as a remarkable outpouring. From city and country; from every nearby town, they came. They reported just as they left their labor or their homes. Their hands were empty. Not a weapon was to be seen, nor any provisions upon which to subsist. There were no leaders. It was simply a mob. No one directed the movement and there were no known orders or plan.

Into the cars in waiting they piled themselves. When the passenger coaches were filled freight cars were pressed into service and the men were packed into them. Then they were off.

The route brought them first to Cleveland, where a change of cars to another road was necessary, and there was some delay. But at length the second stage of the journey was entered upon. From what source the orders came to the railroads, who was planning the movement, what the program was, the thousands who composed that rabble knew not. So far as Mr. Shirk can say there were none. But yet they went forward. And it is not improper to speak of it as a rabble, for such it verily was. Men who at home were models of good order and propriety, out on that excursion seemed to cut themselves loose and there was no sort of a prank they were not ready to lend themselves to. In the party was a contingent composed of Allegheny College boys, from Meadville. They were leaders in all sorts of deviltries, practicing mischief purely for the sake of being mischievous.

The run from Cleveland to Pittsburg was made in the night and it was just as day was breaking that disaster was narrowly averted. As the train was running alongside the Ohio but a short distance outside of Pittsburg a number of freight cars, filled with the home defenders, left the track and were turned over. One rolled over and over down the embankment and stopped only at the water's edge. No one was injured. But the incident afforded opportunities. That coterie of college boys set out upon a raid as foragers. Every henroost in the vicinity was depopulated, and the plunder useless because there were neither facilities nor time for cooking it, was carried back into the cars and wantonly and cruelly wasted.

At length the home guard troops arrived in Pittsburg, to the surprise and wonderment of the inhabitants. Who were they? What were they? Why were they? No one could answer. And yet some one must have expected them; someone must have directed them. For by a concert of action not at all understood but acted upon only by a sort of common impulse, the crowd moved to the market house and were fed. Then they proceeded to the eastern part of the city and were halted at Herron Hill. That might have been the hill the King of France encountered, for the proceeding was the same. There the force was turned. By experiences that in some sense duplicated those of the outward trip the return was made and all arrived safely at home.

But what would have been the profit if Pittsburg really was to be invaded? What benefit would have been derived from such a mob? This, Mr. Shirk says, is a problem that has been unsolved by him to this day.

The recollection of Mr. Richard Gaggin of that expedition differs considerably from that of Mr. Shirk; and yet they were mates during its entire period. According to Mr. Gaggin the turn-out was shameful-

ly small, at least from Erie. And then, his recollection is that there was one head and moving spirit, John W. Douglas, collector of internal revenue for the Erie district. There were deputies or lieutenants selected, but they failed in time of need. And there was a pretty well devised plan, though it was not required to be put in operation, for it was found that the rebels had changed their plans and turned towards Harper's Ferry. Many of the volunteer guards offered their services to proceed across the Maryland line and pursue the enemy, but the general commanding declared there was no need, and as the volunteers were business and professional men who had left their occupation in status quo he directed all to return to their homes declaring he would call for them when needed. Doubtless Mr. Gaggin's story is correct. He was in a good position to learn the ins and outs of the business.

To the great majority of that crusade, however, it was as it seemed to Mr. Shirk, and putting the best face possible upon the situation it was an interposition of Providence that these minute men were not compelled to face rebel bullets.

These occurrences had to do with sections of the state distant from Erie, and the defenders that proceeded to Pittsburg were not the real home guards. The service in which my father enlisted that day in 1864 was quite a different matter. It concerned Erie. This is how it came about:

Canada, you may remember, was spoken of above as a country in which there was existent a strong feeling of sympathy with the side of the Northern people in that dreadful struggle of four years. It was, however, also strictly neutral and all sorts of people, fleeing from the United States upon one pretext or another, found a ready asylum there. Bounty jumpers, evaders of the draft, deserters and Confederates in large numbers were to be found in all parts of Canada. I was personally acquainted with two Southern Confederates, printers, who were employed in the office where I served as devil. One of them was a Memphian, the other belonged to Natchez, and I knew of their frequently having callers who came to make appointments of some sort, the nature of which I could only guess, and I guessed because of the office gossip prevalent.

Now in the summer of 1864, with Grant pressing on to Richmond and Sherman making

" * * a thoroughfare
For freedom and her train,"

through Georgia to the sea there came stories of plots being hatched by the rebels in Canada, and these stories at length took tangible form. The feasibility of the alleged plans impressed everyone living

on the border with the probability of the stories, and when at length rumor had it that the rebels had captured a propeller near Buffalo and another at the upper end of the lake, and that they were about to convert them into gunboats and attack every city on the American shore, alarm became acute.

Erie was stirred up perhaps more than any other lake city. It had reason to be. Its "finest harbor" offered the enemy a splendid location for a navy yard. Its central position on the lake was an advantage that an enemy might be expected to eagerly avail himself of. Therefore the alarm spread swiftly. It was then the real home guard movement was inaugurated. It was then that the citizens, high and low, old and young, came out as by one impulse and prepared to defend their homes.

One of the first measures undertaken was a means of defense for the harbor and the plan immediately adopted was to erect a hasty fortification that would command the entrance to the bay. At that time Mr. Gustave Brevillier was engaged in the manufacture of soap and candles and his factory stood on the southeast corner of Sixth and Holland streets. One morning he heard the sound of the drum and martial music, and going to the door of his factory, he discovered a company of men approaching, marching by twos, each with a shovel or a pick upon his shoulder. As they passed the commander of the company hailed him.

"Fall in, Brevillier. Get a shovel and fall in."

He did so. Out Sixth street the party proceeded, to Ash Lane, then, turning their course northward they continued until they reached the high point of land just east of where the blockhouse now stands on the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home grounds.

There Capt. C. F. Mueller was in command. For many years he was a picturesque figure in this community, popular even beyond the limits of the German colony. He was in command. He had been a soldier in the German army and was skilled as an artillerist. He was directing the work which consisted of constructing an earthwork fort. And such a company of volunteer fort builders! Mr. Brevillier found, next to him, digging in the clay with which the defense was to be made, Bishop Young, of the Catholic church, who was wielding the shovel with characteristic zeal. Nearby Col. Bliss was swinging a pick, and W. L. Scott was propelling a wheelbarrow. Democracy was triumphant at that spot. The best measure of a man at that time was his ability to work and all ranks were leveled in the evident desire to make a record.

Capt. W. F. Lutje, of the volunteer artillery, was at home on sick leave. He was recovering from a severe wound. Detailed to superintend the work, he was in attendance. The fort had been designed by Major W. F. Raynolds, of the engineer corps of the regular army, who had been superintendent of lighthouse construction. The work

was therefore well planned. It was as skillfully executed. But it was not the work of one day. The better part of a week was required to complete it, and in that time the "prominent citizen" of nearly every name and interest had had a hand in erecting the defense.

It was a well chosen position. No better for the time could have been selected, for it commanded the entrance to the harbor and had a splendid advantage in the matter of elevation. But what of the equipment? That was amply provided.

Let it not be thought for a moment that the scare about the rebel invasion from the north was a purely local affair. Far from it. The state government and the government at Washington had a watchful eye toward the north. No portion of the entire lake coast of the United States appeared to be in especial danger, except that of Lake Erie, and the government seemed to believe it was in reality menaced by the Confederates, driven to desperation by their reverses in the south. Therefore the action taken by the Erie citizens in making the fortification on the garrison ground was heartily seconded by the powers that then were. Knapp's battery of artillery was ordered to Erie to equip the fort, and from Ohio there were several companies of volunteer infantry sent to Erie to be of service here.

But those who carried the muskets; what of them? Who is there remaining to this day that can tell? I have thus far searched in vain for one who remembers more than the merest fragment of a story about the home guard infantry. There are survivors, to be sure, but their memory of the doings of the time are vague and uncertain. I asked Alderman Walther about it. He was one of them. He attended the drills. In the evening he learned to march and acquired knowledge of the manual of arms.

"Who was in command?" I asked. There memory failed. "I ought to remember," he said, "but I cannot recollect." Strange, is it not, that matters at the time of so great moment should by and by drift into complete forgetfulness? The captain and drill-master of the Erie Home Guards was Captain John Graham, of the Eighty-third Regiment, then home because his term of enlistment had expired.

My own recollection is that there were drills two evenings in each week in Empire Hall. That is on the uppermost floor of the Isaac Baker building at the corner of Fifth and State streets. The drills occurred there, but every gun was carried home by the member of the guard with whom it was entrusted, for these minute men were required to be ready for instant service whenever the alarm should be given. And they did hold themselves in readiness, and continued alert until a northern winter rendered further watchfulness unnecessary.

When spring returned and the waters of the lake were again navigable there was no longer need for the minute men's services. The war was at an end. Fear and apprehension gave place to delirious

joy, and the memory of that dreadful time passed as a horrid dream.

That mud fort, built in such feverish haste by so many of Erie's distinguished citizens, but never ornamented with a gun, gradually faded away as the elements acted upon it and as vegetation persistently encroached. But it was traceable for as much as twenty years—perhaps more. It was an earnest of what the despised home guards might be depended upon to do—it was proof that when the emergency arose Erie would not be without a man to stand up for it. There were many men not cowards who remained at home during that war period, and occasion might have demonstrated it right here in Erie.

Erie had responded nobly to each call that had been made for men to defend the Government, but as time passed the demands increased. The first call, at the breaking out of the war, for 75,000 men for three months, was responded to from Erie by the organization of the Erie regiment under Col. McLane. The second call was for 300,000 men for three years, and responding to this, there went out from this part of the state the Eighty-third and One Hundred and Eleventh regiments. In July, 1862, the third call of President Lincoln, for 300,000 more, was issued and responding, the One Hundred and Forty-fifth Regiment took the field, besides several companies of cavalry. But it was not enough to meet the requisition, and therefore a draft was decided upon. Now, while there were many, very many, loyal and true men in the county, there were also many, perhaps also loyal and true, but lacking in courage, and the announcement that there was to be a conscription had a very natural effect. There was consternation. Every effort within the power of the authorities to render a draft unnecessary was tried. The offers of bounties for enlistment of $50, made by the city of Erie, and $25,000 appropriated by the county commissioners, it was hoped might stimulate recruiting so that a draft could be avoided. It did not, however, and an enrolment of the militia was made, preliminary to the conscription, I. B. Gara having charge of this work. W. P. Gilson was appointed a deputy marshal to prevent the escape to Canada of men subject to draft; B. B. Vincent was commissioner to manage the draft and Dr. C. Brandes surgeon.

The first draft was held at the courthouse October 16, 1862, and 1,055 men were drawn, representing the entire county except North East and Springfield, those townships having filled their quotas. For a time there was lively hustling to procure substitutes, the market quotations ranging from $50 to $250 each, and even at these prices not many were to be found. The state act provided that the payment of $300 would relieve conscripts from service, and not a few who were well enough off to raise the money did so and staid at home. But there were many who neither bought substitutes, paid the state fee, nor stayed at home. The deputy marshal was not vigilant enough to prevent their escape to Canada. Besides, about 300 were exempted

because of physical disability, so that scarcely more than 500 men went forward to recruit the depleted ranks of the army. The councils of Erie appropriated $45,000 for the relief of the families of the drafted men, and the Ladies' Aid Societies furnished a Thanksgiving dinner for each of the families.

The second draft which occurred at Waterford on August 24th and 25th, 1863. This was conducted under the United States law which took the matter of conscription out of the hands of the states. Lieut.-Col. H. S. Campbell, late of the Eighty-third Regiment, was serving as Provost Marshal for this Congressional District and the draft took place at his office in Waterford, with Jerome Powell of Elk county as commissioner and Dr. John Macklin of Jefferson as surgeon. The draft was for 1,400 men, but the net result was very much short of that figure. According to statements in the newspapers of the time, 83 furnished substitutes, 245 furnished commutation, 706 were exempted and but 127 went forward.

In October, 1863, President Lincoln issued his fourth call for recruits—for 300,000 more; in October, 1864, the fifth call, for 500,000, was issued, and in January, 1865, the sixth and last, requiring 300,000 additional. There had of course been recruiting in progress in Erie county, but nothing like enough to supply its proportion of what the State of Pennsylvania was called upon to furnish. Another draft became imperative and this occurred at Ridgway on March 6, 1865, the Provost Marshal's office having been removed here from Waterford. The excitement of the people that this draft provoked was, in Erie, much more intense than that which had characterized either of the others. This was accounted for by the fact that 2,010 names had been drawn for Erie county, and the list from which the draft had been made was not permitted to include any previously disqualified. But, notwithstanding the fact that to all appearances the war was near its end, Atlanta and all of Georgia having been taken, and, in Virginia the scene of action so circumscribed that Richmond and Petersburg were all that were left to be conquered and these in a desperate way, there was intense apprehension prevalent, and on the morning when the list of the drafted had been received at the office of the *Dispatch* on Fifth street, a dense throng of thousands had gathered. Upon almost every face anxiety was depicted, and upon hundreds grief succeeded as the names were read from the second story window of the newspaper office. There was many a distressing scene in that congested thoroughfare that March morning, and later there was active going to and fro to obtain substitutes, for this was a draft with no string attached. In an occasional instance as much as $1,500 was paid for a substitute and in numerous cases $800 and $900. Most of this draft went forward, but practically all were back again in their homes in June, for the war ended in a month after the conscription had taken place.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE WAR DEBT PAID.

THE COUNTY SCRIP AND HOW IT WON OUT.—THE END OF THE WAR. —HOW THE NEWS CAME AND THE CELEBRATION.

The war was an expensive thing, not alone to the general government, which had the great bulk of all the war expense to bear, but every other lesser division was also involved separately, and Erie county, in common with every other county of the northern states, heaped up a stupendous indebtedness in an almost incredibly short space of time. It is not a difficult matter to account for this condition of affairs. The county of Erie was required to furnish its proportion of the troops demanded by the government at Washington for the prosecution of the war. If the soldiers came forward from motives of pure patriotism and volunteered their services there was not much expense to the county connected with the business, and at first the recruiting was upon this basis. Men felt it to be a duty on their part to tender their services, and even more, to their country in the time of need. In the course of time, however, there was a great deal more reluctance on the part of young men to enlist. The danger incident to the service, and the hardship inseparable from it, known to and understood by those still at home, were naturally feared, and it required more than patriotic speeches, no matter how able the orators, to overcome the reluctance of those who might enlist but did not feel the demand of duty drawing strong enough. The men must be had; it was imperative that they should. Therefore, it became necessary to offer inducements, and this the county commissioners at length decided to do. As early as 1862 offers of bounties of $50 to each recruit were made, and it became necessary also to appropriate large sums for the equipment of regiments. As the time passed the bounty rate increased until toward the end the county paid as much as $300 for a single enlistment and the State act was amended to allow as high as $400 for each volunteer.

There was no ready money in the county treasury to meet this extraordinary demand, therefore warrants were issued. As these bore 6 per cent interest they were readily accepted by the people, who cashed them for the recruits, at a discount if they could, at par if they had to. By the beginning of the year 1864 the amount of indebtedness of the county

on account of war expenses, and represented by the outstanding warrants, was over $400,000.

The question of providing for this debt had become one of great moment, engaging the attention of the citizens in general but especially of the county commissioners. To the latter the financial condition of the county assumed a most serious aspect. Besides the $400,000, owing on account of the war expenses, there was a railroad debt of $200,000, representing the county's subscription to the stock of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad, and the indebtedenss for the new court house (finished in 1853), of between $50,000 and $60,000. All told the indebtedness of the county was $700,000. This was the situation the latter half of the year 1863. Considering that this was, none of it, definitely provided for, and that there was over $400,000 consisting of floating warrants, it is not to be marveled at that there was a good deal of thought bestowed upon the subject by the commissioners.

Garner Palmer, of Albion, chairman of the board, and Seymour Washburn, of McKean, occupied the same room at the Zimmerly house on South Park Row, and it often occurred that, after having retired at night they would, lying in bed, discuss ways and means of taking care of the county debt. At that time the United States treasury note, known as the greenback, had become the sole currency medium of the country. There was a suggestion in this to the commissioners seeking for a way out of the trouble. Why not adopt a similar expedient and issue county notes? It was Mr. Palmer's suggestion and Mr. Washburn was not slow to agree with his colleague that it was a good plan. The next day they laid the matter before Judge Vincent, who was the legal adviser of the county commissioners. The Judge could see no objection to the proposition.

Meanwhile the citizens had begun to take an active interest in the matter and a public meeting was held to discuss and debate, what should be done to take care the county's war debt. It was the practically unanimous opinion of the meeting that it should be funded—that bonds should forthwith be issued and the outstanding warrants taken up. Mr. Palmer at the time was confined to his home at Albion. A son had been ill and died of diphtheria and he was himself stricken. He was not, for that reason, permitted to take part in the proceedings of the public meeting, which he would have done otherwise, and his argument and vote would not have been for bonding the county.

Upon his return to his duties, learning what had been decided by the meeting of citizens, and having already fully made up his mind, he determined that the business could no longer be postponed. The board was called together. The third member, Mr. Boyd of Waterford, was inclined to favor the idea of issuing bonds as being the more usual and regular method of taking care of such matters, but Mr. Washburn favored the issue of county notes non-interest bearing. Thus

a majority of the board favored the issue of scrip. Thereupon immediate steps were taken. James Skinner, Esq., was sent to New York commissioned to procure $500,000 of the new money. In due time it was received. It involved an expense of $1,700 for the printing and incidentals, but it was now in the Commissioners' hands and ready to be put in circulation. By this time Mr. Boyd, acquiescing in the will of the majority, along with his colleagues entered diligently into the work of preparing the money and in the course of a few days there had been signed about $190,000 of the notes.

Just here occurred a hitch. Judge Vincent having considered the matter, advised the commissioners that it would be illegal to issue the notes without authority. The legislature was then in session at Harrisburg. Senator Morrow B. Lowry, at home during a recess, was called in by the Commissioners to be instructed with reference to an act it was desired to have passed. He was vigorously opposed to the plan. He advised against it as impracticable. The issue of bonds would be a surer way of raising the necessary money, he said; and he declared himself ready to buy bonds at sixty cents on the dollar and take $60,000 worth on the spot. There were others ready to do the same, he said. All this the commissioners well knew, and, having in their minds already disposed of the matter, told the Senator there was nothing to do but introduce the act and get it passed. This was done. The act became a law and the county scrip was issued.

It is one thing, however, to pass a thing out as money, and quite another thing to induce the people to accept it. For the general purposes of money it was at the start repudiated. There was no help for those who were creditors of the county; but in the commerce and business of the county it was viewed with suspicion and accepted only at a discount. The *Dispatch* put up a vigorous fight in favor of the county scrip, arguing that the wealth of the entire county was behind it, and therefore it was as good as gold, and this consideration, it was argued should prevail where there was no sense of patriotism present. The people still objected.

It was about the same time that a legal fight against the county scrip was begun. The leader in this was J. C. Marshall, Esq., who brought the Commissioners' currency into court under an indictment that it was unconstitutional. Mr. Marshall was an able lawyer. He was assisted by others, also able lawyers. He put up his best argument, but the shin-plasters won out. The Court declared the scrip to be in good lawful and constitutional standing. Mr. Marshall appealed to the Supreme Court. The opinion of the lower court was sustained and the legality of the issue was established beyond further question.

But all this had not established the popularity of the scrip. It could be paid out by the County Commissioners to those who were ready to accept it and it was in demand for the payment of taxes. Its circu-

lation therefore was restricted. Mr. Palmer was fertile in expedient. He was the father of the county shin-plaster, and it was up to him if he wished his child to live, to properly nurse it. He did this so well that in the briefest time the child was of full stature.

That period of time was made up of the days of the oil excitement —the early days of petroleum. Then millionaires were sometimes made in a day or a night. Striking oil was like rubbing the lamp of Aladdin; it generally brought immediate riches. Over in Crawford county—the center of the oil excitement of the time—there lived a poor farmer man named Orange Noble. One morning he awoke transformed. He could not count his wealth. He came to Erie, and here he made the people "sit up and take notice," as is the saying of these later days. He lent a hand to every needy enterprise and started not a few new ones. Among the latter was a new banking venture called the Keystone National Bank. To Mr. Noble went Mr. Palmer in the interests of the county scrip, and his offer of the usual banker's exchange for the redemption of the war debt notes was accepted. The fact was proclaimed that the Keystone National Bank would pay dollar for dollar for all the Commissioners' notes presented. There were mighty few redeemed. The people were no longer particular about it.

Meanwhile the Commissioners continued to keep themselves busy. The tax rate was increased to as high a degree as the law and decency would permit. As fast as the county money came in it was turned out again until at length it ceased to be the sole medium employed for the payment of taxes. Then as fast as it was paid in it was redeemed and retired from circulation through the door of the big furnace in the basement of the court house. There was never more of it in circulation than the $190,000 signed by the Commissioners when they were stopped to have the legality of the act passed upon. As early as the first of January, 1866, $74,891 of the scrip was burned; in the year 1867, $79,532 was retired in the same way. In the space of a few years the war debt of the county was entirely wiped out; long before any other county in the commonwealth had ceased to pay interest on its war bonds. Some counties continued struggling under the burden of their war debt for forty years; some are still burdened. Erie county can almost truthfully be said never to have had a war debt. Not all of the county scrip has been redeemed. Here and there are to be found a bill preserved as a relic, and not for sale, but yet in eager request by those who have them not. And Garner Palmer, the Erie county Morris or Hamilton of his time! He is still with us (or was when this was written, early in 1909) still going in and out among his numerous friends in the little village of Albion, as ever held in the highest respect and esteem.

Erie had been loyal and patriotic as well. Erie had met every requirement of the State and general government so far as furnishing recruits for the army was concerned, and had done much more that was not in the line of requisition. Not only had Erie done and performed all that a loyal county could be asked to do, but as between the county and its money creditors all obligations had been provided for. It was willing and ready to do yet more if it should be required, but, in common with every other community in the land it was

"Wishing for the war to cease,"

and eagerly scanning the news from the front, hoping that the end was near. The turn in the bloody tide was calculated to encourage hope, and toward the end of that year the people grew to be more cheerful, and after a time stopped to make demonstrations of appreciation from time to time as some notable Confederate stronghold fell into the hands of the now uniformly victorious Union forces. The capture of Atlanta, of Savannah, of Charleston, the surrender of Fort Sumter, were all greeted by demonstrations in the public square on the evening of the day the intelligence reached Erie.

But when, Richmond abandoned, Lee surrendered at Appomattox, and peace came and all was over!

It was grand! Erie awoke in the middle of the night and began a celebration unannounced and unprepared for, that was one of the most imposing and impressive in its history. The people had come to expect the news of the end, which seemed near at hand. And yet it might not be so near as it seemed. Hope had been so many times deferred during the tedious four years just ending that hearts had been sick. But it came, and the story of its coming is interesting.

In those days the telegraph was in use. It was not only generally employed in a commercial way but its use in connection with the army had been a distinguishing feature of that great contest. The use of the telegraph in war, like the ironclad ships and the breach-loading gun was an innovation attributable to the war of the Rebellion. The telegraph was in use also to furnish news to the daily newspapers. But there was no such system or service then as now. Even the telegraph traveled slowly in the decade of the sixties. It therefore happened that though the surrender of Gen. Lee occurred early on the 9th of April, the news of it did not reach Erie until it came in the telegraphic report at 3 o'clock the next morning. As soon as the sheet containing the item reached the hands of the editor he jumped to his feet and shouted the news to the force of compositors at work in the room hard by.

At that time the office of the *Dispatch* was in the little two-story brick building on Fifth street, in rear of the Isaac Baker block, that has long been occupied as a rag and junk warehouse. There was a

space of about ten feet between the back end of that building and the outhouses of the building on Park Row directly south. In this space there was thrust a little structure not unlike a dove-cote, which contained the editorial room. It was large enough for only two desks and two chairs and scarcely large enough for the two editor fellows if they wanted to both occupy it at the same time. It was out of this ten feet square editorial room that the shout went up to the compositors on the Fifth street front.

"Hurrah! Lee has surrendered! The war is over."

The effect of the announcement was electrical. Every man laid down his "stick." Father Quinn seized a chase and a footstick and began the ringing of a peal, in which Tom Commisky and Will Winfield and Frank Pratt joined. Lynn was there—Ben Lynn, the man who started the *Daily Dispatch*. For a moment he joined with his employes but stopped them. The noise was not enough. One of the comps was detailed to start the bells of the city; another to get the cannon out and a force to man and fire it. In an incredibly brief period of time the noise was in operation. By fifteen minutes after three o'clock on Monday morning nearly every bell in town was ringing and the booming of the cannon had awakened all the inhabitants. They streamed into the public square. From every quarter they could be seen approaching until the streets in the vicinity of Brown's Hotel and the market house were packed. The intelligence went from mouth to mouth, and the cheers that went up proved the people to be in a state of delirium. There was no speech making; no formal proceedings; nothing but a happy crowd jostling one another and now and then bursting into cheers, while the bells rang and the cannon at pretty regular intervals boomed. Of course there was no more sleep. As the day began to come on the flags began to appear, until at length the city was gay.

Hon. F. F. Farrar was mayor of Erie then. He was up bright and early with the other citizens. By seven o'clock he had copy for a hand bill in the printer's hands. It called a meeting of citizens for nine o'clock to perfect arrangements for a celebration. The meeting was held. It did not last a quarter of an hour. Arrangements were completed for a celebration to begin at one o'clock that day.

The hour came. The celebration started off with a grand procession. There had been only four hours to get ready, but the demonstration was the most imposing Erie had ever seen. Gen. Brown was chief marshal, and, with his assistants was escorted by a large company of horsemen. Then followed these features:

Carriage with the battle-torn flag of
the 83d Regt.
Mehl's Band.
Seamen of the Michigan hauling howitzers.

Marines of the Michigan.
City Artillery.
Fire Department, parading the new steam fire engine Keystone.
Carriages and wagons filled with people.
Fire Department with hand engine.
Wagon drawn by four horses carrying employes of the *Dispatch* with a press in operation printing an appropriate leaflet, and the Excelsior Glee Club singing war songs.
Liddell, Selden & Co.'s float containing a boiler with men at work on it.
Another float from the same shop with men at work on an engine.
Employes of Liddell, Selden & Co. marching on foot.
Erie Car Co.'s float, with men at work on a freight car.
More carriages and wagons.
Barr & Johnson's employes in wagons and on foot.
More carriages.
Sands's steam bakery float.
The Genesee Valley Mower from the Densmore shop.
Draymen and cartmen with vehicles gaily decorated with flags.
More carriages and wagons.
McConkey & Shannon with a trade float.
Morrison & Densmore's float.
Carriages and wagons of all kinds with all sorts of flags and decorations.

It was a very imposing demonstration, and even at this day it would not be easy to surpass it, especially upon such short notice. It was almost two miles in length. After parading the city the people gathered in a great mass meeting in front of Brown's Hotel, where a patriotic address was delivered by Hon. John P. Vincent. Then the "Star Sisters" sang the "Star Spangled Banner." In passing it is only proper to state that the Star sisters were Misses Juvenelia and Celestia Tinker, concert singers, and the former became known to recent Erie citizens as Mrs. Juvia C. Hull, who was a teacher of music for a time.

The celebration was not over with the parade. Indeed it was only well begun. The evening witnessed a most gorgeous and impressive illumination. In those days lighting by electricity was not even dreamed of. Gas was a luxury, kerosene oil new and expensive, and the principle dependence was the tallow candle, "sixes" or "eights," according to the length of the poor people's purse. But whether gas, oil or tallow dip, there was illumination and everyone lighted up—that is to say, every patriotic citizen in Erie, whether on the main streets or on the obscure thoroughfares. There were a few, it has been said, who did not and had cause to regret it—the spirit of the times was not of a character that would overlook such an evidence of disinterestedness in what was going on.

From the corner of State street and North Park Row, the heart of the city then, the scene was imposing. Someone had carried out a plan by which the steeple of the First Presbyterian church was illuminated to

the top, while numerous transparencies containing portraits of Grant and Lincoln and patriotic sentiments were displayed.

At the same time all the bells in the city were rung; the cannon in front of the market house boomed forth its salutes, and twenty locomotives in the round house at Holland street, steamed up for the purpose, contributed to the din with their whistles all blowing in concert. Mehl's band played from the balcony of Brown's Hotel, and there was a torchlight procession and fireworks.

To top off the celebration a huge pile of combustibles was placed in the centre of State street and North Park row and ignited, forming a tremendous bonfire. Again the bells rang, the cannon boomed, the people cheered, songs were sung and midnight came before the exercises began to lag.

It was the sudden reaction from the long period of care and anxiety, of doubt and fear scarcely tempered by hope, of grief and sorrow and of constant toil. The people were delirious with joy, and some of them—perhaps many of them—hysterical in their rejoicing. There was a marvelous state of unanimity in the minds of the populace, however, else such a celebration in so brief a period for preparation could not have been accomplished. The joy of that event almost repaid the years of anxiety that had preceded—that is to those who had been workers at home. To those who went out it was different. Many slept under the turf of some Virginia or Georgia battle field. They yielded up their lives to make such a rejoicing possible.

In the summer time the Erie soldier boys returned. They came not all at once. Some of the regiments did not come as an organization, because, toward the end of the war, what with recruiting and transfers, most of the company organizations lost the distinction they had when they went out, of being from particular sections. In some instances the soldiers straggled in in small groups, so that the dates of the arrival home of the Erie regiments could not all be recorded. But the circumstances only tended to lengthen out the welcome. By the end of the summer all the survivors had returned, and the soldier boys in the period of business activity that then prevailed quickly resumed the occupations of peace, and the hardships of their campaigning existed in memory, the subjects of many a tale as they gathered around the evening lamp or companied with their comrades of the war.

Nor were they and their services to their country forgotten. Erie was a trifle tardy in providing a permanent manifestation of appreciation of the services rendered by the brave soldier boys. But these services were not lost to mind. It was not until the beginning of the decade of the seventies that a movement was organized to provide a suitable monument for the soldiers and sailors of Erie county who had lost their lives in the Civil War. It proved a somewhat difficult undertaking. It would

undoubtedly have been more easily accomplished if it had been entered upon earlier. But the business was taken in hand by a committee of ladies possessed of admirable tact, of tireless energy and unswerving zeal. They were Mrs. Isaac Moorhead, Miss Sarah Reed and Miss Helen Ball. Their labors were unremitting. By solicitation, by public appeal and by various expedients the citizens were interested. Isaac Moorhead, Esq., a talented writer, did much through the columns of the newspapers for the good of the cause.

In 1872 a fund of $10,000 had been raised by the ladies. With this amount it was learned a suitable monument could be purchased, and contracts were then made. The most notable sculptor of the time was Martin Milmore. His design of a soldier and sailor of heroic size was accepted, and a casting in bronze was made by the Ames Company of Chicopee, Mass. The pedestal of granite, twelve feet high and eight feet square, was made at Hallowell, Maine. The fund obtained was not sufficient, however, for the erection of the monument, and the city contributed $500, to pay for the foundation. It stands in the east front of the West Park, midway between North and South Park Row.

The group represents a soldier and sailor of the period of the Civil War. The left-hand figure, representing the army, is a soldier of the infantry, holding in his right hand the flag of the Union, and in his left a musket en traile; on the right, representing the navy, stands a sailor with a cutlass in his right hand, the point upon the deck, with his left hand laid upon his right and a foot upon a coil of rope, the position of peace after the conflict is over. On the front of the pedestal, facing east, is the inscription, "In memory of the soldiers and sailors from Erie county who gave their lives to save the Union." On the panel of the west face of the pedestal, Lincoln's immortal words, from his classical Gettysburg address, "We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

It was never dedicated. When it had been finished, in 1872, and dedication was talked of, the treasurer of the committee of ladies was ill, and there was a postponement, and later it was abandoned. There was criticism of all sorts. Erie has always been notable in respect to its partisanship. The monument was no exception. Before the location was definitely agreed upon there was opposition by one faction to placing it in the park, because, it was said, it would be too suggestive of a cemetery. On the other hand there were those who advocated placing it in the centre of State street. When it was finished the criticism was that it was not enough for the money that had been spent upon it; and there were some who presumed to find fault with the splendid allegorical group which constitutes the chief feature of the monument. All these criticisms and objections have long since passed, and the people accept the monu-

ment as a masterpiece of a master sculptor. The verdict today is in favor of the devoted ladies who made the monument possible. But then they were hurt. Their work done, the ladies sensitively shrank from the publicity that would have attended a formal dedication, so that it has had a dedication by the people, without form, who long ago accepted it and have come at length to appreciate the fact that in that beautiful allegorical group Erie possesses something to be prized. If in the future Erie shall decide upon erecting a costlier and more imposing base, and shall locate it in the middle of State street, no finer work of statuary for its embellishment could be desired than Milmore's Army and Navy.

Before the story of the Civil War is closed it would not be improper to introduce the echo of it which came to Erie, and imparted to the city for a time an aspect reminiscent of what had been in the south. This was caused by the quartering in this city of a body of soldiers. It was Co. M, United States Artillery, Captain Mendenhall, and the force was barracked in the Park Hotel. This hospice stood on the corner of South Park Row and Peach street, where the City Hall now stands. It was a brick building two stories in height of modest architectural style and was unoccupied until the soldiers came. The reason for their presence in Erie was that the Government desired to preserve neutrality with the British province of Canada which was in danger of being broken by the Fenians. The Fenian Brotherhood was the name given to an organization of men who desired to bring about political liberty in Ireland, and the leaders in the United States believed the cause would be helped by making military raids across the border into Canada and promoting uprisings among the Irishmen who lived in Canada. Many of the Fenians were veteran soldiers; there had been not a few Irish brigades in the Union Army, and when the Civil War was over, these, all in sympathy with the cause of Irish liberation had become identified with the Fenian Brotherhood, which was itself a quasi military organization. One June day in 1866, a large body of Fenians assembled secretly in Buffalo, and succeeded in crossing the Niagara River and taking possession of Fort Erie. A force of Canadian volunteers headed by the Queen's Own, a Toronto regiment, marched against them and the opposing forces came together at Limestone Ridge. There was a battle. The Canadians gave way. It was a Fenian victory. But the Michigan had slipped in behind, and the Fenians were in a trap. They could not get back and reinforcements could not reach them. So they surrendered at discretion—not to the Canadians, but to Uncle Sam. It ought to have been the end of the foolishness but it was not. There were reasons to believe that other raids were in contemplation. Therefore the presence of Captain Mendenhall's force in Erie.

In 1866 Richard F. Gaggin was collector of customs at this port, and one day he received a communication from the Secretary of the Treas-

ury in which there was enclosed a letter from the Secretary of State in which there was, in turn, a letter from the British minister enclosed. The letter of Mr. Gaggins' chief was to inform him that the Secretary of State had addressed the letter enclosed to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State's letter informed the Secretary of the Treasury that the letter enclosed had been received from the British minister, and the British minister's note was to the effect that the government at Ottawa had been informed that a quantity of arms had been sent to Erie and were stored at a place on State street where they were awaiting shipment to Canada. The collector of customs as the ranking representative of the United States government in Erie was thus up against Fenianism.

What was he to do?

He communicated with Capt. Mendenhall, but the captain was at sea, figuratively speaking. Then the collector did some thinking. Doubtless there was reason for the statement that the arms were secreted in Erie, and also that they were in a State street place. This was probably true, for the Canadian secret service men were efficient and must have located the contraband goods. But there were many places on State street even in those days and not a few places (stores or warehouses), where arms might be stored. Which of them should he visit, and if he called upon the wrong one in his search might there not be an alarm raised that would defeat his purpose? These were some of the considerations that presented themselves.

Now at that time there was a storehouse directly opposite the Custom House on State street occupied as an auction and commission house by a Mr. Cronin. It would seem to be the last place that should be chosen as a place for the storage of goods contraband of law, and likewise the last place to be suspected. It was, however, the first place that Mr. Gaggin visited, and almost the first objects that met his eye were a number of packing cases rather more than four feet long that had lately been received.

"Hallo, Cronin; what have you here?" said the collector, kicking the lower box of the pile.

"I don't know," said Cronin. "They were shipped to me on consignment to await the arrival of the owner."

"Do they contain guns?" was asked.

"I don't know," was Mr. Cronin's reply.

That was before the days of the telephone. It was also before the days of the district telegraph and the messenger boy in the uniform. The best way to convey a message and the surest, was to deliver it one's self.

"I've found your guns," said Mr. Gaggin to Capt. Mendenhall.

"At Cronin's."

"Where?"

The importance and dignity of the artillery captain at once swelled to the proportion becoming the added responsibility of his office. With all the pomp and circumstance that appertains to the military, Company M, headed by its captain, proceeded to Cronin's stronghold and captured the numerous stand of arms it contained and then as conquering heroes returned with them to the barracks where the company was garrisoned.

It was the end of the Fenian excitement in Erie. It was the end likewise of the same excitement anywhere along the lake frontier.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE BENCH AND BAR.

When the Court Was Itinerant.—The First of the Lawyers.—Prominent Part in Affairs by Members of the Bar.

Although Erie county was in 1800, along with seven others, created separate counties, this county was not at once equipped with the full dignity of a county, nor did that distinction come to it until three years later. Even then Erie's bench was of the peripatetic order, as was necessary in those early times. It was so with everything pertaining to the county that was of the professional order, the physicians coming nearest to being an exception but even they were of the order of travelers, the rides of some being almost co-extensive with the county itself. The religious wants were ministered to by missionaries, and the administration of justice was provided for upon the same plan. So it was that the courts traveled about, the judges with their assistants and the lawyers. And it was no sinecure the judges then held. Traveling was not by Pullman car at the time of the erection of the county of Erie. The way through the wilderness was by blind trail. Sometimes the judge might proceed on horseback; more of his journey was on foot; a portion was by canoe. But it was a devious course, threaded through the mazes of the forest from place to place, and a toilsome undertaking as well, and those pioneer judges merit the applause of the people of today for the zeal with which they applied themselves to the duty before them and the fidelity with which they discharged their trusts. Nor are the attorneys who followed the court from place to place, less deserving of praise, themselves officers of the court. Some of these practitioners were learned and accomplished, with abilities fitting them to fill he highest positions in the state and nation. Their work is done; their career is closed; but some of their names are inscribed in the records of the highest judicatories of the land, and their recorded opinions adorn a number of the reports of courts of the highest resort of the state and nation. Mention made of the names of Henry Baldwin, William Wilkins, the Fosters, the Wallaces, the Farreleys, Walter Forward, Ralph Marlin, Daniel Agnew, John Banks, John J. Pearson, Dudley Marvin, John Galbraith, Fetterman, J. Stuart Riddle, David Derrickson, James Thompson, John H. Walker, Elijah Babbitt and Thomas H. Sill will arouse a train of thought and revive memories of a cluster of brilliant men whose names are imperishably

connected with the administration of justice during the last century, while the scales of justice were held with unswerving fidelity by judges of whom may be mentioned with unalloyed satisfaction the names of Alexander Addison, Jesse Moore, Henry Shippen, Nathaniel B. Eldred, James Thompson, Gayford Church, John Galbraith, and Daniel Agnew, and others, contemporaries of the present generation, who may be introduced later in this chapter.

At the beginning of the last century, and, indeed, for the first fifty years, the judges were appointed by the governors of the Commonwealth and their service in the earliest years was by appointment on circuit. When Erie first became a county the settlement of this entire region was too sparse to warrant appointments for sessions of court in the several counties, so that for the first three years after the creation of the counties, Crawford, Erie, Mercer, Venango and Warren were provisionally made one county, which was part of the Fifth Judicial district, with Meadville as the seat of justice, and David Clark as judge. This arrangement obtained until 1803, when the Sixth Judicial district was established, including Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Butler and Beaver counties, and courts were directed for each county. Hon. Jesse Moore was appointed judge for the district, holding his first court at Erie on April 5, 1803 (and it was the first court held in Erie county) and he filled the position until his death in 1825.

Meanwhile Beaver and Butler were detached, and later Mercer. On Judge Moore's death in 1825, Hon. Henry Shippen of Huntingdon was appointed president judge and served until his death in 1839. Afterwards Venango was added, and so continued until about 1849 and Warren was added in 1840. In 1870 Crawford was detached and Elk added, the district consisting of Erie, Warren and Elk until the constitution of 1873 made Erie alone the Sixth Judicial district. From 1839 to 1843 Hon. N. B. Eldred, born in Orange county, N. Y., and died in 1867, was president judge. From 1843 to 1851, Hon. Gaylord Church was president judge. He was born in Oswego in 1811 and died in 1869. Hon. John Galbraith, born in Huntingdon county in 1794, died June 15, 1860, was judge from 1851 to 1860. That year, 1860, after a brief term of Hon. Rasselas Brown of Warren, born in Jefferson county, N. Y., September 10, 1812, died August 23, 1895, Hon. S. P. Johnson of Warren was elected in 1860 for ten years, to be in turn succeeded by Hon. Lansing D. Wetmore of Warren, born in Warren county in 1818. He was followed by Hon. John P. Vincent, born December 2, 1817, in Waterford, died March 11, 1909, to be succeeded in 1877 by Hon. William A. Galbraith, born in Franklin in May, 1823, died 1898 and he by Hon. Frank Gunnison in 1887, and he by Hon. Emory A. Walling in 1897, who having been re-elected in 1906, is now serving his second term. From 1839 to 1845 Hon. James Thompson was district judge, and from 1856 to 1866 Hon. David Derrickson born in Cumberland county in 1798, died

August 13, 1884, was additional law judge, succeeded in 1866 by Hon. John P. Vincent, who served until 1874, when he became president judge.

The list of Erie's associate judges, embracing a number of noted men, is as follows: John Kelso of Erie in 1803 and 1804, was also general in the war of 1812, state commissioner of sales in 1802, 1803 and 1810, and clerk of the courts 1804 to 1809 and in 1819; Samuel Smith of Millcreek from 1803 to 1805, was also a member of Congress from 1805 to 1808; William Bell of Erie from 1805 to 1814; John Vincent of Waterford from 1805 to 1840; was also first county commissioner of Erie for 1803 and 1804; Wilson Smith of Waterford, 1814 to 1820, was also sheriff of Erie county 1803-1805, a member of Assembly in 1804, 1808 and 1819, Senator from 1809 to 1816 and presidential elector in 1832; John Grubb of Millcreek from 1820 to 1841, was also commander of state troops guarding surveyors who laid out Erie in 1795, and county commissioner 1813 to 1815; John Brawley of North East from 1840 to 1850, was also collector of the port of Erie; Myron Hutchinson of Girard from 1841 to 1851 was also justice of the peace and postmaster of Girard; Joseph M. Sterrett of Erie from 1850 to 1856, was also Senator from 1837 to 1841 and postmaster of Erie from 1861 to 1869; James Miles of Girard, from 1851 to 1856, was also director of the Cleveland & Erie Railroad in 1855; Samuel Hutchins of Waterford, from 1856 to 1861, was also a member of the Assembly in 1839 and 1840; John Greer of North East, from 1856 to 1866, was also presidential elector in 1860; William Cross of Springfield, from 1861 to 1866; Hollis King of Corry from 1866 to 1871; William Benson of Waterford, from 1866 to 1876; Allen A. Craig of Erie, from 1871 to 1876, was also sheriff of Erie county from 1861 to 1864 and paymaster in the United States army in 1864 and 1865.

The first mentioned were closely connected with the settlement of the county. The ten last named are associated with its development. Each in his turn helped to give character and authority to the bench, and aided in the considerate dispatch of its business, more especially outside of the trial and civil cases. The provisions of the constitution of 1873, dispensing with the associate judges, were accepted with grave doubts as to its expediency. There are no survivors of this notable line of judges, and the last who served as such in Erie, Judges Benson and Craig, were admitted as attorneys of the Erie bar on the expiration of their terms in 1876. Their admission was an enduring testimonial of the regard in which both were held by the president judge and the bar with whom each of them had been officially connected.

The judicial duties of the Erie district were enormous from the start. To preside in five counties at the quarterly term of court, together with the intervening special courts, involved much of labor. So observable was the accumulating business with the vast increase of population and

the augmentation of property with the various court business thus caused, that in 1856 a new law judge was authorized to aid in the responsible duties of the courts of the Sixth district. It was in the discharge of these duties that the abilities and capabilities for work of David Derrickson, elected in 1856, and of his successor, John P. Vincent, elected in 1866, became so evident, while the labors of S. P. Johnson, elected president judge in 1860, and of his successor L. D. Wetmore, elected in 1870, were equally laborious, augmented as they were by the important questions growing out of the discovery of oil. All the subtleties they involved were in addition to the settlement of confused titles of the oil regions, which the mineral development made so valuable, and their possession so much desired. The duties of their successors, Judge Galbraith, elected in 1876, Judge Gunnison, elected in 1886, and Judge Walling, elected in 1896, and again in 1906, though restricted to Erie county alone, afforded scope for the industry, ability and executive capability which enabled each in turn to fill his position with so much acceptability.

Judge Wetmore was assigned under the new constitution to the Warren district and Judge Vincent to Erie. Judge Johnson resumed his practice at the bar, which was continued until his death. Judge Vincent also, upon the expiration of his term, returned to the practice of his profession, in the fulness of his experience furnishing, by his faithful attention to his duties and his industry up almost to the time of his death at more than ninety years, an example worthy of imitation by the younger members of the bar. Judges Galbraith and Gunnison also returned to the practice of the law, the latter with characteristic industry and success. The people of Erie testified their confidence in Judge Walling when they chose, in 1906, to continue him in office for a second term, a choice which there can be no doubt was quite agreeable to the members of the bar. The late James Sill says of him: "To a quickness of perception and almost instinctive grasp of the strong points of the case, Judge Walling adds a courtesy of manner and respect for the rights of all which makes the practice of law in his court a pleasure. * * Upon the many grave questions covering the conflicting interests of corporations, and the nice points of law now so frequent, especially in the consideration of injunctions, now so common, Judge Walling has exhibited keen discernment, with the satisfaction of having very few of his decisions reversed."

When it came to be known that Erie county was organized and invested with the right of self-government, and courts were to be held a number of lawyers were attracted, who, though mostly non-residents yet by their constant attendance became identified with the Erie bar and at an early day helped to give that character for ability and courtesy that it has so long maintained. They could none of them of the early years be strictly regarded as residents of Erie, for whatever may have been their purposes or expectations in coming, or their plans or achievements after

they came, for full ten years after the first court was held in the county there was no lawyer who, coming with the thought or intention of engaging in general practice, really permanently drove his stakes to make Erie his home.

The first resident attorney, as distinguished from those who followed the court in its peregrinations and served as called upon at the time, was William Wallace. He came in 1800, representing the Pennsylvania Population Company. He was from Harrisburg, and took up his residence here, interested in the business of the corporation that was his client. He was a man of education, and was the father of Dr. William M. Wallace and of Irvin M. Wallace. He returned to Harrisburg in 1810. Among those present at or about the time of the opening of the first court in 1803 was Henry Baldwin, a man of great ability and eminence. He came from Connecticut, and was the son-in-law of Andrew Ellicott, who laid out Erie. He was also the uncle of Col. John H. Bliss. Mr. Baldwin afterwards became a judge of the United States Supreme Court. Patrick Farrelley, an educated Irish lawyer regularly attended the Erie courts during the first years. He was three times elected to Congress, and died in 1826. The presence of the learned and accomplished John B. Wallace at the early terms of court helped to raise the standard of this bar, as did also the presence of William N. Irvine, a son of the noted Revolutionary general, afterwards judge of the Adams district. There were also the talented Fosters, then so conspicuous in Western Pennsylvania, one of whom was the father of the eloquent Henry D. Foster of Greensburg. The distinguished General Dudley Marvin was in attendance and admitted to practice at one of the early courts of Erie. He afterwards attained his great distinction as a statesman and lawyer in New York. Col. Ralph Marlin was one of the earliest practitioners of the Erie bar, and became noted as a lawyer and military officer. These, the real founders of the Erie bar, were, however, only transients, few of them were residents though always found in Erie when the court was being held, and the little hamlet of those days owed much to them, even though they were not enrolled among its citizen taxpayers.

The first resident attorney of Erie, to become permanently identified with the place and be a factor in its development was Thomas H. Sill, who came here in June, 1813. He was a young man from Connecticut, who, having graduated from Brown University and studied law at Cincinati was returning from a visit to his New England home to settle in the west. While at Pittsburg he learned that at Erie there was no resident attorney, and Erie at the time being a naval station and seemingly a place of promise, he determined to try his fortunes here. Immediately he opened an office on East Sixth street in the house that had been occupied by William Wallace until 1810. His life was a busy one; his professional, political and civil service was long and his experience quite varied; his practice extended through five northwestern counties; he died

in February, 1856. From 1816 to 1818 he was deputy United States marshal, and in 1819 was appointed deputy attorney general (equivalent to district attorney of the present time). The confusion that resulted from the burning of the court house with all the records in 1823, led to a movement to send him to Harrisburg as a representative in the legislature, and there he procured the passage of an act that remedied the losses and inconveniences resulting from the destruction of the county records, and also secured an appropriation from the state to aid in rebuilding the court house. He was elected to Congress in 1826 and reelected in 1828; was chosen president of the United States bank in 1837; at various times was elected burgess of the borough of Erie, and for nearly thirty years filled the office of trustee of the Erie Academy. He was elected in 1836 to the convention to amend the constitution of the state—a body that included such men as Forward, Sergeant, Meredith, Chauncey, Chandler and Reigert, and in which he acquired and maintained a position of commanding influence. He was a presidential elector in 1848, voting for Taylor and Fillmore and was postmaster of Erie from 1849 to 1853. Few citizens of Erie were held in as high esteem as Erie's first permanently residental lawyer, Thomas H. Sill.

The next permanent accession of the Erie bar was George A. Elliott, who came from Connecticut in 1816. He was a gentleman of fine scholarship and imposing presence, a graduate of Yale University, and he quickly took position as an able lawyer. His residence and office were on Peach street fronting the park, and for many years the Elliott home was one of the most imposing in the city. Until about 1822 Mr. Elliott and Mr. Sill constituted the bar of Erie. In the year 1822 the bar was recruited by William Kelley, who came from New Hampshire. He was a scholarly man, of fine tastes and notable public spirit. He acquired a quarter of the square upon which the Academy stood, and at the corner of State and Ninth built a picturesque cottage house, laying out the grounds in attractive fashion and embellishing them with trees and shrubbery. Until after the close of the Civil war the "Cottage House," as it was known to nearly everyone in Erie, continued to be admired and held in pride by the citizens. To his tastes as a landscape gardener was due in large measure the general plan adopted for the Erie Cemetery. Later he became prominently connected with public works.

The burning of the courthouse in 1823, with its appalling destruction of the county records, seems, somehow to have attracted to Erie a number of notable men. Early in 1824 John Riddle came from southern Pennsylvania. He was a man of great fervor as an advocate and a very able lawyer, but he died in the meridian of life, July 4, 1837. One of the brightest legal lights that Erie ever knew was John H. Walker, who came here in 1824. He was a native of Cumberland, Pa., and was educated at Washington College. He studied law with his cousin, Robert J. Walker, afterwards Secretary of the United States Treasury. His

career at the Erie bar extending through half a century, was remarkable for the energy, ability and continuous activity which characterized it. His power before a jury seemed almost irresistible, for he seldom took up a case in which he was not convinced he was in the right. Thus fortified his chain of reasoning was powerful and his appeals overwhelming. His presence was imposing, his manner was simple yet dignified, and his whole nature seemed enlisted in his masterly efforts. His practice was large, successful and lucrative. His political career, reaching from 1832 to 1874, left several conspicuous monuments of his farsighted public spirit and statesmanship. He entered the State Legislature in 1832, and while a member secured from the state the splendid Almshouse farm, and the proceeds from the residue of the Third section west of Erie for the improvement of Erie harbor, required upon the completion of the canal. He secured the establishment at Erie of a branch of the United States Bank, for which the classic marble building on State street near Fourth was erected. While a member of the Senate he was elected speaker of that body. The closing honor of his life was his election as president of the Constitutional Convention of 1873, as a successor of William M. Meredith, the leader of the Pennsylvania bar and secretary of the United States Treasury. Mr. Walker's busy and useful life closed in December, 1874.

Elijah Babbitt, who came to Erie from Providence, R. I., in 1826, was another brilliant light in the legal profession of Erie, and continued his activities for a much more extended term than any other lawyer who ever practiced in the courts of Erie. He was possessed of extraordinary energy and indefatiguable perseverance, was highly learned in the law and peculiarly keen of wit. He attracted to himself a host of friends and, becoming trusted by the citizens was frequently honored by political preferment, serving with distinction in both branches of the State Legislature and in the national Congress. At his death he had outlived all his compeers and successive groups of court officers, and moved among a new generation, yet, like Lord Brougham, his mental powers survived his ninetieth birthday. One of the most notable of his cases he conducted with signal success, proving himself, when opposed by the brightest intellects of the younger generation, so alert and resourceful as to win from bench and bar the most sincere congratulations upon the ability with which he conducted the case and won the verdict. He was then past ninety years of age—it was in fact his last trial in the Erie court.

One of the most notable figures in old Erie; a man who was of those who builded the town; who was chiefly distinguished by his long and successful business career, Gen. Charles M. Reed, was also a member of the Erie bar. He graduated at Washington college, studied law with Horace Birney of Philadelphia and was admitted at Erie. He died in 1871. Contemporaneous was James Carson Marshall, who for

more than half a century practiced with remarkable success in Erie, the last half of his notable career, having as a partner his equally talented son, Frank F. Marshall. James C. Marshall was a native of Franklin county, Pa., and a student under the famous Elisha Whittelsey of Ohio, and came to Erie in 1829. His laboriousness in practice, his care in preparation, his tirelessness in prosecuting what he undertook, were as proverbial as his tenacity of purpose was pronounced. To him was due the adoption of the printing of paper books by our Supreme Court. Being of the minority party, his services at the bar were not interrupted by political office so that his length of legal practice has few parallels in Erie county.

Two members of the Erie bar of the first half century who were to be honored with seats on the judicial bench were John Galbraith and James Thompson. The former came to Erie in 1837. He was a native of Huntingdon county. While a resident of Butler, where he published a newspaper, he studied law, and afterwards removed to Franklin, remaining there many years and being there elected to Congress. Some time after making Erie his home he was again sent to Congress, and, continuing his legal practice was, in 1851, elected president judge of the Sixth district. His fine attainments as a lawyer were supplemented by his studies in literature, and the traditions of the Erie bench and bar, give him a high position among the distinguished men who have filled the important position of judge in Erie. It will not, perhaps, be improper in this place to mention the fact that his son, William A. Galbraith, was in 1876, called to fill the same position. Hon. James Thompson came to Erie and was admitted to the Erie bar in 1845. He was born in Glades Mills, Butler county in 1805, studied law in Venango county and was admitted there in 1826. He was elected to the Legislature in 1832, and in 1834 was elected speaker of the House. In 1836 he was appointed judge of the District Court established for Crawford, Warren and Venango counties and served until 1845, the year in which he came to Erie. In 1844 he was elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1846 and 1848. In 1854 he was elected in Erie county to the State Legislature on the "Railroad War" issue. In 1857 he was elected judge of the supreme Court for fifteen years, the latter part of the term being Chief Justice. After retiring from the bench he practiced law at Philadelphia, and died in 1874.

A group of lawyers who became identified with the Erie bar during the decade of the thirties, serving honorably until their deaths, were Chas. W. Kelso, admitted in 1835; James D. Dunlap, 1837 and W. C. Kelso, 1839. C. W. Kelso became a favorite in Erie by reason of his eloquence of speech and not less by his charming manners and gracious presence. He was the nephew, by marriage, of both Chief Justice Gibson (in whose family he was raised) and President Buchanan. William C. Kelso was for more than fifty years a member of the bar and partner

of the distinguished Elijah Babbitt. Mr. Kelso was of a retiring disposition, a genial kindly gentleman and the most devoted adherent to his chosen church, St. Paul's, that that religious establishment ever knew. James D. Dunlap is still remembered by his Book of Forms one of the most useful and valuable legal works ever given to the public. His professional career was interrupted by service in both branches of the State Legislature, and it was by his work that the first Erie county railroad charter was secured, that of the Erie & North East Railroad, now a part of the L. S. & M. S. Railroad.

At about this period there were, connected with the Erie bar a number of men who, soon leaving Erie, became notable elsewhere. George W. Smith, admitted in 1831, went to Kansas, and there became prominently identified with the struggles that preceded the admission of that state. Albert C. Ramsey, admitted in 1833, removed to York, Pa., and there was appointed colonel of a regiment that served in the Mexican War. William Miles Watts, a nephew of the noted William Miles, whose family was one of the first to settle in Erie county, was prosecuting attorney in 1837, at the time Henry Francisco was convicted of murder. Subsequently he became a contractor on public works in this country and Brazil. Colonel C. S. Gzowski, admitted in 1839, afterwards gained fame and fortune in Canada as an engineer in the development of Sir John MacDonald's grand scheme for the unification of the Dominion. He received from the hand of Queen Victoria the honor of knighthood and was appointed one of the aides-de-camp of Her Majesty. William M. Heister, admitted in 1841, a representative of the Heisters and Muhlenbergs of the State, went to Berks county, where he was elected to the Senate and became speaker, later serving as Secretary of the Commonwealth. Samuel A. Law, admitted in 1841, removed to Delaware county, N. Y., when he served in the legislature of that state and was appointed a paymaster in the army during the Civil war. Hon. John F. Duncombe, admitted in 1854, removed to Iowa, and will be remembered for his great speech nominating Boies for President in the Democratic national convention of 1892. Most notable of any who came here and went away was Horace M. Hawes, admitted in 1840, who removed to California, became very wealthy, and by reason of a remarkable will was known as the eccentric millionaire. It is said he was the first American Alcalde of San Francisco, but this is disputed.

Of the attorneys that were prominent a generation or more ago and who have now passed off the stage, nearly all of them to answer the last summons, there are not a few who in their day filled prominent positions in the community, as well as notable places in the ranks of their honored profession. James C. Reid, Richard Sill, George W. Gunnison, Wilson Laird, A. McD. Lyon and George A. Lyon, were all natives of Erie and college graduates. The terms of practice of each at the bar were short, but their careers were long enough to show their loyalty to

Erie. Mr. Reid was twice a member of the Legislature, Mr. Laird thrice mayor of Erie and a member of the Legislature. Each died in his native city. Jonas Gunnison spent the whole of his years of manhood at the Erie bar until his useful and exemplary life was cut short while seemingly in the meridian of his career. He was the father of Judge Frank Gunnison. G. Nelson Johnston's admission to the bar was soon followed by his election as district attorney, but death closed his career just after he had entered upon the duties of his office. John W. Douglas, admitted in 1850, has filled very prominent positions. As commissioner of internal revenue of the United States and commissioner of the District of Columbia he has been honored and distinguished.

Erie's roll of attorneys embraces the names of Edwin C. Wilson, adjutant general under Gov. Packer; Henry Souther, surveyor general of Pennsylvania and judge of Schuylkill county; John W. Walker, United States marshal for the western district of Pennsylvania; Samuel L. Gilson, Indian Agent during President Cleveland's first administration; Colonel Charles M. Lynch, district attorney, United States collector of internal revenue for the Nineteenth district of Pennsylvania, and an honored and brave officer in one of Erie's war regiments; David B. McCreary, member of the Legislature, twice elected to the Senate, where he ably served eight years, brevetted as brigadier general in the Civil war and adjutant general under Gov. Geary; Edward Camphausen for five years consul at Naples, appointed by President Cleveland during his first term; Samuel M. Brainerd, a representative in Congress from the Erie district; George P. Griffith, so long identified with the cause of education as a school director and officer of the board during the period when the schools of Erie were being placed upon a modern footing.

Distinguished among the names upon the roll of Erie lawyers is that of Vincent, the older that of Judge John P. Vincent; the younger General Strong Vincent. Judge Vincent's was one of the longest terms recorded for a member of the Erie bar, beginning in 1841 and closing in 1909, the term of service almost coextensive with the Psalmist's span of life. And it was a busy and honorable career, covering a term as judge, and including periods, when as legal adviser his opinions were of great importance to the community. General Vincent, his nephew, achieved a military fame that will ever endure. As colonel of the Eighty-third regiment, his selection, upon his own volition of Little Round Top as a position to fortify at Gettysburg, the possession of which proved to be the turning point in the decisive battle of the Civil war, has been quoted at West Point as a proof of first class military strategy, while his noble defense of this key to the position has thrown a halo round his name which gives to his chivalrous deed a place in history whenever the great battle which his genius helped to gain is mentioned, a triumph for which he yielded his life. Nor was Strong Vincent the only member

of the Erie bar who as an officer in that war distinguished himself. In the list of heroes are enrolled the names of McCreary, Walker, the Lyonses, Lynch, Whittelsey, Judson, Gould, Wilson, Brigden and Chapman.

A quartette of lawyers of a generation gone who long were conspicuous figures of the Erie bar were William Benson, admitted in 1846; James Sill, admitted in 1852; Benjamin Grant, admitted in 1845; and George A. Allen, admitted in 1868. Few of the Erie bar were more noted or will longer be remembered than William Benson, born in 1819, and educated at the Waterford and Erie Academies. He was a rough diamond. His manner was eccentric and independent, with an indifference to some of the conventionalities of life, which, while revealing his independence, gained a degree of admiration because, joined with a brusque honesty in keeping with his bold utterances, he seemed to come from the plain people and sought to be one of the plain people, and to do nothing to separate him from the plain people. He hated ostentation and sham, and he had the tenderest of hearts. He was always a student, and was profoundly learned in the law. His practice was large and successful. He died in 1891, aged 72 years. Col. Benjamin Grant acquired a large and prosperous practice, and he was distinguished by his aptitude for business. He obtained a wide celebrity for his finely prepared reports, and his especial skill was his equity practice. James Sill, born 1829, died 1903, was the son of Hon. T. H. Sill, Erie's first permanent resident attorney. He was a graduate of the New York State and National Law School, and was admitted to practice at the Erie bar when twenty-one years of age. He immediately assumed a prominent position among Erie lawyers. He was elected district attorney in 1857 and a Presidential elector in 1860. Upon his father's death he succeeded to his extensive business, and became as well an important figure in political affairs as his father had been, without himself being advanced in public office until 1880 when he was elected Senator for four years. He was a man of wonderfully retentive memory, a ready speaker and a graceful writer, and was in almost constant request as a historian, especially by the editors of the city. George A. Allen was born near Pulaski, Pa., in 1839, attended the common schools at Polk, and afterwards the Clintonville Academy and the State Normal School at Edinboro. Later he had a course of classical studies under private tutelage at Franklin, became a law student in the office of W. R. Bole, at Meadville, and was admitted to the Erie bar in 1868. Mr. Allen elected to practice in Erie and was soon well established, quickly winning a place. His practice became extensive throughout northwestern Pennsylvania and northeastern Ohio. He was known as a discrete and safe counselor and a skillful and successful trial lawyer and advocate and was respected as a high-minded member of the legal fraternity. Being an uncompromising Democrat in a strong Republican district, offices of election did not come his way but he was

frequently honored by his party. In 1886 he was appointed by President Cleveland United States district attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania. For a year soon after being admitted he had for a partner Theodore A. Lamb, but for several years practiced alone, eventually forming a partnership with Louis Rosenzweig, which, enduring for years, continued until his death in 1905.

The death of Hon. John P. Vincent in March, 1909, left of the Erie bar just a handful who had been admitted to practice "before the war," that is to say during the decade of the fifties, and these may be regarded as the remnant of the lawyers of the old school. They are: Andrew H. Caughey, admitted in 1851; S. S. Spencer, admitted in 1853; Samuel A. Davenport, admitted in 1854; J. Ross Thompson, admitted in 1856, and J. F. Downing, admitted in 1859. But three of these are now practicing the legal profession. Dr. A. H. Caughey is a native of the county, and one of the most highly educated men ever enrolled as attorney in Erie. He early abandoned the practice of law to become an educator, having been principal of the Erie Academy, and an instructor at La Fayette College. He took a course in theology and was ordained in the Presbyterian ministry. He became a writer, and as a poet won a fair measure of success. His works won recognition that took the form of degrees conferred by institutions of learning and he is entitled to use more alphabetical affixes to his name than any other member of the legal profession in Erie ever was. S. S. Spencer came to Erie read in the law. Like many another attorney of this bar, his early years were devoted to teaching, but since he became a citizen of Erie he has confined himself to the legal profession. For many years he had as a partner Judge Selden Marvin and for a long time the firm was among the best known of the lawyers of Erie. His son, Selden P. Spencer, who began his legal career under the guidance of Samuel S., became judge of the Circuit Court of St. Louis.

Samuel A. Davenport has long been one of the most active and prominent attorneys of Erie. Few of the practitioners of law in Erie achieved as brilliant a success and none, perhaps were favored with a greater volume of business. He was a studious and painstaking lawyer, and never went into court without having carefully prepared his case, and this fact, perhaps even more than his inherited talents, was the secret of his success. Mr. Davenport always, until recently, took a prominent part in politics, and became a leader in his, the dominant party, not only in the county of Erie, but in the State. In 1894 he was nominated as Congressman-at-large for Pennsylvania, and elected, and was returned in 1896. His long career at the Erie bar has been a luminous one and he continues still to be a useful and influential member of the profession.

One of the best known and most highly esteemed members of the Erie bar is Col. J. Ross Thompson, born at Franklin in 1832. He was a son of James Thompson, judge of the Circuit Court and afterwards

judge of the Supreme Court for fifteen years. Col. Thompson was a graduate of Princeton University and afterwards studied law in his father's office in Erie, becoming his partner upon his admission to the bar. His practice has been largely in corporation law, although he has been solicitor for the Pennsylvania Railroad for the past fifty years almost, in the counties of Erie, Crawford, Warren, McKean, Elk and Lawrence. In the year 1899 his son W. L. Scott Thompson became associated with him in business and the copartnership continues. For more than forty-five years he has been active in the interests of the Democratic party, stumping all over the east for the presidential candidates of his party. He was himself a candidate for the Pennsylvania Supreme bench on the Democratic ticket in 1887. His title of Colonel comes from his appointment in 1857 as aide-de-camp of Gov. Packer, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel.

Jerome Francis Downing came from New England in the fifties and was admitted in 1859. Soon afterwards he was elected district attorney, but taking up insurance, in 1864 was by the Insurance Company of North America of Philadelphia, appointed under contract its general agent for all of the states west of Pennsylvania. His splendid executive abilities achieved phenomenal success from the beginning of his career as an insurance manager and his zeal, industry and faithful application to business have continued his success uninterruptedly to the present time. He is now affectionately designated Erie's grand old man and is easily the foremost of Erie's public-spirited citizens.

Not all of those now living and practicing law in Erie county besides the quintette just named, are young men. Two at least, J. C. Sturgeon and Isaac B. Brown, have been members for more than forty years, the former making a specialty of patent law and the latter having for many years been connected with the state department of internal affairs. Of the present-day lawyers Joseph M. Force serves as register in bankruptcy; F. W. Grant has for many years been United States Commissioner; E. P. Gould has been a specialist in the charities and remedial laws; T. A. Lamb, long city solicitor, is the recognized authority on municipal law; John S. Rilling is recognized throughout the state as an authority on the school and educational laws of Pennsylvania, while his partners, Henry E. Fish and Hon. Frank Gunnison are prominent in corporation law; Clark Olds makes a specialty of admiralty practice; U. P. Rossiter is regarded as one of the most competent lawyers in Erie in negligence cases; H. C. Lord, succeeding the late J. K. Hallock, is prominent as a patent lawyer; James R. Burns, as lawyer and legislator became thereby the better fitted for the important duties he fills as a member of the high school faculty.

Nor is it unprofitable to note in what degree the county at large has contributed to the bar of the representatives of the oldest families. Of these Messrs. McCreary (died 1906), Reed, Rilling and Miller are of

Millcreek; Messrs. Brotherton, Ballard, Davis, Moore, Benson, Hyner and Whittelsey, of Waterford; Messrs. Sproul (died 1907), Morrow, McClintock, Shreve, Titus, Yard and Camp, of Union; Messrs. Sterrett and Cushman, of McKean; Messrs. Howard and Nason, of Franklin; Messrs. Sisson, Gould and Thomas, of Springfield; Messrs. Baker, Covell, Olmstead, Smith, Crosby, Kincaid, Rogers and Osborne, of Corry; Messrs. Eaton, Allison and the Giffords, of Venango; Messrs. Burchfield and Torrey, of Washington; Messrs. Flynn and Walling of Greenfield; Messrs. Cutler, Hinds, Woodruff and Rossiter, of Girard; Mr. Sawdey, of Conneaut; Mr. Bliley, of Harborcreek; Messrs. Force and Brady (died in 1905) of North East; Mr. Slocum and Mr. Sturgeon, of Fairview. A few came from adjacent counties: Messrs. Heydrick, Roberts, Burns, Andrews and Higbee, from Crawford; Mr. Fletcher, from Ohio; Mr. Hewes, of Bellefonte; Mr. Craig, of Clarion; Mr. Haughney, of McKean county. Mr. Lord comes to Erie from Michigan. Erie city is represented among its younger attorneys by a generous number, including Messrs. Allis, the Brevilliers, Chinnock, Cohen, Grant, Gibson, the Galbraiths, Gunnison, Marsh, Nason, Mertens, Carroll, Taylor, Young, McMahon, Sherwin, Heydrick, the Thompsons, and Riblet.

Another classification is permissible in view of the very large German element in the population of Erie, that race having contributed such names to the legal roster as Camphausen, Curtze, Rosewzweig, Eichenlaub, Sobel, Brevillier, Cohen, Mertens and Einfeldt. And the Celtic race has its representatives in Joseph P. O'Brien (deceased), D. McMahon and J. R. Haughney. Still another classification would be to enumerate those who obtained civil distinction or political prestige: Messrs. Brady, Brooks, Rilling, Sobel, Sproul, Nason, Higgins, Mertens, Sturgeon, Olmstead, Osborne, Sisson, Burns and Baker. Nor should the scholarly H. A. Strong, one of the most efficient principals of Erie Academy be omitted.

As indicative of the working attorneys of the period it may be valuable to give a list of the borough and city solicitors and of the prosecuting attorneys. Of the former this is the list: E. Babbitt, 1851-59; C. W. Kelso, 1860; John P. Vincent, 1861-65; E. Babbitt, 1867-70; James Sill, 1871-72; G. A. Allen, 1872; G. W. Lathy & Son, 1873-75; Camphausen & Lamb, 1876; Theo. A. Lamb, 1877-89; Joseph P. O'Brien, 1889-95; Henry A. Clark, 1895-99; W. G. Crosby, 1899-1906; W. P. Hewes, 1906 to date.

The prosecuting attorneys: 1804, Wm. N. Irvine, and William Wallace, of Erie; 1809, Patrick Farrelley and Ralph Marlin, of Crawford; 1819, Geo. A. Elliott, of Erie; 1824, William Kelley, of Erie; 1833, Don Carlos Barrett, of Erie; 1835, Galen Foster, of Erie; 1836, Elijah Babbitt, of Erie; 1837, Wm. M. Watts, of Erie; 1839, Carson Graham, of Erie; 1845, Horace Hawes, of Erie; 1846, Wm. A. Galbraith, of Erie; 1850, Matthew Taylor, of Erie, elected by the people;

1853, Samuel E. Woodruff, of Girard; 1856, G. N. Johnson, of Erie (died shortly afterwards); 1856, Charles W. Kelso, of Erie (appointed until the October election of 1857); 1857, James Sill, of Erie; 1860, Samuel A. Davenport, of Erie; 1863, J. F. Downing, of Erie; 1866, Charles M. Lynch, of Erie; 1869, John C. Sturgeon, of Erie; 1872, Samuel M. Brainerd, of North East; 1875, A. B. Force, of Erie; 1878, Charles E. Lovett, of Erie; 1881, E. A. Walling, of North East (resigned Dec. 1, 1884); 1884, C. L. Baker, of Corry (elected as a Democratic candidate); 1887, E. A. Sisson, of Erie; 1893, U. P. Rossiter of Girard; 1896, Paul Benson, of Erie; 1899, M. W. Shreve, of Union City; 1902, M. L. Davis, of Waterford; 1905, and again in 1908, W. P. Gifford, of Erie.

From 1800 to 1850 the present office of district attorney was known as deputy attorney general, and the incumbents were appointed by the attorney general of the State. The office was made elective in 1850, and the name changed to district attorney. Matthew Taylor was the first district attorney elected by the people.

It is only proper to add a word in conclusion of this chapter, and that word an acknowledgement that the facts relative to the history of the bench and bar of Erie county herein given have been derived almost entirely from a carefully prepared sketch on the subject written by the late James Sill, long a recognized authority on matters historical, and especially with reference to the legal profession.

The most notable lawsuit for damages ever tried at Erie was that in which Louis Rosenzweig, an Erie lawyer, was plaintiff against the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad Company. On November 25, 1883, Mr. Rosenzweig bought a round-trip ticket,—from Erie to Cleveland and return,—and presented the ticket for his passage shortly after the train left Cleveland, after midnight on the next day. The conductor refused to take the ticket on the ground that it was not good on that train, the "Limited Express." Nor would he accept cash in payment for passage. So Mr. Rosenzweig was put off the train somewhere in the eastern end of the Cleveland yard in the dark. He was in peril, and while endeavoring to escape the numerous dangers, was struck in the back and seriously injured. Suit was brought in 1884, his counsel being his law partner George A. Allen, S. A. Davenport, and Col. J. Ross Thompson, the attorneys for the railroad being C. R. Roys of Chicago, Hon. J. P. Vincent and Hon. S. M. Brainerd. The case was heard twice before Judge Galbraith, and a verdict was rendered for $48,750. On an appeal to the Supreme Court, in which Hon. Rasselas Brown of Warren was added to counsel for the defense, the lower court was affirmed, and in October, 1886, the sum paid the plaintiff was $53,150, being the amount of the verdict with interest added.

Out of the criminal court proceedings there have come, in the history of the county, two verdicts of murder in the first degree and two executions. The first was in 1837 when Henry Francisco was convicted before Judge Shippen. Francisco had been married to Maria Robinson, "one of the handsomest girls ever seen in Erie," but three weeks, when they mutually agreed to commit suicide, and both took poison. It was fatal in the case of the wife, but proved an emetic with Francisco. He was arrested for murder, charged that he had influenced his wife to take poison, was convicted and executed March 9, 1838, by Sheriff Scott.

On May 1, 1896, Edwin Dewitt Heidler murdered his brother-in-law, Levi H. Kreider, in Fairview. There had been trouble about the settlement of an estate and the result was that Kreider was shot and killed. Heidler was tried before Judge Walling in 1897, and convicted of murder in the first degree and was executed August 8, 1899, by Sheriff Barnett.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE SPANISH WAR.

Captain Gridley, the Manila Hero.—His Death and Burial Here. —National Guardsmen Become Real Soldiers.

It was like an echo of what had been in the Sixties when the Erie companies of the Fifteenth Regiment of the Pennsylvania National Guard, on the morning of April 27, 1898, departed for service in the war with Spain, called with the rest of the National Guard of the State to enter the service of the United States. The streets were crowded with people, the flags were flying everywhere and there was music in the air. Friends and relatives were there to say good-bye to the boys, and doubtless there were hearts full of apprehension and fear, for some still living at that time remembered what had been in the greater war between the states, and war was war, even though it was a foreign foe that was now to be fought. In some respects, however, it was different, more noticeable in other sections of the country than in Erie, but still observable here; in the respect that everyone now was loyal, and this fact was noted as among the leaders of the cheering throng that waved their hats and wished the departing soldiers "God-speed," was to be seen taking a very prominent part, Major J. H. Francis, a former Confederate officer. None cheered louder than he as the boys marched by, stepping to the air, "Marching Through Georgia," which the band played, and there was cheering for the Major as well as for the boys, for he was a leading figure in Erie and popular.

The response to the call had been prompt. Indeed the members of the Erie companies were afraid lest it might not be found necessary to call for them. There was therefore no delay when the summons came, neither in Erie nor the other towns from which the regiment was drawn. The Fifteenth regiment was composed of eight companies from the counties of Erie, Crawford, Clarion, Butler and Mercer, and reported at Mt. Gretna, April 28, 1898. The regiment was organized as follows:

Colonel—W. A. Kreps.
Lt. Colonel—Wm. T. Mechling.
Majors—Samuel D. Crawford and Frank C. Baker.
Adjutant—James C. Hoskinson.

Surgeons—S. Heilman, John M. Martin and John W. Wright.
Chaplains—Ken. C. Hayes, of Meadville, and George A. Knerr, of Pine Grove.
Company A, Erie—Capt. Ralph B. Sterrett.
Company B, Meadville—Capt. R. B. Gamble.
Company C, Erie—Capt. Wallace R. Hunter.
Company D, Clarion—Capt. A. J. Davis.
Company E, Butler—Capt. Ira McJunkin.
Company F, Grove City—Capt. Wm. McCoy.
Company G, Sharon—Capt. John W. Smith.
Company K, Greenville—Capt. J. H. Martin.

The companies were recruited to 75 enlisted men, and on May 10th companies A, B, C, G, and K were mustered in, companies D, E, and F being mustered in on the 11th, the regiment being then mustered into the service of the United States with a total of 36 officers and 605 enlisted men. Subsequently the several companies were recruited to three officers and 106 enlisted men each. The regiment remained at Mt. Gretna until June 11, when A, B, D, F, G, and K proceeded to Sheridan Point, Virginia, under Col. Kreps and C and E to Fort Washington, Md., under Lt. Col. Mechling. On the 20th A and G were relieved at Sheridan Point and ordered to Fort Washington. Co. C was assigned to the care of a ten-inch barbette gun and a water battery and one 15-inch M. L. S. B. smooth-bore, the entire command, however, continuing regular infantry company and battalion drill. The regiment was assigned to the First Brigade, Second Division, Second Army Corps. On October 27, the regiment participated in the Peace Jubilee at Philadelphia. On Saturday, November 5, Major S. D. Crawford, with Co. G, proceeded to Athens, Ga., and the rest of the regiment left for Athens November 11, where it remained until mustered out, January 31, 1899.

The story of the regiment as it has thus been told is from the official State record, but there are details concerning the experience of the companies from Erie not included in the record made by the Adjutant General of the commonwealth. It was not a story of standing up under fire; of the furious charge, or the daring assault. But there was a little taste of the hardship of the soldier's life, endured uncomplainingly by the boys, whose conduct under what came to them was an earnest of what might be expected of them if the fortunes of war had made it necessary that they, too, should have an experience similar to that at San Juan Hill. The officers of the Erie companies were: Company A, Ralph B. Sterrett, Captain; Charles E. Spencer, First Lieutenant; Henry N. Pudenz, Second Lieutenant. Company C, Wallace R. Hunter, Captain; James B. Yard, First Lieutenant; P. Dale Hyner, Second Lieutenant. When the Erie companies arrived at Mt. Gretna on the morning of April 28, a severe snow storm

was raging. It was not a cheerful introduction to army life, for in the midst of the storm they were required to pitch their tents, and when this was accomplished, after an entire day's work the tents were not habitable, and shelter for the night was sought wherever there was a chance to find it. The rough experience of the first day was, however, soon forgotten and the duties of the soldier's life cheerfully taken up.

There were casualties, though not the result of an enemy's fire. On September 7, while crossing the Potomac river in a row boat, privates John Greener and Harry Coffey, of Co. A, were caught midway in the river in a sudden squall and both were drowned. On December 14th Adjutant James C. Hoskinson was killed by being thrown from his horse at Athens, Ga. While stationed at Fort Washington Private Etsel French, of North East, of Co. C, was taken sick and subsequently died in the Presbyterian Hospital, at Philadelphia. This was the only member of Co. C that was lost by death while in the service.

There were military honors that came to the Erie boys. While at Camp Hastings, Mt. Gretna, Lieut. Yard was ordered upon detailed service as Acting Assistant Quartermaster. At Ft. Washington he was detailed as Post Quartermaster and Commissary, and Lieut. Hyner as Post Adjutant and then as recruiting officer. At Camp Meade Lieut. Yard was detached from the regiment and assigned as Quartermaster of the Third Division, Second Army Corps Hospital Corps, while Lieut. Hyner was detailed as Regimental Commissary, in which capacity he continued to act as long as the regiment was in the service. While these changes added no laurels to the brow of Capt. Hunter, but greatly increased his labors, his very successful management of his command notwithstanding the deprivation brought him a due measure of commendation.

Soldierly duties fell to the lot of Co. C, while it was stationed in the vicinity of Harrisburg, being ordered upon provost guard duty. This duty was the guarding of cars on both the Harrisburg & Middletown and Oberlin lines, as well as patrolling the town of Steelton. This service extended from September 19, to October 4.

The soldiers had their holidays. One was that at Philadelphia on October 26, when they took part in the peace jubilee. There was another peace jubilee at Atlanta on December 15, and in this also the Erie companies took part. And so it turned out that instead of being war service the boys entered upon that morning in April, 1898, when they boarded the cars on the Bessemer Railroad, it was a service of peace. But they were prepared for war if circumstances had so shaped themselves, and they were not without honor though they brought back with them no scars.

The termination of the war with Spain was not, however, the end of the military service which that war brought on. There was

that other trouble which came to us as a sequel in the possession that had been acquired in the Orient, the war with Aguinaldo and his misguided Filipinos. In this war Erie was represented. No member of the National Guard of Pennsylvania was ever more ambitious for military service than Major Crawford of the Fifteenth. Enlisting as a private in the old Erie Guard under Capt. Kurtis—and possibly earlier, he worked his way up to the post of senior major, and hailed the news of war service with rather more of joy than any other of the officers of his regiment. If the announcement that he was to go into active military service was a joy, the early petering out of the war was a grief, especially in view of the fact that he and the boys under him had never had a sight of a Spaniard nor even of the Cuban shore. The latter disappointment he remedied by taking a trip to Havana before he returned home, but immediately he reached Erie he set about effecting an arrangement by which he could enter the United States service and go to the Philippines. He was successful. His fellows of the "press gang" knew him as "Doc," and his name as D. S. Crawford. He enlisted as D. Samuel Crawford. But the War Department knew his name better. He was enrolled as Samuel D. Crawford, and under that name he became a line officer in the American army in the Philippines, and did efficient work in quelling the insurrection.

When Aguinaldo had been pacified the government found it necessary to organize a military force for the preservation of peace on the islands, and this force was designated the Philippine Constabulary. Into this Crawford enlisted at the time of its organization rather than return with his hunger for military experience unsatisfied. He was faithful in his service and rose by frequent promotions to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel of the Constabulary. After a year in this rank there was another overhauling of the military establishment in the islands, when an opportunity presented by which a captaincy in the regular army could be obtained, and this Crawford eagerly accepted, because it seemed to offer a permanency. Capt. Samuel D. Crawford, U. S. A., is now an officer of the regular army, and at present is in service in the Philippines.

In the other branch of the service—the Navy—Erie was represented by one of the most distinguished officers of the Pacific squadron. When war with Spain was declared Capt. Charles V. Gridley was in command of the Olympia, flagship of Admiral Dewey. He was ill at the time, so ill that the order had gone out that he was to be relieved, and Capt. Lamberton had been ordered to the command of the Olympia in his stead. When, however, the order came to Dewey from Washington to proceed to Manila and capture it, ill as he was, Capt. Gridley heroically put up the request to be permitted to remain in command of his ship until the battle was over. Such a

request from a brave man and a good sailor could not well be refused. It was granted, and the Olympia under the command of Capt. Gridley proceeded across the China Sea. Fearlessly he entered the strait that led up into Manila Bay and passed the island of Corregidor, regardless of the mines which current report stated the strait was thickly planted with, and early in the morning on May 1, 1898, at the head of the squadron was off Cavité. The preparations for the conflict were characteristic of a Yankee commander, quickly made and carefully done. Sick though he was the spirit of the fighting captain was strong within him, and as the line of battle was formed he took his position in the conning tower. "You may fire when ready, Gridley," said Admiral Dewey, from the deck. Gridley was ready then, and he opened the fire.

As it turned out the conflict was, for the Americans, nothing more serious than target practice. Such gunnery had never before been seen. It seemed as though every shot told, and as the squadron slowly steamed past, pouring its dreadful iron hail into the hulls of the enemy that after the first broadsides had been rendered practically helpless, the victory was won almost hands down. But that sick man, confined in the conning tower, amid the fearful din and concussion of the cannonading, suffered as though from wounds. Out of the fray he came in a dying condition. He had had his part in the fight. Bravely he had played his part. Nobly he had made his sacrifice. He would not have done more had he been stricken down by a Spaniard's solid shot.

The battle over Capt. Gridley was relieved of his command and all haste was made to hurry him home with the hope that life might be prolonged until he should reach his friends. It was in vain. He died at Kobé, Japan.

Capt. Gridley's remains were brought to Erie for burial, and it was a memorable occasion when his funeral took place. It was on July 13, 1898, in the evening. The preliminary service took place at his home, the Vincent residence on West Sixth street. That completed the funeral procession was formed. It was a military funeral in which the blue-jackets from the Michigan with the marines, the veterans of the Grand Army, and the old soldiers from the Soldiers and Sailors' Home had conspicuous part, marching from the city down to the cemetery on the shore of the lake. The boys of the National Guard were absent on military duty, but a vast concourse, some driving, many proceeding on the trolley cars, but a far greater number walking, swelled the procession as it entered the cemetery to huge proportions. Gridley Circle, the spot chosen for the burial, located near the brow of the bluff overlooking the lake, was enclosd hundreds deep by the throng that surrounded. The religious service proceeded, the solemn words from the ritual intoned by the minister, the prayers of the assistant and the parting hymns by a quartette

choir of male voices. Slowly the sun was declining behind a bank of summer clouds. At length there is a parting of the curtain in the west. The sun paints an edging of crimson and gold upon the parted clouds as it touches the horizon line where the glassy mirror of the lake's calm surface meets the glory of the summer evening sky. The service at the grave is over. There had been a pause for but a minute, and then rang out clear in the solemn silence of the moment the bugle call, "Taps," the soldier's good-night. Just as the last note of the bugle ceased the crimson disc of the setting sun sank from view behind the horizon line. Erie's hero of the Battle of Manila Bay had been laid to rest.

CAPT. GRIDLEY'S BURIAL PLACE, ERIE CEMETERY.

The gallant Captain was not long the only occupant of that beautiful burial spot. He left one son to bear his name and to inherit his valor, John P. Vincent Gridley. Through the interest taken in his welfare by President McKinley young Gridley was enabled to get forward in the navy, and had made good progress in what promised to be a career full of promise. But it happened that while target practice was in progress there was an explosion on the Missouri that killed a number of men, among them John Gridley, then a captain of marines. As had been with his father he was cut down in the line

of duty. From the waters of Cuba, where the squadron was in service his body was conveyed to Erie and given a soldier's burial by the side of his father.

The Navy Department at Washington honored the memory of Capt. Gridley by ordering a number of trophies taken at the capture of Manila to mark the last resting place of the commander of the American flagship. There are four antique Spanish cannon made of silver bronze, supported by gun carriages of wrought iron of design quite as antique. These were taken from the Spanish navy yard at Cavité. Each gun weighs 6,800 pounds, is twelve feet long with eight-inch bore. They are handsomely engraved, each with its name and the date and place of its manufacture. The Yerraska was made at Barcelona in 1788; the Trajano at Barcelona in 1777; the Manahem at Seville in 1792; the Hypocrates at Seville in 1798. A movement for the erection of a monument to Capt. Gridley was begun in 1900, but the effort has not yet been productive of the result it had in view.

Although it is a trifle apart from the subject of Erie's part in the Spanish war, perhaps this is as good a place as any other to introduce the story of the volunteer soldiers that flourished in the form of military companies during the period between the two wars. The earliest of Erie's military organizations are told of elsewhere, and the prominent share they bore in aiding in the organization of the Erie regiments that went into the Civil war. The later companies were directly the product of that war. The soldierly spirit was not dead when the tattered banners were furled and the worn veterans found their way home again. Many of the boys who had marched through Georgia and over the hills and through the valleys of Virginia were soldiers still, and to the boys growing up, the sight of the torn battle flags was an inspiration that prompted the military spirit in them to action. When therefore Capt. Clayton W. Lytle, late of the 145th Regiment proposed the organization of a military company the response was prompt and the Erie Guard came into existence in 1871 with full ranks and was immediately accepted as part of the Seventeenth Regiment of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. In those days each company uniformed itself to suit its own taste, and the Erie Guard adopted a dress of Continental cut, blue with white trimmings and shakos with feathers. It was a very picturesque uniform and greatly admired by the ladies, who declared they all looked like brigadier generals. The Erie Guard was Co. B, of the Seventeenth Regiment.

In 1873 another company was organized through the efforts of Capt. Chas. D. Sweeney. It was called the Sheridan Guard, Co. G, Seventeenth Regiment and was recruited from the young men of the Irish-American element of Erie's citizens. The uniform adopted was of the Continental style, gray with black trimmings and shakos. The

Sheridan Guard was more ambitious than their predecessors in the same regiment, bringing out a full military band of twenty members, gorgeously uniformed in red coats with yellow cord, smart in appearance and excellent musicians.

The soldierly spirit grew. In 1875 there was organized the McLane Light Guard with Capt. John S. Riddle in command. It was composed of young men that the other soldier boys regarded as the patrician element of the town, but it was none the worse for that. It became Co. G, of the Seventeenth Regiment and was one of the best drilled in the regimental organization. Its uniform, of the prevailing Continental style, was of light gray with white trimmings, and its membership took a true soldierly pride in the company.

Before long all these gaily attired citizen soldiers were called into the field to perform actual duty. The labor troubles of 1877, that developed the great railroad strike and the riots at Pittsburg, rendered necessary the calling out of the soldiers of the National Guard. All the Erie companies responded, going to Pittsburg, and after the troubles there were at an end proceeded to the anthracite coal regions to attend to the case of the "Molly Maguires." Upon the expiration of its term of enlistment the McLane Light Guard was mustered out. The Sheridan Guard was disbanded when the Seventeenth Regiment was mustered out in 1880. The Erie Guard continued as an organization until about 1888, forming part of the Fifteenth Regiment in the reorganized National Guard. Of the officers of the Erie companies, Capt. Lytle was followed by Capt. Kurtis, he by Capt. Burns, then Capt. Baxter, and last Capt. Riblet. Capt. Sweeney of the Sheridan Guard was followed by Capt. Craine, and he by Capt. Wilson. Capt. Riddle of the McLane Light Guard was succeeded by Capt. Dodge. Captains Lytle, Kurtis and Riddle were promoted to the office of Colonel of the regiment each in turn, and Captains Sweeney and Craine were advanced to the rank of Major. Lieut. John W. Leech of the McLane Guard was appointed adjutant of the regiment. The annual encampment of the regiment was held at Massassauga Point in 1875 and the grand review by Gov. Hartranft was one of the most spectacular military displays imaginable, the multiplicity of showy uniforms lending a kaleidoscopic effect that has never since been possible in a military demonstration.

There was a reorganization of the National Guard in 1880, and a complete change in the Erie representation in that military establishment. The Seventeenth Regiment went out of existence and the Fifteenth came in. Of the old companies only the Erie Guard was enrolled with the new regiment. But new companies were formed. The Noble Light Guard, organized in 1880, with Capt. Elzie in command, served several years but finally disbanded. The same year the Governor's Guard was recruited by Capt. C. C. Hearn. Capt. Hearn had been a lieutenant in the McLane Guard, and brought into

the service considerable experience, for he had been with his earlier company in the campaign against the Pittsburg railroad rioters and the Molly Maguires. The company was organized to take the place of the McLane Guard in the Seventeenth Regiment and was for a time Co. E, of that body. When the reorganization came it entered the Fifteenth Regiment and, in blue and khaki continued its identification with the Pennsylvania soldiery till the close of the Spanish War. Captain Hearn was succeeded by Capt. F. M. Lamb, who, being promoted to Major of the regiment was followed by Capt. D. S. Crawford, who continued in command for nine years. Being chosen Major of the regiment, the command of Company C fell to Capt. C. R. Dinkey, under whom the Governor's Guard went with the regiment to Homestead during the strike of July, 1892, remaining there four months. For business reasons Capt. Dinkey resigned and was succeeded by Capt. H. C. Mabie, who remained in command until 1896 when he resigned and Capt. Wallace R. Hunter was elected to the command of the company. The service of this company in the Spanish war has already been narrated in the beginning of this chapter.

During the political campaign of 1888 a marching club known as the Culbertson Zouaves was organized. It was composed of young men who took so much interest in the maneuvering and evolutions of the march that when the campaign was at an end they decided to continue the organization, and, learning that there was a vacancy in the Fifteenth Regiment, offered to fill it. The offer was promptly accepted and the Culbertson Zouaves became Co. A of the regiment and part of the National Guard, being mustered in May 10, 1889. John B. Boyd was elected captain and W. W. Reed and Frank W. Bailey lieutenants. Although it had been mustered into the service of the State, it was very poorly equipped. Being without uniforms the members at their personal expense supplied the want, and but thirteen guns having been provided for the entire company the boys had to drill in the manual by turns or relays. Nevertheless their zeal as soldiers was so great that when they reported at camp in the summer of 1889, although the full equipment of guns had been in their possession for but three days they won liberal praise for their excellence in marching and the manual. The company was regular in its attendance with full ranks and well drilled, at all the encampments, nor was it less punctilious when summoned to perform real service in connection with the troubles at Homestead in July, 1892. The response with full ranks was prompt, and the service faithful until the company was ordered home in September.

On the return home Capt. Boyd and Lieut. Reed resigned and James H. Hoskinson was elected Captain. In 1897 Capt. Hoskinson being promoted to the field Ralph B. Sterrett was promoted to the command of the company and was at its head when it entered the service of the United States government in the Spanish-American War. The

story of the part played in that war by this company has been told. In 1900 there was another reorganization of the Pennsylvania National Guard which resulted in this company, on May 8, being transferred to the Sixteenth Regiment as Company G. On February 6, 1901, Capt. Sterrett having resigned, Charles E. Spencer was elected Captain.

In October, 1892, the company was again called into active service with the regiment, to quell the industrial disturbance that existed in the anthracite coal region, arriving at Mt. Carmel on the 7th, where the Fourth Regiment was relieved. On the 26th Company G, as part of the First Battalion of the Sixteenth, Major T. E. Windsor in command, was ordered to Shenandoah to relieve the Eighteenth Regiment, ordered home. Company G was ordered home November 3, after having served twenty-eight days during those disturbances.

On June 7, 1907, First Lieutenant Henry N. Pudenz was elected Captain to fill the vacancy resulting from the resignation of Capt. Spencer. On June 22 Second Lieutenant Faber having resigned, two vacancies for the lieutenancies were left. These were filled at the annual encampment July 19, by the election of Sergeant Lucius M. Phelps as First Lieutenant and Quartermaster Sergeant James A. Saunders as Second Lieutenant.

Company C of the Fifteenth went out at the time Company A was reorganized into the Sixteenth as Co. G, and this is how that came about. After the close of the Spanish war the volunteers in the United States army from Pennsylvania (in common with all the volunteers from the other states) were discharged. Before these were again mustered in as part of Pennsylvania's military establishment, it was decided by the Adjutant General's department to be an appropriate time to put into effect the new system under which the National Guard of Pennsylvania would be brought in accord, in its organization, with the regular army of the United States. Under this system each regiment consisted of twelve companies, instead of eight or ten (the Fifteenth had but eight), the purpose being that each regiment should be made up of three battalions. The legislative act provided for 144 companies of infantry in twelve regiments. Carrying out the provisions of this act in accordance with the plan adopted, it was decided to disband the Fifteenth Regiment, and attach four of its companies to the Sixteenth. The other four companies, one of which was Capt. Hunter's command, was therefore disbanded. From that time forward (1900) the city of Erie has had but a single military company, and its military prestige, at one time high, has suffered materially. The present company is a soldierly organization, well officered, but there are not now, as was once the case, a long line of regimental and staff officers, ranking up to Colonel.

CHAPTER XXXV.—NOTABLE PEOPLE.

Horace Greeley, Ida M. Tarbell, Senator Burrows and Others Who Went Away and Some Who Came.

There are people, not a few, who, born here, remained all their lives, going in and out among their fellow citizens, never became great—never had even the shadow of a hint of greatness fall across their way. On the other hand there were those born here, and who lived here, and remaining here became really great. And then again there are those who were of the people of Erie in their youth—the plain people and even the humble people,—who went away from Erie and achieved renown, and somehow there are people in Erie who are pleased to know that the Honorable So-and-so was born here; or the celebrated What-his-name once made his home in Erie county, and delight to talk about it. It is a species of local pride in which it is quite pardonable to indulge, and perhaps beyond being excusable, is worthy of commendation. It is a fact that more than one person has gone out from Erie almost directly into the path that leads to renown, and that of those who were humblest in life's beginnings, while dwelling within the boundaries of Erie county there have been instances where almost the highest summit of human attainment had been achieved.

One summer day in 1830 there strolled into the little village of Erie a young man—a mere boy—of more than usually singular appearance. He was a remarkably plain-looking unsophisticated lad, with a slouching, careless gait, leaning away forward as he walked as though his head and heels were too heavy for his body. He wore on the back of his head a wool hat of the old stamp with so small a brim that it looked more like a two-quart measure inverted than a hat. His trousers were exceedingly short and voluminous; his shoes were of the kind called high-lows and much worn down; he wore no stockings, his homespun clothes were cut with an utter disregard of elegance or fit, and he had a singular whining voice that provoked merriment among new acquaintances. It came that the other boys gave him the sobriquet of "The Ghost," on account of the singular fairness of his complexion and his long white hair. He naturally attracted attention in the village, but it became at once apparent that he had an errand, for he did not loiter about the street corners. As directly as he could proceed, aided by a few questions,

he directed his steps toward the village printing office, and seeking out Mr. Sterrett, the editor of the *Gazette,* applied for a position as a printer. He was successful. Mr. Sterrett hired him, agreeing to board him and pay him fifteen dollars a month. In this way Horace Greeley became a citizen of Erie. He had that day walked in from Wayne township.

A word or two about his earlier life and what led up to his finding his way into Erie will be apropos. He was born at Amherst, N. H., February 3, 1811, "of poor but honest parents." There was a large family of them, the father was not a very pushing man, and the soil was lamentably stubborn. So the farm yielded a very indifferent support. In some sort of fashion they contrived to make ends meet though they were very poor ends at that, and if it had not been for the uncommon vigor of Horace Greeley's mother, who could easily do two men's work on the farm, hunger might have been more frequently the portion of the rising family. Mrs. Greeley was a notable woman in other ways than one. She was possessed of an uncommonly strong mind, and Horace was endowed through his mother with the peculiarity of an intellect active beyond the common. At the age of three he could read; at seven he was a scholar and the greediest of readers. When ten years of age he had made up his mind to be a printer and at thirteen tried to find an opportunity to get into an office. He was, however, refused the privilege until he was fifteen and then was apprenticed in the office of the *Northern Spectator* at Poultney, Vt., the conditions being that for the first six months he was to have only his board and afterwards in addition to his board $40 annually for his clothing.

Meanwhile the struggle in the New Hampshire hills became too grievous to be borne, and Zaccheus Greeley, anticipating by many years his son's famous advice, went west. He bought a farm and settled in Wayne township, Erie county. It was just as difficult a matter for newspaper publishers as for farmers to get along in that inhospitable New England country. Before the expiration of Horace Greeley's apprenticeship, the *Northern Spectator* suspended. Thrown upon the world with nothing, for all he had earned had been sent to his parents to help them along in their strait, Horace turned his steps toward the west, and walked all the way to his father's home. Arrived in Wayne township he engaged in work upon his father's farm, toward winter seeking and obtaining transient employment now and then at Jamestown, Lodi, and in Cattaraugus county, determining at length to try his fortune in Erie. There was no way of reaching the village on the lake shore but by tramping it. That he did, and indeed it was a trifling matter for one who had footed the journey all the way from Vermont; and here he was successful.

Greeley remained in Erie for the better part of a year but there remain here few traditions of the man who was afterwards to fill so prominent a role in the events that made up one of the most important epochs in American history. He was known as an industrious man

and as one who had opinions and could hold his own in case he should be led into debate. But it was rare that he was a participant in the curb-stone contentions then so popular. He was frequently present, however, an interested looker-on and student of men and events, taking his first lessons in political matters, and that he was impressed by what he observed while working here as a printer seems to have been proven by his remark long afterwards that there was more politics to the square foot in Erie than in any other place in the country.

Greeley left Erie in 1831. His going, as his coming, made no ripple of excitement, for he was but an obscure journeyman printer. He went away, as he came, a traveler afoot, plodding his weary way to the metropolis, perhaps as unpromising a subject for fame to those who may have noted his departure as any one could well be; he went away, however, better circumstanced than ever he had been before, for when he reached New York he had ten dollars in his pocket. That was the total amount of his capital when he began his career in the great metropolis, and beginning at the lowest round of the ladder, his upward progress was necessarily slow. But in time it came about that he began to be remembered by acquaintances here who had for a time forgotten him. He became known as a New York editor. He rose at length swiftly; to the very highest point to which a printer's ambition might aim; he filled the loftiest niche in journalism; his paper wielded an influence that controlled the destinies of the nation—it even affected the action of foreign powers. It was said, believed, and no doubt was true that in its time the *New York Tribune* was the most influential journal in the world; that even the *London Times* was not its superior in the power it wielded. And the *New York Tribune* in the height of its power was Horace Greeley. The man whose year of work in Erie had made possible his journey to New York—whose residence in Erie may have given him the inspiration to enter upon his great career—was the man who in fact made Abraham Lincoln president; he was the man who held up the hands of the war president when the awful burden he was compelled to bear made them weary to the point of falling down; he was the man who wielded a pen that wrote words of fire and helped to carve out union victory as surely as the generals and admirals who directed the movements of armies and fleets. Then people of Erie had no difficulty whatever in remembering that Horace Greeley at one time lived in this city and was employed as a journeyman printer on the old *Gazette*.

Grand was Horace Greeley's career; pathetic was the end. His candidacy for president was really to seek vindication before the people of America. Their overwhelming adverse verdict crushed him. He died of a broken heart. And when he died, again it was remembered he had been "of Erie." When everyone was writing in praise of the mighty man laid low, the editor of the *Dispatch* felt called upon to cast his stone upon the cairn that was being raised to the memory of one of the

greatest men the nation ever produced, and wrote from a heart and mind filled with admiration, sentiments proper to the occasion, and he sent his editorial to the printer.

Now the printers knew Horace Greeley. Now and again there had drifted into Erie a tramp who in his time had "held cases" on the *Tribune* and who swore he could read Greeley's handwriting. (Perhaps he is the fellow who could not read Mr. Willard's manuscript—but of that, more hereafter.) The printers knew Greeley. They knew that though he was a New York editor he affected agriculture, had an amateur farm establishment at Chappaqua, and printed all sorts of farm lore in the *Tribune*. The printers knew Horace Greeley.

Now Mr. Willard in his editorial upon Greeley had said, among other things: "His trenchant pen made princes and potentates writhe." Perhaps it was the tramp printer above alluded to who got that "take" of copy; it may not have been. But this is what came down from the composing room: "His truculent pen made quinces and potatoes wither."

One of the greatest living historians is a woman—Ida M. Tarbell, who evolved from a chaos of facts and figures a clear, orderly, concise and consecutive history of, perhaps, the greatest business organization in the world. With the sure instinct of the true historian, she gathered the vital facts in the rise of this great institution and presented them in their true relation with conscientious loyalty to truth, with courage in stating boldly her findings, and with an absence of prejudice that is rare, indeed, in writing on such a theme. The work is more than a mere history of an industry; it is the biography of a genius in organization and the vivisection of a typical Trust combined in one masterly work—"The History of the Standard Oil Company." This is but one of the splendid pieces of literature to the credit of Miss Tarbell.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell was born in the vicinity of Wattsburg, in Amity township in this county, her father Frank Tarbell, and the family—or rather the families, for the McCulloughs, related on her mother's side, also live in Amity—are well known throughout the eastern part of Erie county. She was reared in Amity and there obtained her primary schooling. Later, however, her father removed to Titusville and there better advantages for learning offered. After graduating from the Titusville High School and later from Allegheny College, at Meadville, she had to face the problem of self-support. After a period of teaching in Ohio, she assumed the position of associate editor of "The Chautauquan," and later became its managing editor. She saw that editorial work and original creation cannot properly be driven abreast, so gently cutting the reins of editorial duties, went to Paris to study the French method of historical research. Here for three years, while studying she supported herself by her writings.

An article on Alphand, who carried out the improvements in beautifying Paris, led to an interview with S. S. McClure, who was so charmed with her work that he rushed in for a five minutes' talk in her little den on the fifth floor of the house where she lived; he stayed two hours, and, as Miss Tarbell says, they both talked at once all the time. A cable invitation for her to write a history of Napoleon brought her back to America shortly after, and her literary success really began.

Her splendid life of Lincoln represented five solid years in the collection of material, and she went from Kentucky to Indiana, from there to Illinois, and then to Washington, interviewing men who had known him, digging into files of old newspapers, records, reports and documents, and visiting out-of-the-way places that might furnish a single grain of new illumination on his character or lifework. It was the same spirit of conscientious care in details that made her travel from New York to Cleveland merely to see for a few moments John D. Rockefeller as he appeared in a Sunday School environment. Miss Tarbell's latest work on the "Tariff in Our Times" is a line of effort that seems destined to wield a great influence on the future history of our nation.

A family that has become notable, some of them attaining to distinction is that of William Burrows, who in 1832 moved into Erie county, settling upon a farm in the southern part of North East. William Burrows was married in 1818 at Busti, Chautauqua county, N. Y., and there six children, five sons and a daughter were born, and this large family came with them when Mr. and Mrs. Burrows moved into Erie county. Two more children came into the family while living in North East, Jerome Bonaparte, January 18, 1834, and Julius Caesar, January 9, 1837. Today of the three members of that family that remain one, Julius C., is a member of the United States Senate from Michigan, and another, Jerome B., (both born in Erie county), is a judge of the Seventh Circuit Court of Ohio. But while they lived in Erie county they were of God's poor, and they put up a brave struggle to get ahead. Recently a representative of the *New York Tribune*, interviewed Senator Burrows with reference to his early life, and in telling of the struggles of his youth the Senator said he thanks God that he did not have to start life "handicapped with a million dollars and an automobile." His first acquaintance with real work was made when he was but a lad with a neckyoke and two buckets over his shoulders gathering maple sap.

"You were born in a log cabin on a farm in Northwestern Pennsylvania?" said the interviewer.

"Yes, on the side of a hill in Erie county. My father built a new house when I was a child which I thought to be remarkably commodious and elegant. Even when we moved into it with our belongings—there

were ten of us in the family, seven sons and a daughter—it seemed entirely too large and oppressively lonely. I went back to look at the old house several years ago, keeping its stately proportions in mind as I had always remembered them, but I couldn't find it. I saw a weather-beaten little hut of one and a half stories, with three rooms down-stairs and an unfinished attic. I was distressed and amazed to learn that it was the imposing palace of my childhood. My six brothers and I worked on the farm and attended district school in the winter.

"We left North East in the early spring of 1850 and bought a farm in the famous 19th District of Ohio, which was represented in Congress by Joshua R. Giddings, and at a later day by James A. Garfield, and which was also the home of Senator Benjamin F. Wade, the furious abolitionist. We were very poor. Money was scarce. Markets were few and far apart. Farm products had to be traded to merchants for calico and other goods. I got a little money by peeling apples and drying them in the sun. I milked five cows twice a day, and walked three miles to an academy at Kingsville. One winter I did chores at a man's house for my board. Then I got a room at the academy, sweeping the building and ringing the bell for my tuition. My mother gave me a bed and a box stove, and I did my own cooking.

"I worked hard, but it was a contest with poverty all the time. The young men of today don't know what it is to fight for an education, and those who are clothed and fed and given every opportunity by their fathers are utterly unappreciative. I found that I was making no headway, and went to Jefferson, the county seat, where I was engaged as principal of the village schools. The children of Wade and Giddings were among my pupils, as were the sisters and brothers of William Dean Howells, the novelist. My salary was too small to remember."

In 1860 Mr. Burrows moved to Michigan, where he took charge of the Richland Seminary, occupying all his spare time with the study of law, his legal studies having begun at Jefferson while he was principal of the Union School. In 1861 he was admitted to practice law in the Supreme Court of Michigan. He had settled permanently at Kalamazoo, and there early in 1862 raised a company for the Seventeenth Michigan Regiment with which he served as captain until the fall of 1863, when he was assigned to the staff of General Welsh, serving with distinction until the winter of 1864, when he was honorably discharged. Then he entered politics. In 1865 and again in 1868 he was elected prosecuting attorney; in 1872 he was elected to Congress as a Republican, and again in 1878, serving then continuously until 1895. His speech in the 51st Congress on the McKinley bill placed him in the fore-front of the defenders of protection. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1895, and re-elected. In June of 1908 he was temporary chairman of the National Republican Convention that nominated Taft, and his speech upon taking the chair was a notable deliverance, outlining the policies of his party in the pending campaign.

Nor was he the only notable individual of his father's family, or alone in the brave and determined struggle to make progress. They were all of the same blood, and the same fibre. They were all true and

typical American citizens, and all imbued with the same quality of patriotic devotion. The oldest of the brothers, William R., died in Arkansas in 1846. When the Civil War broke out the remaining six boys of the Burrows family entered the army, all in the service at the same time. Jerome B. became a lawyer, and, like his brother Julius, rose to preferment among his fellow citizens, becoming in time a judge of the Circuit Court of Ohio. Nor was there one of the family who did not attain to prominence. Three of the family are still living: Hamilton, at North East, aged 80; Jerome B., at Painesville, Ohio, aged 75; and Julius C., at Kalamazoo, Mich., aged 72.

In the year 1864 there came to the "Old Erie Academy" as principal, Albion W. Tourgee. He was in a manner connected with Erie. His wife was a sister of Miss A. C. Kilbourne, for many years an honored teacher in Erie and during the closing years of her life the best beloved member of the Erie high school faculty as a tablet to her memory in the school amply testifies. Professor Tourgee had direction of affairs at the Academy during part of the period of its greatest prosperity and popularity, but his service as a teacher in Erie was cut short by a Federal appointment that made him a "carpet-bagger," if you please, but furnished to the State of North Carolina one of the most useful citizens that commonwealth ever knew. He was settled at Greensboro, and from there went in 1865 a delegate to the constitutional convention, furnishing for the new organic law of the Old North State an article which, Judge Sharswood declared, provided the "most admirable system of courts known to any state in the Union." He was elected judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina in 1868, and served until the end of the term, in 1874, filling the position with striking ability and with a courage that challenged the wonder and admiration of all cognizant with the conditions, and that may have been the charm that preserved him. It was during the five years marked by the greatest activity of that mysterious organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, a fraternity that had set out to undo Judge Tourgee, and that it was expected would kill him. With a carelessness and indifference that amounted to contempt he went in and out among them without guard and even without arms, defying the disturbers of the peace to touch him; and he was not touched. He continued in North Carolina until 1879, when for a year he removed to Denver, then taking up his residence in Mayville, N. Y.

In 1874 he began the literary work that made him famous. His first book, "Toinette," afterwards called "A Royal Gentleman" presented one phase of the "race problem" that is particularly perplexing to the South, and most of the novels of at least the first half of his literary career, were in one or another key of the social situation as he found it in the South. Of "A Fool's Errand" there were more than a million copies sold, and it was translated into several languages. His legal writ-

ings were of the highest order, and consisted chiefly of a codification of the laws of North Carolina, and a digest of cited cases, the latter winning especial praise from legal authorities.

Judge Tourgee was twice enlisted as a soldier in the war of the Rebellion and was twice discharged on account of wounds received. He had been a student at Rochester University when he enlisted in 1861, and, discharged in 1862, took his degree of A. M. He again enlisted, to be discharged in 1864, when he came to Erie, to become an educator. In 1897 he was appointed U. S. Consul at Bordeaux, and in 1903 was transferred to Halifax, where he died in 1905.

The greatest traveler Erie ever produced and the man most widely known from personal contact was undoubtedly Harry Kellar, the magician, born in Erie in 1849. His father had been a soldier under Napoleon the Great, and Harry, the son, was a campaigner himself, though along rather different lines. When Harry was a boy he was put to work early and found employment in Carter's drug store on North Park Row. In its day it was the handsomest store in town and from it proceeded enterprises that enriched more than one man or one corporation. Carter's Smartweed is still ours, in Erie, but Carter's Little Liver Pills "flew the coop" years ago. Now it was in this breeding-place of successful proprietary remedies that Harry Kellar learned or acquired the A, B, C's of the magician's art—where he perfected himself in the feat of drawing different liquors from one bottle. There he learned enough of chemistry to be useful to him in the future.

Once there came to Erie one who proclaimed himself the Fakir of Ava, skilled in legerdemain and a capital entertainer. He remained here a week and the Fakir and his pig came to be the talk of the town. When he went away Harry Kellar went with him as his assistant, and was with him for two seasons or thereabout. At that period there existed another "craze," if you please to call it so. It was denominated "Spiritualism," but of the stage sort, and purported to be manifestations of materialization, the exponents being the Davenport Brothers, who became celebrated as mediums. In 1867 Harry Kellar became connected with the Davenports and continued with them four years, there learning to perfection the cabinet tricks at which he became more expert in time than the Davenports themselves. During this period he traveled extensively throughout the United States. His career as a traveler did not begin, however, until 1871, when with Fay, the then famous magician, he formed a partnership—Fay and Kellar—and toured Mexico and South America, acquiring, besides more extended knowledge of the magician's craft, a thorough command of the Spanish language.

In 1873 Kellar formed an organization with Ying Look and Yamadura, and set out upon a professional tour the like of which had never been, nor has it been repeated. First they toured South America; then

Africa; going thence to Australia, India, China, the Philippines and Japan. His partners died in China in 1877, and for a time he was alone as the responsible head of his enterprise. But in 1879 J. H. Cunard came in and Kellar and Cunard for five years traveled through India, Burmah, Siam, Java, Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Mediterranean countries. He then turned his face toward home, and from 1884 to 1907 toured the United States, finally retiring in 1907. His American home had been in the vicinity of New York. Upon his retirement he came to Erie, but finally decided to take up his residence in Buffalo, where he now lives.

Another stage celebrity who was born in Erie county is Denman Thompson. He was born near Girard, in 1833, the son of Capt. Rufus Thompson, a carpenter, who was from New Hampshire. Denman was intended for his father's trade, but his bent was not that way. Growing up a sort of half-farmer lad he gained the consent of his father to take employment in the counting room of a relative in New England, but ledgers were no more to his liking than jack-planes. In 1852 he went on the stage at Lowell, Mass., as a member of a stock company, and made himself so useful that two years later he was offered a place in the stock company of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Toronto, as comedian. For fifteen years he remained on the roll of this theatre, being permitted, however, upon two occasions to play engagements elsewhere, appearing for a season successfully in the City of London (Eng.) Theatre. In 1874 he made a professional visit to the West Indies.

In 1875 while an invalid at the Red Lion Hotel in Pittsburg, he wrote, in bed, "Joshua Whitcomb." It was a dramatic sketch, but it attracted the attention of John B. Stetson, a successful theatrical manager, who put it on the stage of the Howard Athenaeum, Boston, with Thompson in the title role. The engagement became an extended one, far beyond what was looked for, and at its conclusion all the principal New England cities were visited and the attraction returned to Boston for a brilliant season that closed the Stetson engagement. In 1876, J. J. Hill, a Chicago merchant, became Thompson's manager and "Joshua Whitcomb" was extended into a play and proved an instant and uninterrupted success for eleven years.

Mr. Thompson then wrote "The Old Homestead," which was first seen in the Boston Theatre in 1886. It was even more successful than the first play, of which it was a sort of sequel. It was taken on tour for two years and then was brought to New York where it occupied the stage of the Academy of Music during the entire seasons of 1888, 1889, 1890 and 1891, being received with undiminished favor until the very last, an engagement without a parallel in theatrical annals.

In the beginning of the decade of the fifties French street from Sixth street down, then known as Cheapside, was the principal retail section of the then newly created city of Erie, and among the merchants who then did business in that row was J. C. Selden, an ironmonger. His was the principal hardware store of the time, and his business patronage was not confined to the city, but extended to the remote sections of the county, his acquaintance being extended in all the region round about and for long distances. Mr. Selden brought from Albion to his store a youth named O. H. Irish, a "lad of pairts," as Ian Maclaren might have said of him had he known him. Irish was bright. He had the business instinct, and he developed in that store. After a time he moved out into the west and, engaging in business on his own account, prospered and became a banker, acquiring a large fortune. He also interested himself in politics and became a powerful factor in his section, not only as a manager, but as a spell binder—though the speakers were not so called at that time. By President Lincoln he was appointed consul at Dresden and became famous for the royal hospitality he exercised at the consulate. He was one of the best known American representatives abroad. When he returned to America, however, he met with business reverses and accepted the place of assistant chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington, filling that place until his death. O. H. Irish was one of the notables of the nation in the Lincoln era. He was a graduate of Cheapside, Erie.

Early in the summer of 1880 an Associated Press telegram briefly conveyed the intelligence that Yale University had conferred the degree of A. M. upon Artemas Martin of Erie. At that time F. A. Crandall was editor of the *Gazette* and F. H. Severance, assistant, and these, discussing that three-line news item, concluded there might be a story in it, for so conservative and dignified an institution as Yale does not throw honors about indiscriminately. So a search was begun for Artemas Martin; first in the directory, but without avail, and then by inquiry among those whose goings-about would lead one to believe a man known in New England would have some acquaintances in his home in Erie. It was in vain. At length a casual and almost purposeless statement made in a group of men that the whereabouts of one Artemas Martin was much desired to be known, brought a response from an unexpected quarter. "Artemas Martin?" said Banker Joseph McCarter. "Seems to me there is a man of that name or something like it a tenant on a little farm of mine out in East Millcreek. But what do you want of him?" "To interview him about getting a degree from Yale," said Mr. Severance. "Oh! well it can't be my man Martin, for he's only a small gardener. You'll find him on the street market on Saturday."

It was not promising, but it was a clue. Learning the exact location of the farm, a visit was paid to the place. The Master of Arts was indeed that market gardner. In the kitchen of the little farm house the new *artium magister* was found in his shirt sleeves working a little Gordon press upon which he was printing, a single page at a time, the next month's issue of the *Mathematical Visitor*, the page to the visiting inquisitor a worse than Chinese puzzle, consisting of the elucidation of a problem of probabilities, that even in its detailed working out was beyond the understanding, even in the smallest part, of the seeker after information. There it was learned that the bare-armed gardener-printer at work in that little farmhouse kitchen was one of the most famous mathematicians in the world; that the honor conferred upon him by Yale, was but the last of a long series that had come to him—from England, from Russia, from France—that his own name was dwarfed by the long array of initials by which he had the right to supplement it. He was scarcely known in Erie, his home, but in every institution of higher education in the United States, in Washington, in Berlin, in Paris, St. Petersburg, Edinburgh and the English cities he was well known and the magazine he was printing—only a page at a time—would find its way to all, or practically all, the great seats of learning in the world. He had a choice library of mathematical works, many of them exceedingly rare and valuable, perhaps the most valuable collection of its kind in the State.

And yet, to look at him, and to hear his quiet modest conversation; to know him as the occupant twice a week of a stand on the street market where he sold the produce of his market garden, it seemed as though, after all a mistake had been made. He was so unassuming, and even diffident; his modesty was so marked there was a charm unusual connected with that first interview. In the course of a few weeks interviewers came in from many of the leading newspapers of the country and Artemas Martin became better known to the nation at large—and certainly in Erie, but he continued in the even tenor of his way, not unsettled in the least by flattery, though perhaps pleased that the exploiting of his name had brought him more customers in the market. When elected to Congress Hon. W. L. Scott secured a position for Prof. Martin in the office of the Coast Survey at Washington, and he continues to this day in the government employ at the National Capital.

Almost any day there may be seen upon State street an aged man wearing a frayed and faded uniform of blue, soiled and badly weathered, but with the old-fashioned brass buttons bright and clean. He walks now with a degree of uncertainty in his steps; his feet are not so light as once they were; and his hair is grayer, his eye dimmer, and his face more wrinkled. There is that about him that indicates, if not

poverty, the possession of this world's goods in only limited amount. But he always wears that dimmed and faded suit of blue, and there is no one living in Erie who can state that he ever saw the aged man wearing anything else. "Who is he?" a bystander asked.

The answer: James Gibbons; the man who fired the first Union gun in the War of the Rebellion.

Gibbons is an Irishman; was born in Galway in 1835, emigrated thence to Canada, came to the United States and enlisted in the First United States Artillery at Rochester N. Y., in 1851, seeing his first soldiering in California. He re-enlisted in 1856, and was assigned to Capt. Doubleday's command, and at the beginning of 1861 was of the garrison in Fort Sumter. Mr. Gibbons tells an interesting story of what took place in Charleston harbor at the time the War of the Rebellion broke out. There had been embassies, he says, demanding the surrender of the fort, but Major Anderson refused every time. They could see the works progressing on Morris Island and Sullivan's Island and a Moultrie. It became known to them that if they did not yield, the fort would be fired on on the morning of April 12, and it was expected.

Suddenly, at 2 o'clock on the morning of April 12—earlier than was expected—there was the dull boom of a mortar, and a hurtling shell came over from Ft. Johnson toward Sumter. Then the great guns on Morris Island opened fire, and the bombardment was on.

The force was not adequate in Ft. Sumter. The men were in the bomb-proofs arranged in three reliefs, the first—of which Gibbons was a member—under Capt. Doubleday; the second under Surgeon Crawford; the third under Lieut. Snyder. After the firing had begun there was a deliberate wait. No haste was manifested and it was not until 7 o'clock that preparations were fully completed to reply. Then Capt. Doubleday himself sighted the gun, which was aimed at the fortifications at Cummings Point. "Capt. Doubleday stood about two feet behind me" says Gibbons "as I held the lanyard in place. 'Fire'! he commanded. And I pulled the lanyard. It was a good shot, for it struck the walls on the point."

The echo of that discharge did not cease reverberating for four long years, and until it was firmly established in America and to the world that this government was not to be destroyed. And conscious of the fact that the honor of firing the first Union gun fell to him, is it strange that this veteran, in his 75th year, and a soldier at 16, should wear with pride the uniform he wore that April morning in 1861? The fact that it can be worn at all after more than 48 years is a marvel and a further proof of the pride of Gibbons who contrives to keep it in some way intact.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE GRAPE BELT.

First of the Vineyards.—A Region Transformed.—Wine Making.—Shipment of Fruit.—The Grape Juice Industry.

Prophetic indeed must have been the vision of those pioneers who, in the end of the eighteenth century, looking out upon the vast, unbroken wilderness for a place to establish homes, chose out of all that wide expanse of the great forest primeval the section of it that, bordering the south shore of Lake Erie, is included within the boundaries of the county of Erie. For out of that forest wilderness there was evolved, through the efforts of those pioneer settlers and their heirs and assigns as fair a rural country as the sun ever shone upon. If it be in the springtime, with the orchards that thickly dot the landscape white or pink in their clouds of bloom; or in June, when the springing vines tinged with delicate green are loading the air with the delicious perfume of their blossoms; or later, when the meadows and grain fields are smiling in the flood of golden sunshine; or in autumn, when the purple grapes load the vines, the orchard trees bend with the load of fruit, the fields by their myriads of corn-shocks or the stretches of golden stubble proclaim the bounty that the earth has yielded; or even in winter, when beyond the snow-covered fields and bare orchards the comfortable homestead of hospitable dwelling and mammoth barns—if it be at any season of the year that this rural landscape may be viewed it will be to challenge admiration as one of the fairest and most satisfying in the whole wide world. And no part or section of this magnificent farming country is fairer than that part of the county of Erie that is reckoned "within the grape belt."

The section that has for years been distinctively known as the grape section is included in the townships of North East and Harborcreek, and of those townships the northern portion, the rather broad plain or plateau that extends from the base of the ridge to the shore of the lake. It is the western end of what is generally known as the Chautauqua Grape Belt in the geography of agriculture, and the history of the grape industry is a sort of horticultural romance. The grape had been grown in a desultory sort of fashion from a very early date, but then rather as an experiment than with any purpose of making it profitable. Indeed, to most people the grape was re-

garded as a fruit too tender for this climate. However, in 1857 Mr. William Griffith, Smith Hammond, Esq., and Dr. Avery, inaugurated an experiment along more practical lines. The two former planted an acre and a half to grapes of the Catawba variety, and Dr. Avery devoted an equal area. The beginning of the industry was thus only three acres. It may be proper to state that, farther east, at Brocton, a beginning had been already made, but the result of that effort at cultivating this fruit was still problematical. These North East gentlemen were therefore among the true pioneers.

A GRAPE HARVEST SCENE.

The real leader in this new departure in horticulture was Mr. Griffith. From the beginning he was inspired with abiding faith. The first years seemed to demonstrate the fact that the conditions existing were favorable, for the product was good. It remained therefore to learn whether there was a market for the fruit. Two methods suggested themselves: to sell the fruit fresh or to convert it into wine. Both were decided upon. The fruit was packed, fresh, and carefully cleaned, in pasteboard boxes, made attractive with printing and each containing four pounds. These were sent to the large eastern cities and there they sold at 75 cents to one dollar per box—when they sold; sometimes they didn't sell and then they were returned. As only a part of the product of even the small area then in cultivation could be sold fresh, it was decided to convert the rest into wine, and the South Shore Wine Co. was organized, and wine cellars constructed at the farm of Mr. Griffith on the Middle road, a short distance from North East. Thus the business was started.

It was not long before it came to be pretty generally known in the neighborhood that grape growing could be successfully ac-

complished at North East, and the fact that the fruit could be sold at 25 cents per pound created a considerable amount of interest and even a degree of excitement, and the intelligence of the state of affairs found its way by one means or another to considerable distances, knowledge of it reaching Mr. John W. Foll, later to become very prominently identified with the industry, while he was serving in the army during the war of the Rebellion. Nor was Mr. Griffith inclined to make a secret of what was developing in connection with this new departure in horticulture. On the contrary, he exerted himself to make known in his community what the prospects were and in 1865 secured a visit of the United States Secretary of Agriculture, who made an address to a gathering of quite large proportions in the wine cellar of the South Shore Wine Co. By this time the South Shore Wine Co. had developed its business to what then appeared to be great proportions. Mr. Griffith was an eminently practical man, possessed of foresight and fertile in expedient when difficulties presented. His early experience proved that he was working at a disadvantage. There was a good deal about grape culture that he did not know, and his method of making wine was a failure. For the purpose of remedying the defect in the matter of culture he at first secured the services of experienced German vine dressers. The result was not satisfactory. The methods that gave good results on German vines in Germany did not have the same results here. Another course must be pursued.

It was in 1863 that the South Shore Wine Company decided to embark in the business on a much larger scale and planted a vineyard of forty acres. At the same time steps were taken to provide remedies for the defects above noted. In the Ohio valley, near Cincinnati, many immigrants from Europe had settled, largely Germans, and some French, and there they had embarked in the cultivation of the grape and the manufacture of wine. They had followed it for years, and had obtained experience. There Mr. Griffith went for the assistance he needed, and brought to North East John E. Mottier, a Frenchman, who had been connected with Mr. Longworth, of Cincinnati. The result was most satisfactory. The method of pruning was found to be effective in increasing both the amount and the quality of the product. The wine made was now the real article and could be depended upon.

Hitherto but one variety of grape had been regarded as the staple for cultivation, both for sale fresh and for wine. This was the Catawba. The Isabella was grown to a certain extent, but the other, being better known had the preference. In the year 1866, however, Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune,* offered a premium of $1,000 for the best grape for the whole country. This proceeding was decided upon by the editor of the *Tribune* because of all the

varieties then known none was fitted for successful cultivation in every locality. A grape for universal cultivation was what was desired. This offer brought forward the Concord grape, and this is the variety that is now universally grown and is generally used for making wine, a really good wine being produced from this variety at a remarkably low price. In the Erie county grape district the Concord is almost exclusively grown, although the Catawba, the Isabella, the Delaware and the Niagara are also cultivated. The last named, a white grape, was originated at Lockport in Niagara county, N. Y., and is still sold to grape growers under restrictions which preserve the monopoly in it to the originators.

The success achieved by grape growers here is due largely to climatic conditions, the result of proximity to the lake. The influence of that large body of water upon the country adjacent is that it retards vegetation in the spring until all danger of frost is past, for it is not the steady cold and freezing that is detrimental to fruit growing, but the frosts that come after growth has started, killing the buds when in a delicate condition. The waters of the lake not only retard the early development, but later, when the season has sufficiently advanced to permit the start to be made, there has been a sufficient degree of warmth developed in the water to temper the surrounding air and prevent late frosts. The radiation, first of the chilly influence of the icy waters to delay or postpone the start of vegetation, and later of the warmth, permits a gradual and steady development that is in the highest degree beneficial. Frosts in the early summer are practically unknown on the lake shore, while in the interior of the county and in the southern tier of townships, and notably in the French creek valley, frosts in the latter part of May and in early June are by no means unknown. Another advantage possessed by the lake coastal plain is the especial adaptability of the soil to fruit culture and especially for grape growing, and in no part of the Chautauqua belt, is the soil condition quite equal, according to reliable authorities, to that of the western end, in North East and Harborcreek townships of Erie county. The market value of the product establishes this fact.

When experience had demonstrated the fact that conditions of a favoring climate and a suitable soil were dependable in this region the business of cultivating the grape rapidly increased, although, with the development of the business other problems came up for solution. Not the least in the early days was the question of transportation, as well as of developing markets. It did not take long to establish the fact that the fruit could be sold if it could be got to the larger cities both east and west, and experience taught the growers, but principally the shippers, the method of packing most desirable—where the product of the vineyards was to be marketed. For it had come to be accepted fact that most of the fruit would be disposed of in its fresh

state. The practice had been to ship it in bulky crates. It was not a good method, nor an economical one, but it was pursued up to the year 1874. That year Mr. John W. Foll, who was engaged in the shipping of grapes, addressed himself to the work of winning over the railroad interests to the plan of shipping by car loads in baskets instead of crates. Mr. Davidson was freight agent at North East, and he was first interviewed by Mr. Foll, who undertook to prove the feasibility of the method. He did it by making a practical demonstration. Taking a basket, with its cover, he requested the agent to stand on it and thus prove its strength. Establishing his argument with the local freight agent it was still necessary before the contention was won to be as successful with the general freight agent. With him too, he won out, and the result was that an order issued permitting the loading of cars with grapes in baskets, but the amount to a car was limited to five tons. That year Mr. Foll shipped the first car load of grapes to Chicago. They carried safely, reaching their destination in prime condition. This practical demonstration forever settled what had been a vexed question and gradually the cargo of the cars was increased until now twelve tons is the established load of the cars and the rate has decreased from 85 cents, the original charge, to 17 cents.

There are many now engaged in the business of shipping grapes from North East and Harborcreek, and there is practically no limit to the distance. Mr. R. S. Pierce has successfully shipped as far as Seattle, and to all intermediate points in the farthest west, and the product of North East vineyards sells regularly in the markets of all the New England cities. An effort was made to ship grapes fresh to Europe, and it was measurably successful. On the longest trips dependance has to be placed upon ice, but for shipments to New England and into Minnesota, Nebraska and that portion of the west ice is not necessary. The shipments are, taking everything into consideration, enormous, a single season's business for the two townships of Erie county having aggregated 1,200 cars.

This statement of the shipments will indicate the degree to which the viticulture in Erie county has attained. Rapidly the agricultural policy of the region changed. There was one brief set-back, when the price of grapes for wine-making decreased to $8 per ton. Then for a time the farmers, believing that the business had been overdone, many of them pulled up their vines and began along other lines. But it was only a transient matter. In the course of a few years prices again advanced, until the selling price ranges from $30 to $40 per ton and the increase in acreage has steadily grown until in the year 1908 there were in North East 7,000 acres in vines and in Harborcreek 1,700 acres. Instances are cited where $360 was realized from less than an acre of ground, and the annual product of the grape region of the county amounts to 3,500,000

baskets. Along with this development of the industry there has come as a logical corollary, the increase in land values. Land in the grape producing belt, with bearing vineyards sells at $500 per acre and vacant grape land readily brings $200 per acre.

Of course the cultivation of the grape has its drawbacks. There are problems to be solved, and the exact science of cultivation to be acquired. Not all of the growers of grapes are equally successful, but careful attention to business and intelligent application wins out in this as in any other pursuit. There are diseases to be treated and insect pests to be fought, just as there are in other branches of horticulture or agriculture. But all of these are coming to be understood, and by employing sprayers and other devices which experience and study have developed, success is attained.

And along with grape-growing move kindred industries. That of making baskets is one of them, and it is no small one either, when it is considered that a season's crop calls for three and a half million of them in the northeastern corner of Erie county alone. The factory of C. H. Mottier & Son at North East turns out a million baskets every year, and there is really no season of vacation with this industry. The season of gathering the crop is a time when thousands find employment in the vineyards in the neighborhood of North East. Grape pickers flock in from practically every part of the county. They are largely girls and women, and while it is a pleasant occupation, it is also strenuous, for it must be accomplished within a limited time. Then there is the packing, the hauling to the railroad, the loading of the cars and the details of the business. Nor is the banking feature of the business an insignificant matter. This is itself of great importance to the borough of North East.

The growing of grapes has effected a wonderful transformation in the appearance of the country, and a trip through that region is a delight. Nothing in connection with farming has a neater or more attractive aspect than the widely extended fields laid out in their absolutely straight rows of vines. These trained upon a frame of wires stretched upon posts or stakes, always carefully trimmed, possess an air or orderliness that nothing else in a cultivated field can compare with, and they seem the tangible evidence of smiling prosperity. For, besides the thrift evident in the growing crop, the handsome residences with their surroundings of fine lawns and other signs of luxurious comfort give additional proof of prosperity. The development of the grape-growing industry has not yet reached its climax in Erie county. It is still growing, each year witnessing an extension of the acreage. Mile after mile of vineyards is to be seen from the windows of passing trains or of the more modern inter-urban trolley cars, and every year witnesses a gradual extension until from west of Harborcreek station to the State line but little else than stretches of vineyard are to be seen.

The latest development in connection with the grape-growing industry was the organization, in 1908, of The Grape Products Co., of North East, chartered for the manufacture or preparation, principally of grape juice. The company was organized in Erie, and immediately a piece of ground was secured on the south side of the Lake Shore Railroad, opposite North East station, and work was begun on the erection of a large building to meet the requirements of the business. The building of reinforced concrete, fireproof construction, is 500 feet long by 116 feet wide, three stories in height with a basement, and it will have a capacity of 2,500,000 gallons per year. It has been estimated that, to meet the demands of this industry alone there will be required a product almost equal to that of the entire acreage of the section at the present time in vineyards. If the prospects of the new company shall be made good in actual business—and there is every reason to believe it will—in the course of a few years the grape-growing industry that has been steadily growing, with no such additional stimulus, will be far more than doubled. The plant of The Grape Products Co. of North East was sufficiently advanced toward completion to permit operations being begun in the fall of 1909.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—POLITICAL RECORD.

Famous Gatherings.—The Whig Convention of 1840.—War-Time Politics.—The Great Scott Campaign of 1884.

It is considerably more than a century since they began voting in Erie county, and for a long time they voted the Democratic ticket. The voting here was begun, as a matter of fact, before Erie county had an existence as a shire. People began to settle in Erie in 1795, but it was 1798 before there was an election here. Then the voting was done as citizens of Allegheny county, and so far as the record goes all the voting was done at Erie. Next year, however, it was different. It was as though this county, prophetic it may well be surmised, with the small fire kindled was quickly swept by the political blaze—that the game was soon learned, for in the year 1799 there were six voting places appointed for the township of Erie, county of Allegheny: one in the town of Erie, one at the house of Timothy Tuttle in North East, one at the house of John McGonigle at or near Edinboro, one at the house of Thomas Hamilton at Lexington in Conneaut township, one at the house of Daniel Henderson in Waterford and one at the house of William Miles in Concord township.

The people early took naturally to politics, and in the beginning it was a game that everybody seemed to be ready to play at, and often, the more the merrier. So far as the records or relics serve to show, however, there were some of the adjuncts of these later days that did not exist even in embryo in those good old times. The poll worker, for example, and the political boss, had no equivalent then, and the primary meeting was only evolved after a greatly extended period of political effort. The candidate was there, however, life size and active; there was no lack of him. Neither was there any social condition or financial or business standing that would disqualify a citizen from being a candidate. Even the prospective office was not an obstacle. There was Thomas H. Sill, for example, who was at one time elected county auditor and not long afterwards was a successful candidate for Congress. Rufus S. Reed was once elected coroner. There was an election in 1825, in which there were six candidates for sheriff: Henry Colt, of Waterford, Thomas Forster, of Erie, Albert Thayer, of Millcreek, Thomas Laird, of Erie, A. W. Brewster, of Erie, and

David McCreary, of Millcreek, but only one of them was elected, Mr. Thayer. It illustrates how zealous they were then to serve the people—quite as much so as they are now, and in this regard we are not so very different from our forbears.

There were a few breaks, at odd times, in the political programme; by which it is meant that now and then the Democrats gave place to the opposition. That party, however, held on very well up to 1829, when a cloud passed over and cast a shadow that has endured to this time, barring a ray of sunshine now and then, but at irregular intervals. The cloud at the beginning was known as the Anti-Masonic movement. It is difficult for people of the present time to understand why so much of a political pother should be made about a fraternal order, or how it was believed the country at large would be benefited by enactments against Masonic lodges, but the agitation had one effect. It gave life in time to a more vigorous opponent to the first old party than it ever before had. It was in 1829 that the Anti-Masonic party came to the front in Erie county, and in 1830 the ticket of that party was elected. In that year John Banks, of Mercer, was elected to Congress from this district on the Anti-Masonic ticket by a majority of 1,135. From that time on until 1839 Erie county was reliably Anti-Masonic.

In 1840 there came the change that brought in the great whig party and the circumstance of this was notable. It was the "Log Cabin Campaign." From the day of Perry's victory, the tenth of September was regularly observed at Erie, by parades and festivities and glorifications of the old fashioned sort. But more than in any other way it came to be observed by the politicians. By an unwritten law it became the date for holding the Whig conventions. Once upon a time Pennsylvania was an October state and was even more before the eyes of the nation in a political sense than now. It came to be believed that "As goes Pennsylvania so goes the Union," this in reference to the election in October. And yet the conventions as a rule were held as late as the tenth of September. Some of these conventions, are well worth mentioning, and especially one held in Erie in 1840 which is yet without its equal. In fact it was not one convention, but a dual gathering, for both Democrats and Whigs met at Erie on the same day.

It may be stated right here that there was something appropriate in holding the great Whig convention of 1840 at Erie on the anniversary of Perry's victory, for the reason that the Whig candidate for president was the General Harrison, to whom Perry had sent that characteristic dispatch. But about the convention and the situation in politics at the time.

The Democratic party had been in power almost uninterruptedly since 1801. But their theories had not brought prosperity to the people. There was therefore a widespread uprising to depose the Democrats.

The Anti-Masonic party in the north and a large part of the state rights party in the south joined the Whigs. As early as December, 1839, a convention had nominated Harrison and Tyler. Mass meetings became the order of the day, especially in Pennsylvania, for in this state the prospects were not flattering. Erie was not behind in the interest taken and announced a monster meeting for the established date.

The great convention was freely advertised, and as the date drew near the people began to come. Many arrived days in advance of the date, but the nearer proximity of the day swelled the proportions of the arriving throng to something tremendous. Steamers came from east and west, crowded, and landed their throngs of passengers as the cannon boomed. In wagons they came, and from great distances, camping by the way and requiring days for the journey, and during the last two or three days from every direction there was an uninterrupted procession of vehicles of all sorts—wagons drawn by horses, or by ox-team—all loaded down with humanity. And they came in singing, thousands singing at the same time the political ballads of a campaign that was specially marked by this form of argument. And the songs—one verse was about as follows:

What has caused this great commotion,
Motion, motion,
All the country through?
It is the ball we have set in motion
Motion, motion.
Rolling on for Tippecanoe,
Tippecanoe and Tyler too.
And with them we will beat little Van
Van, Van, who is a used-up man.

The Whig convention was held on the square bounded by Front and Second, and Holland and German streets. The Democratic convention, held on the same day, was held in the vicinity of the Cascade. The stir of the day, however, was produced by the Whigs. Theirs was the great convention. There was a monster parade and General Dick, of Meadville, was the chief marshal. The leading feature was the military display made by the Flying Artillery of Buffalo and a company of infantry wearing enormous bearskin hats. Then followed thousands of marchers, carrying flags, and prominently displayed was a great portrait of Washington. The vehicles were in line by the hundred, and there was martial music and cheering and singing the campaign songs.

The city was in holiday attire, gaily decorated, with flags flying everywhere and the streets lined with spectators. Up French street the procession moved, around the park, east on Sixth street to Holland and then down to the meeting place. It was a most imposing display, and those who witnessed it declare that it could never be forgotten nor its im-

pressiveness cease to be felt. The late Gideon J. Ball, George Riblet and James Sill regarded that gathering as the most remarkable in all its details of any political demonstration ever described.

Francis Granger, a man of national reputation in those days and afterwards a member of President Harrison's cabinet, was the president of the meeting, and one of the speakers, and enthusiasm reigned at the great convention.

At the Democratic convention there was less circumstance and not so large an attendance, but it was noteworthy nevertheless, as having many men of prominence present. James Buchanan, afterwards President of the United States, was among those who took part in that meeting.

There have been other Tenth of September conventions, but none so great as those named. The convention of 1844 in the Clay and Polk campaign was held in the east park and T. H. Sill presided, while Cassius M. Clay, a cousin of Henry Clay, was the principal speaker. In 1860 Simon Cameron was present at the Republican mass meeting of September 10, and besides Gen. Cameron, Governor Curtin and General Geary attended.

The result of the election in the Log Cabin campaign in Erie county was:

W. H. Harrison	3636
Martin Van Buren	2061

That was the first Whig election in Erie county, and at the three succeeding presidential elections the Whigs held the same position relatively, with their opponents practically unchanged. The fourth and last of the Whig elections resulted:

Gen. Winfield Scott, Whig	4015
Franklin Pierce, Democrat	2748
John P. Hale, Free Soil	611

Erie county was as prompt to fall in line for the new Republican party, which supplanted the Whigs, as it was to abandon the Anti-Masonic idea for its successor, and in its voting it was overwhelmingly for Gen. Fremont, the "Pathfinder." In this election the Republicans voted a fusion ticket, nevertheless naming on the ticket the personal preference of the voter as between Fremont and Fillmore. Of the fusion tickets cast but 37 were for Fillmore. The vote was as follows:

Gen. J. C. Freemont (with Fillmore)	5156
James Buchanan,	2584
Millard Fillmore (straight)	252

The Lincoln campaign was memorable. Erie county was no exception from the rest of at least the northern states in having been profoundly stirred by the debates that had given Lincoln his fame, so that

personally he had achieved a strong following among the voters in Erie. But there were other considerations. The vote for Fremont, four years before, would tend to show how the people in this corner of the state of Pennsylvania stood on the issues that the new Republican party had introduced. While Erie county could not be called an abolition stronghold, there was no sympathy here with slavery. Therefore the Lincoln campaign was entered with zeal, and became picturesque beyond anything of the kind that had preceded it. The public meetings, the speeches, the parades of the "Wide-awakes," all the features then new, but later to become regular campaign attributes, stirred the people to a degree of political excitement unprecedented, and the first Lincoln election resulted:

Abraham Lincoln, ...6160
Fusion of Douglas & Breckenridge 2531

Too soon the marchers were wearing blue flannel blouses instead of oil cloth capes and carrying muskets instead of torches. The Wide-awakes had become Union soldiers, and those left behind, with no heart for the gaiety of the political campaign, still maintained an interest sufficient to keep alive the spirit that had put Abraham Lincoln in the White House and a million soldiers in the field. And they remembered those soldiers and that promises had been made to them when they enlisted. The soldier was promptly in politics. The first to be given office was Lieut. Egbert D. Hulbert. He had been a member of Capt. Austin's Company of the Eighty-third Regiment and lost a leg before Richmond in one of the first battles of the war. In 1862 he was elected County Treasurer without opposition. Next year, 1863, another crippled soldier, Capt. John C. Hilton of the One Hundred Forty-fifth, who left a leg at Gettysburg, was elected Clerk of the courts, and he also had no opposition in the election. Thenceforward for forty years, the veteran soldier had the preference in county politics.

The presidential campaign of 1864 was a quiet one. There were meetings and parades, but decorous in the extreme, and the election resulted, as it was expected it would result, in a large majority for Lincoln over McClellan.

For showy accessories, however, there has never been a political campaign in Erie to equal that of 1868, when Grant and Colfax were the Republican candidates. The uniformed marching clubs were larger and more numerous than ever before or than has ever been attempted since. There were the Tanners in their capes of red; the Boys in Blue, recruited from the ranks of the veteran soldiers; the Grant Reserves, made up of the younger men; the First Voters with a large enrolment, and in the height of the campaign there were parades almost nightly. Not only was Erie the scene of these demonstrations, but special trains carried hundreds—and then it was said thousands—to North East, Waterford, Fairview and Girard, where there was nothing doing but to march after

the bands for an hour or two and then come back home. The blare of the bands, and the glare of the torches, however, had its effect, as such an argument some years later had upon the voters, for the result of that election was something unprecedented to that time, the Republican majority for the national ticket being nearly 3,500. The vote as recorded was:

Gen. U. S. Grant, ...8007
Horatio Seymour, ...4555

Horace Greeley once said that there was more politics to the square foot in Erie than in any other town or city in America. He knew what he was talking about for he had lived here—not very long, but long enough to get acquainted with the place in the respect of its predilections toward politics. It does not take one with the journalistic instinct very long to get an accurate estimate of a place and a pretty accurate knowledge of its people, with their peculiarities. While Greeley was living in Erie he boarded with Judge Sterrett and worked at the *Gazette* office. With this statement as a foundation it would go without saying among the old timers that of course Greeley would get to know all there was to be learned about politics in Erie, for he was in the very storm centre of it all the time. Therefore, besides his instincts he had the advantage of being "next to it" all the time while he lived in Erie.

Horace Greeley was undoubtedly right in his judgment of Erie as he knew it, for in the olden times it is not to be denied that the people of Erie were great on politics, if not great in politics. We never developed a Simon Cameron or a Matt Quay up in this corner of the state, but we had some men who were not so slow. In his day Judge Sterrett was a political power not to be sneered at, and Elijah Babbitt, and Andrew Scott and Gideon Ball, and the late Morrow B. Lowry; and later still, William L. Scott have in their turn demonstrated the fact that they knew pretty considerable about political generalship.

Now it was, years ago, the rule that whatever the Erie politicians found for their hands to go they did it with all their might. And, doing it with all their might, they didn't care a big copper cent what the effect upon the opposition was. The result was that in almost innumerable instances intense bitterness was engendered. It came in time to be the rule that no matter what public measure came to the fore parties would form and a campaign would ensue and then there was the devil to pay. This was exemplified at the time of the troubles with the railroads when the famous Railroad War, engaged the attention of the people of Erie.

One of the bitterest of political campaigns ever known in Erie was that of the mayoralty contest in 1871, when Hon. Orange Noble was the candidate against Hon. W. L. Scott. It was never equalled except by another campaign in which, also, Mr. Scott was a candidate. In the campaign of 1871 there was an issue, and in order to explain what that

issue was it will be necessary to give a brief review of what made the issue.

It was the Marine Hospital that was at the bottom of the trouble of the time.

In 1867 Morrow B. Lowry represented the Erie district in the State Senate. Now Mr. Lowry was nothing if not enterprising, and he did not always proclaim his plans and purposes in advance from the housetops. When, therefore, it became known that he had introduced in the legislature and was working for the passage of an act to build a marine hospital at Erie the people were taken by surprise. The necessity of a marine hospital for the state of Pennsylvania was not very apparent, but if the state was to have a big public institution Erie was, of course, not averse to having it located here. At the same time there was a good deal of interest to know just what the act provided, and in the course of time a copy of the bill found its way to Erie. The act provided for the creation of a corporation to be known as the Marine Hospital Corporation. Its capital stock was to be $100,000, and it was to build a hospital at Erie. The act ceded to the corporation the garrison tract of ninety acres and it also appropriated $90,000 of the state's money as a building fund.

So far as these provisions were concerned no objection was raised; but there was a section at the end of the act which empowered the corporation at its pleasure to dispose of the land in any manner in which it might see fit, and the section was so liberal that the corporators were left free to sell or give away the land and not account in even the smallest particular for any of their transactions. As soon as this came to be understood there was immediately raised a cry of "steal." It kicked up the liveliest sort of a rumpus. At that time Bishop Young was at the head of the Catholic diocese of Erie. For a long time he had wanted a piece of ground upon which to build a church hospital. The garrison tract, or part of it, was exactly to his liking. The "Marine Hospital steal" therefore stirred up all of fight there was in the venerable prelate. "I'll fight it to the death," he declared, "if they do not give me ten acres of the land for a hospital." In his excitement he probably did not think what a peculiar position he was placing himself in, for of course he had no thought of supporting a bad measure for a consideration. But the opposition that developed was so vigorous and effective that the objectionable feature of the measure was eliminated.

However, the corporation continued in its slightly altered course and work was begun, each session of the legislature making additional appropriations to supply the funds necessary as the building grew. In 1869 the corporation tried a new tack. A bill was introduced which, after setting forth that "the councils of Erie have so neglected the management and supervision of the peninsula, which forms the northern boundary of the harbor of Erie as to prevent any adequate revenue arising

therefrom," proposed a remedy. Therefore the act of 1868 relating to the city of Erie was so amended as to place "the supervision and control of the peninsula in the power of the board of directors of the Marine Hospital of Pennsylvania," and the board were "empowered to exercise such supervision, disposition and control of same by leasing, or otherwise, as to them shall be deemed for the best interests of said hospital."

The measure passed. The peninsula became part and parcel of the real estate of the hospital association and at once the directors set about obtaining an "adequate revenue" from the land acquired. As soon as the winter had made the swampy tracts passable a force of men were set at work and practically all the red cedar trees that grew there were cut down and converted into fence posts. Thousands of these were cut, and as they sold at a dollar apiece, it can be easily calculated how liberal a revenue was derived from that source alone. Besides, the extensive cranberry marshes yielded an income, and there were other products besides the leaseholds from which "adequate revenue" was to come to the hospital. Moreover there was the state treasury to be drawn upon, and in the year 1869 another appropriation of $30,000 was voted for the same enterprise.

Though prosperity seemed to smile on the efforts of the corporation there was steadily developing a strong movement in Erie in opposition, and a fight was put up. But the prime movers in the job—if it is allowable to so denominate it—were as astute a lot as could be looked for. No sooner did they discover the dust of the opposition moving in their direction than they were ready to meet it. They came forward with a proposition to open and extend Second street from Parade street to the garrison grounds and to convert Ash lane into an avenue 100 feet wide, the enabling act requiring the councils of Erie and the road commissioners of Millcreek township (Ash lane was then the boundary of the city on the east) to do so, or, in the event of their failing, the Marine Hospital Corporation was empowered to make the change. The act was passed, but it was so amended that the hospital's title to the peninsula was taken away and conveyed to the United States.

This is the story of the Marine Hospital and of the corporation which used it for purposes of personal profit, it was alleged, and it was this allegation that figured in the campaign of 1871. Prominent among the hospital forces was Orange Noble, who was a candidate for re-election as mayor. The leader of the opposition was William L. Scott. The methods employed were vigorous and characteristic. Of course there was little talk. But by far the most popular and active method of campaigning was the poster. It was a time of harvest for the printer and the bill-sticker, and that campaign is memorable to those living who had any connection with it. W. J. Sell was the manager of Farrar Hall and at the head of the bill-posting business. He says they were driven to their wits end to know how to accomplish the work demanded. Early

one morning the entire force would be kept busy covering all the bill boards and dead walls with one set of posters. Next morning another set by the opposition would be out, and these were posted over those of the day before, to be covered next morning by an entirely new set. Unfortunately, no one now living remembers what all those posters set forth. One read, in the largest letters the printing office outfits of the time afforded, thus:

WHO STOLE
the
PENINSULA
and the
CEDAR POSTS?
ORANGE NOBLE

All the others were of the same character, and notwithstanding the bitterness that was at the bottom of the contest, to the great majority of the people of Erie the bill-board feature of the fight was a continuous performance of comedy and lent all sorts of hilarity to the occasion. Every morning the populace was alert to discover what was new on the dead walls and to greet it with shouts of glee.

Of course the newspapers were in it, and the able editors of the time were in evidence with appeals and charges. But there was yet another agency that figured in the contest: the cartoonist. We had no Nast. But we had another: Louis B. Chevalier, who could make pictures that were within the understanding of the people. Mr. Chevalier was well known as a theatrical painter. The scenic outfit of Farrar Hall was from his brush, and he did a good deal of other work, even sign painting, and among the very earliest of pine poster cuts to be made in Erie were the product of his hand. He had distinguished himself during the Railroad War by producing a cartoon that has become historic. Chevalier was enlisted in the Noble-Scott campaign, and he made several cartoons that were received with pronounced popular favor.

Mr. Noble, who was a candidate for re-election as mayor, was defeated as the result of that famous campaign, the liveliest contest for a city office that has ever occurred.

In Erie county at least, whatever may be the experience elsewhere, every year, save those of presidential elections, are regarded as off years, and any extraordinary feature of politics that makes it appearance in an off year is a sort of phenomenon that comes to be marked. It has generally been the rule that the campaigns of the leap years have brought with them features of their own, and this was the case in the campaign of 1872, in which the principal opponent of Gen. Grant was Horace Greeley. The famous editor was himself the principal feature in Erie's

campaign, appearing before a very large meeting in the parks. Erie was, however, loyal to the great Captain, giving him a larger majority than it had done four years before. The vote was:

Gen. U. S. Grant	7504
Horace Greeley	3587

In this year the question whether the state should have a convention to prepare a new constitution, was the principal state issue, and the vote was overwhelmingly favorable to the proposition. To this convention John H. Walker of Erie was elected as a delegate-at-large, and he was chosen by the convention to be its president, performing the duties of the important position with signal ability. The constitution of 1873 was the work of this convention.

The year 1875 was an off year, but was distinguished by a bit of by-play that interested the politicians at the time. There were not then the rules and regulations that now hedge about the primary meetings, though then, as now, a certain deference was paid to custom, precedent and political leaders—or bosses, if you please. That year there was the usual crop of candidates and a "slate," and it became an understood thing that Hon. George H. Cutler was to be the Republican candidate for Senator to succeed himself. It came to be conceded that for that office there should be no opposition, until within about a week of the date of the primaries a lot of young lawyers of Erie got their heads together and came to the decision that the cut-and-dried plan of the managers was not to be permitted to carry. They selected Henry Butterfield of their number, to contest for the nomination, announced him the next morning, and then started on a whirlwind campaign, covering the entire county and winning nearly every district. It was so picturesque a race that it became a sort of milestone by the political wayside from which future calculations were made.

In 1875 the Democratic state convention was held in Erie, the first time in the history of the state when the nominating convention of a political party was held in this city. The meetings were held in Park Opera House, and Cyrus L. Pershing of Cambria was nominated for Governor and Victor E. Piollet for Treasurer.

In 1875, also, for the first time entire boards of county commissioners and county auditors were elected. This was in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of 1873, which prescribed that no voter might cast a ballot for more than two candidates for either of these offices, the purpose being to ensure a representation of the minority party on these boards. The first commissioners elected under this provision were, Albert B. Gunnison of Erie, D. W. Titus of Venango (Republicans), and R. H. Arbuckle of Millcreek (Democrat). The auditors were, E. K. Range of Le Bœuf, W. B. Hayes of Greene (Republicans), and W. J.

Brockway of Conneaut (Democrat). The election of 1875 was the last of the October elections in Pennsylvania, in accordance with the new constitution.

The principal local feature of the campaign of 1876 was the contest between William Benson, Republican, and William A. Galbraith, Democrat, for President Judge. Mr. Benson was one of the ablest legal practitioners of the Erie bar, a man of probity and learning, but it was charged against him that he was an agnostic. Mr. Galbraith had not been as actively engaged in legal work, but was known to be highly educated in the law, and there was not the objection to his candidacy that had been raised by the church people. The result was that the Republican candidate was defeated, his opponent having a majority of the total vote of 144. In the city the majority for Galbraith was 1,200; in the county outside of the city Benson's majority was 1,056.

That was Presidential year, and, as usual there was a member of Congress to be elected. In the latter contest the candidates were Lewis F. Watson of Warren, Republican; William L. Scott of Erie, Democrat; C. C. Camp of Venango, Greenback, and Samuel B. Axtell of Venango, Prohibition. Mr. Watson was elected, having a majority in each of the three counties of Erie, Warren and Venango. In this campaign the fight for Congress took on a more prominent aspect than had been usual, Watson uniformed clubs being distinguished among the other organizations in the torchlight parades. The result of the voting for President was:

Rutherford B. Hayes	8724
Samuel J. Tilden	6179

In the campaign of 1878 the most notable circumstance was the election of Alfred Short of North East, a Democrat, to the State House of Representatives over Isaac B. Brown of Corry. This result was brought about by a coalition of the Democrats and Greenbackers, Short having a majority over Brown of 418. The other two fusion candidates were, however, defeated, as was also the fusion candidate for Register and Recorder against Capt. John C. Hilton.

For Congress the candidates were J. H. Osmer of Venango, Republican; George A. Allen of Erie, Democrat; and Camp and Axtell of Venango again for the Greenback and Prohibition parties. Osmer was elected.

In the general election of 1880 the result of the voting was:

James A. Garfield	8752
Winfield S. Hancock	6741

The congressional candidates in the year 1882 were Samuel M. Brainerd of Erie, Republican; Henry B. Plumer of Venango, Democrat,

and W. T. Everson of Erie county, Greenback, Labor and Prohibition. The result of the voting was the election of Mr. Brainerd by a plurality over Plumer of but 923. The vote of the district that year was: Brainerd 11,170; Plumer, 10,247; Everson, 2,992. It may thus be seen that Brainerd was a long way short of having a majority of the votes polled.

The campaign of 1884 was in many respects the most noteworthy in the history of the county. It was an epoch-making campaign, and was characterized by that spirit of strong partisanship which has distinguished Erie from the beginning, and the campaign of 1884, just as the Railroad War had done, left behind it a bitterness that was not immediately healed. And yet there was no good reason for the existence of this state of feeling, because what was done was entirely in accord with the privileges and prerogatives with which American citizens are endowed. But it was the most spectacular campaign that Erie county ever saw. It was the year of a Presidential election, and the candidates, Blaine and Logan, it might have been supposed would have stimulated the Republicans of every grade and degree to have exerted themselves to put up some manifestations of aggressiveness. This was not the case in Erie for the national candidates were altogether lost sight of and the phenomenon in politics occurred of the head of the ticket being relegated to a second place. It all came out of the candidacy of William L. Scott for Congress.

In the beginning of the campaign, before the nominations were made, the Erie Republicans had agreed to support Hon. Samuel M. Brainerd as the candidate for a second term in Congress, and in accordance with party usages three delegates to the congressional conference were chosen, instructed to support Brainerd. The conference was held at Warren, and the result of the deliberations was that Chas. W. Mackey of Venango nominated instead of Brainerd. Immediately there was a revolt. It was charged that Erie had been betrayed. There was what might be denominated a popular uprising. Led by such leading and influential citizens as John Clemens, F. F. Adams, Charles Jarecki, Capt. John S. Richards, Frederick and Gustave Brevillier, and scores of others not theretofore identified with practical politics, an organization was effected, and a committee was appointed to ask William L. Scott, a leading Democrat, to become the "People's" candidate for Congress. Mr. Scott consented, and then the campaign was on.

Now it was from the very start as different from any other campaign that had been as it was possible to conceive. Lurid in the extreme as regards the public demonstrations, it was especially notable for the reason that in all those public demonstrations the men who had organized the movement took prominent part, not merely as contributors to the fund, though that they did with almost reckless liberality, but as speakers at the numerous meetings and as marchers in the parades. No matter what the condition of the weather the Scott Republican club

would turn out, and, marching as of the rank and file, sometimes in the rain, sometimes in snowy slush, were to be seen Mr. Jarecki, Mr. Brevillier, Mr. Adams, Capt. Richards and all the others, wearing the uniform of light plug hat and linen duster and carrying the lantern, following the band and cheering for Blaine, Logan and Scott. Sometimes a pole-raising was the motive for a parade; oftener there was nothing in particular to be assigned as a reason; frequently the club proceeded by special train to some near-by town for a demonstration, but no matter what the reason assigned, the office, the counting-house, the store, was deserted for the work in hand. Such demonstrations as those of the Scott campaign were never before seen—they may never again be witnessed here, and nothing more spectacular can be imagined than the closing demonstration of the campaign which occurred on a night of drizzling rain that magnified the effect of the thousands of Roman candles burned during the parade.

Nor was the spectacular feature all that was depended upon. The Scott Republican club went about the organization of the campaign with a remarkable degree of skill and thoroughness. The canvass was exhaustive and the detail of the work complete to the extent that the standing of every individual voter was accurately known. Their forces were subdivided so that wards and districts and squares and neighborhoods were each in turn given whatever attention seemed necessary. The result was that the work done in the city of Erie carried the district for Scott. The vote in Erie was; Scott, 4331; Mackey, 1542; a majority for Scott of 2789. The vote in the district was:

	Scott	Mackey
Erie	9179	7221
Warren	3112	3945
Venango	3711	4174
Totals	16002	15340

This yielded a majority in the district of 662 for Scott. Outside of the city, however, the majorities were all for Mackey, Erie county of 831, Warren of 833, and Venango of 463, but the total majority of 2,127, was still 622 below Scott's majority in the city.

During this adventitious trouble the vote on the head of the ticket in Erie county was not materially affected, being:

James G. Blaine	9230
Grover Cleveland	6725

Two years later, in 1886, Scott and Mackey were again candidates for Congress, and again Mr. Scott was successful, winning by the vote of 14,787 in the district to 13,574, a majority of 1,213.

In 1887 Col. J. Ross Thompson of Erie was the candidate on the Democratic state ticket for Judge of the Supreme Court, but was not successful.

The election for Congress in 1888 resulted in the choice of W. C. Culbertson, who had a vote in the district of 16,925 to James R. Burns' vote of 13,852, the district now, by re-apportionment consisting of Erie and Crawford counties.

That year the vote on the presidential candidates in the county of Erie was:

Benjamin Harrison	9372
Grover Cleveland	7111

There was no trouble in 1890, the Republicans being at peace among themselves and the Democrats similarly inclined, and the result was that Matthew Griswold was elected. But there is a different story to tell of the election of 1892. That year there was a movement on foot to nominate Wellington Downing of Erie, who had the Erie county delegates, but the conference turned out as the Republican candidate for the district, Rev. Dr. Theo. L. Flood of Meadville. Dr. Flood was a widely known Methodist clergyman, having been prominently connected with the Chautauqua movement, and had also a connection with Allegheny College. He was at the time editor of the Chautauquan, a monthly magazine then of extensive circulation. Moreover he was a highly educated man. But, as it turned out, he was far from popular, and especially was he unpopular with the religious denomination with which he was identified. In Erie the principal worker to accomplish his defeat was Rev. Dr. N. Luccock, pastor of the First M. E. Church. Opposed to Dr. Flood, the dissatisfied Republicans, joining forces with the Democrats, put up Joseph C. Sibley. Mr. Sibley was not a resident of the congressional district. He never became one. His home was in Venango county. If he was handicapped by that circumstance, it did not appear, though the campaign was a bitter one. He won out handsomely, having a majority of 3,387, carrying both counties. His leading supporter in Erie exultantly proclaimed, "We have dammed the Flood."

There was a Presidential election that year, and the result of the voting in Erie county was:

Benjamin Harrison	8904
Grover Cleveland	7529

For two Congressional elections there was no quarrel among the Republicans of the district, and the result was that Sibley, so phenomenally successful in 1892 was twice defeated, in 1894 by Hon. Matthew

Griswold, who had a majority of 2464, and in 1896 by John C. Sturtevant of Crawford, whose majority was 726. The vote for the national candidates in Erie county that year was:

William McKinley	11755
W. J. Bryan	8556

The Democrats were successful in 1898, electing Athelstan Gaston to Congress by a majority of 34 over George H. Higgins, but Mr. Gaston was not successful at the next election, in 1900, Arthur Bates winning by a majority of 3,805, and Mr. Bates was re-elected for four terms more in succession thus making his term of service thus far equal to the longest in the history of the district, Glenni W. Scofield of Warren county having served for ten years. The district that had for many years been the Twenty-sixth, became, in 1902 the Twenty-fifth. The candidates opposed to Bates in the several campaigns were, 1902, Hon. A. B. Osborne; 1904, — McArthur; 1906, Hon. A. J. Palm; 1908, Hon. J. B. Brooks.

The result of the voting on the national ticket in the year 1900 was as follows:

William McKinley	11816
W. J. Bryan	7281

While there was a gain in the McKinley vote over that of 1896 of only 61, the decrease in the vote for Bryan increased the McKinley plurality from about 3,200 in 1896, to 4,535. The next Presidential election, however, carried both the vote for the winning candidate and the plurality, to the record point in the history of voting in this county—but then it was a Republican record year in the State of Pennsylvania. Roosevelt's plurality in Erie county was 6,848, and the vote in the county was:

Theodore Roosevelt	11951
A. B. Parker	5103

On June 25, 1902, the Democratic State Convention was held in Erie. It was the second time that Erie was so distinguished, due in this instance to the fact that John S. Rilling of Erie was chairman of the state central committee of that party. The convention was held in Park Opera House, Hon. A. B. Osborne of Erie being chairman. Robert E. Pattison was, for the third time, nominated for Governor; G. W. Guthrie for Lieutenant Governor, and James Nolan for Secretary of Internal Affairs.

The election of 1908, the latest presidential contest, showed a decrease in the plurality for the winning candidate, as compared with the result in 1904, being 4655, but it still figured as an increased plurality over Bryan, whose total vote just as steadily decreased. The vote was:

William H. Taft	10,828
William J. Bryan	6,173

PART SECOND

TOWNSHIPS AND BOROUGHS

CHAPTER I.—AMITY.

Carved Out of Union.—The Donation District Lands.—The Work of William Miles.—Rural Industries of the Township.

The township of Amity was created in 1825 and was formed by the subdivision of Union township, the northern half being set off for the new township and the southern moiety retaining the original name. Nearly the whole of Amity township consisted of land of the Tenth Donation District, being lands set apart by the State in the fulfillment of its promise made in 1780, to make a donation "to the officers and privates belonging to this State in the Federal army of certain donations or quantities of land according to their several ranks." But little of the land in the Erie county donation district was taken up on soldiers' warrants, and in the course of time what remained unclaimed after the expiration of the time limit was disposed of to actual settlers. The settlement of Amity, or the area included in what is now Amity, began almost contemporaneously with the first settlements in Erie county. In 1796 William Miles, the founder of Wattsburg, and one of the great men in the beginning of affairs in the county, located 1,200 acres of land on the stream that has no better name than the outlet of Lake Pleasant. He did not choose to settle there, however, but made his home in Concord township. About the same time John Fagan cleared up a piece of land near Hatch Hollow, and immediately he was blessed with a neighbor named McGahan. Mr. Fagan, however, remained only until 1807, when he removed to Millcreek, where he became the founder of an influential family, whose name is still prominent in the eastern end of the township on the lake shore. John Carron is said to be the first permanent settler in Amity, but the date of his coming is not known. Hazen Sheppard and wife came to the township in 1812. In 1816 Benjamin Hinkston moved west from Vermont, and took up land in Greene township, but in 1818 removed to Amity, where he located permanently. Early in 1819 Charles Capron moved in from New Hampshire, and later in the same year Seth Shepardson and Timothy Reed came. Capron's father and mother accompanied him. James McCullough and Capt. James Donaldson became residents of the township in 1820, the latter settling near Lake Pleasant. He was from Cumberland county. Others of the early settlers were: In 1829,

Jabez Hubbell with his wife and sons Hiram and David from Otsego, N. Y., Royal D. Mason and Jacob Rouse; in 1830, the Duncombes, Pliny Maynard, and Elias Patterson; in 1831, William B. Maynard, son of Pliny; in 1833, George W. Baldwin; in 1847, John Allen from Otsego, N. Y.

Amity is distinctively a rural section. There is no railroad within the township and no settlements of importance, Milltown and Hatch Hollow never having attained to the dignity which would entitle them to be called villages. The nearest railway station is Union City. The industries of the township have always been few and unimportant. Notwithstanding the augmented stream of French creek crosses the township diagonally, the east and west branches joining on the northern boundary, there have always been but few mills, and these were located upon minor tributaries. The first mill was built on the stream which runs through the Hatch neighborhood and empties into the outlet of Lake Pleasant. The second mill, a grist and sawmill combined, was erected by Capt. James Donaldson in 1822 on the outlet of Lake Pleasant. Both of these early mills have long since been abandoned. Later mills were the sawmill on the Hatch Hollow Alder run; a sawmill and shingle mill, a grist mill and two sawmills at Milltown, these giving the hamlet its name; a sawmill and shingle mill on the McAllister road. The creamery at Milltown was started in 1888, and that at Hatch Hollow in 1893.

The most important industry of Amity for many years has been dairying and raising cattle. There is considerable agriculture, but the character of the country favors grazing, for it is chiefly hilly. Large quantities of butter have for years been made in Amity, and the township has contributed not a little toward the fame of Wattsburg as a butter market.

The Methodist Episcopal denomination established a footing in Amity township at an early day, the beginnings of a church dating from 1831 or 1835, when a class was formed in the vicinity of Hatch Hollow. The M. E. Church at that place was dedicated in 1859.

Schools began earlier. The first school, a structure of logs, as most of the houses of all kinds then were, was built in 1825, and stood about half-way between J. Chaffee's and the borough of Wattsburg. A few years later a school was built at Hatch Hollow, which served until the development under the free school laws called for a better building, the latter doing service until the present. A log schoolhouse was built in Baldwin's Flats in 1835. It was built by private contributions, and when it burned down, a few years later, another was built in its place by the same means. That, too, was burned, and now the third building occupies the same site.

No other township in Erie county, perhaps, has more private or family graveyards than Amity. The cemetery at Hatch Hollow was

established about 1870, and is the principal burial place of the township.

Amity has not had many public men among those enrolled in the service of the county. Two citizens of the county, however, have served in the State Legislature, William Sanborn and Warren Chaffee. Francis Stow was elected county auditor in 1867, and Clark McAllister was a director of the poor.

CHAPTER II.—CONCORD.

First Called Brokenstraw.—First Settlement of William Miles.—The Rule of Subtraction.—The Railroads, the City of Corry and Borough of Elgin.

When the county of Erie was erected in 1800, the eastern projection south of the Triangle was laid out as one of the original townships, to which was given the name of Brokenstraw, after the affluent of the Allegheny, which has its rise in a number of small branches in the northern part of the territory included in that township. It is an insignificant stream in its relation to the township, compared with the south branch of French creek, with its tributaries, but appealed when names were being passed around. The name, however, was not so popular with the people after that section came to be settled, so that in 1821, after the township had reached its majority, as might be said, the name was changed to Concord. Five years later another change came to the township. In 1826 it was divided into two parts, nearly equal, the northern section of which became Amity township, while the remainder retained the name of Concord. It is the southeastern subdivision of the county and is said to owe its name to William Miles who was the sponsor of Amity and Union as well as of Concord. The process of reduction did not stop with the setting off of Amity as a separate township. In 1863 Corry was incorporated as a borough, and the land occupied by that new town was taken from Concord. In 1866 Corry became a city, and the additional land required by the new municipality was another draft upon the territory of Concord. Yet again, in 1876, was the territory of Concord drawn upon, this time by the erection into a borough, of Elgin. The process of geographical mathematics that applied division and subtraction to the township came to an end in the year of the National Centennial. There was nothing more to subtract; there was no room left for division. In the entire township there remained but one village, Lovell's Station, and that was the sole postoffice in Concord township. When the rural free delivery system came into operation it might be said that subtraction was again resorted to, for the dignity of the only postoffice within the bounds of the township was greatly reduced.

Concord, in which these various processes of reduction or restriction had been practiced, was, however, measured by the tenure of its occupancy by the English speaking race, as old as any part of the county of Erie. The date of its settlement was 1795, the same year that Erie and Waterford was first opened up by the pioneers. The first to come into Concord as permanent settlers were William Miles and his brother-in-law, William Cook. They came from the Susquehanna Valley, the region that sent the pioneers of Le Bœuf and Washington township. Both these men came into Erie county to find here permanent homes. They did not, however, remain fixed in the localities to which they came in 1795. After a time they moved south of the Crawford county line, into Sparta township, but, returning to Erie county, at length became identified with the beginnings of Union City. No other immigrants with permanent settlement in mind came into the township until 1800, when James and Robert McCray, natives of Ireland, took up homes and Joseph Hall, a Virginian, who went to Beaver Dam in 1797, moved over to the present site of Elgin borough. It would appear, from the lack of any record to the contrary, that for about a quarter of a century the entire population of Concord consisted of these three families. In 1823 quite a brisk immigration set in from New York state, among the leaders at that time being Elder Jeduthan Gray, a Baptist minister, with a family of grown-up children, and Deacon Graves. From 1825 to 1835, the settlers included Ezekiel Lewis, Jesse and Heman Heath, Simeon Stewart, William Bugbee, Abner Lilly, John B. Chase, James Crowell, Russell Darrow, Hiram Cook, Paul Hammond, Stephen Hollis, Buckingham Beebe, Elijah Pond, Oliver D. Pier. G. J. Stranahan settled in Concord in 1836, coming from Herkimer county, N. Y. His sons, John D. and P. G. Stranahan, moved to Le Bœuf, the former in 1849, the latter in 1850, from which place P. G. changed to Union in 1859.

Concord is a township of hills, and yet is good farming country. It has few important common roads. The first opened was the Meadville and Columbus, which passes through the southeastern corner; the Union and Corry, which crosses the northern part, passing through Elgin; the Elgin and Sparta, running south through the centre of the township; the Corry and Spring Creek and the Corry and Titusville in the southeast. More important are the railroads. The Philadelphia & Erie and the Atlantic & Great Western were built, the former in 1859 and the latter in 1862, through Concord township, and the Oil Creek road in 1862.

The industries of Concord township came first in the decade of the twenties, when the fresh influx rendered the saw-mill and the grist mill a necessity. The earliest of the mills were Joseph Hall's on Beaver Dam run and James Crowell's at Lovells. At the latter place there was, in the early days a machine shop a saw-mill and a planing mill, but they were destroyed by fire and never rebuilt. In 1879 a saw-mill was built

by D. J. Crowell. The Caflisch mill on the Erie road at Concord Station was in prosperous operation in the early nineties. At the time of the oil excitement in Crawford and Venango counties in the early sixties considerable drilling was done in Concord township, but little oil was found. During that period the industry of baling hay for shipment to the oil regions was an important one in Concord.

The Wesleyan Methodists were active among the immigrants from New York state, and a class was started early by Rev. John Broadhead. The outcome was the organization of a church and the building of a meeting house about 1840. Eventually it was ministered to by preachers of the M. E. church. The M. E. church, near F. S. Heath's, was dedicated in July, 1879, with Rev. C. M. Coburn as the first minister.

The first school-house in the township, a log building, was erected about 1823, and stood on the site of the Cook school of later days. The first teacher was Daniel Sackett, and Andrew Aiken and Joseph Gray and wife afterwards taught in the same school building. After the adoption of the free school laws, district schools dotted the landscape, Concord being well provided with facilities for common school education.

Elgin borough was incorporated in the winter of 1876. It was here that the mills of Joseph Hall was built, and for a considerable period the little settlement that sprang up about the mills came to be known as Halltown. In 1856 a general country store was started, but the place did not amount to much until the P. & E. Railroad was built, in 1859. Then its name was changed to Concord Station, and it began to take on activity until in the course of time it boasted of a Methodist church, a school house, a grist-mill, a saw-mill, a barrel factory, two groceries, a general store, a hotel, a blacksmith and wagonshop, a shoe shop and about forty residences. It was enough upon which to build a borough. There had been a Disciple church at Concord or Elgin, built in 1868, but gradually the membership fell away, largely through removals, and at length the organization was abandoned. A Methodist class was organized about 1854 by Rev. Josiah Flower of the Wattsburg circuit, with S. D. Lewis as class leader. In 1858 it became organized as a church and met in the school house until two years after the Disciple church was built, when that edifice was secured for services.

CHAPTER III.—CONNEAUT AND ALBION.

Jonathan Spaulding, Pioneer.—The Founding of Lexington.—A Famous Academy.—Albion in Canal Days, and When the Railroad Came.

The first man to penetrate the forest wilderness as far west as the section in the southwest corner of the county of Erie that came in time to be known as Conneaut township, was Jonathan Spaulding, who went in from New York State in 1795. The country was not only an unbroken wilderness, but was remote from any route of travel. The pathfinder of the time, however, was well pleased with the location he had discovered, situated as it was in the rather broad valley of Conneaut creek, the largest stream flowing through Erie county into the lake. For years Mr. Spaulding was practically alone, when neighbors did come, being separated from them by miles. But the isolation did not daunt him nor change his purpose of hewing out of the forest a place that was to be his home. He went diligently about it and in a surprisingly short time had a farmstead, comfortable as things went in those days. He was a man of energy, and proved to be a good farmer, so that he succeeded in securing pretty good crops. About three years after his settlement in the county he decided that a change of diet was desirable, and with that purpose set about getting some of his grain to the mill, so that meal and flour might be substituted for crushed corn or hominy. To that end he set about constructing a canoe. He had been a waterman in New York, and he therefore did not experience much difficulty in constructing a good canoe out of a tree-trunk. When he had it ready he loaded it with grain and started down the creek. It is a long distance from Albion to the lake, following the course of the stream, which, flowing northward where he launched his embarkation, after a course of four miles or so turns westward, continuing in that direction about eighteen miles, turns eastward for about eight, and then northward for a mile and a half to its mouth, so that there was a stretch of thirty miles or more of the stream before he reached the lake. From there he had to proceed to the mouth of Walnut creek, more than twenty miles farther to have his grist ground. The long voyage was successfully accomplished. Returning he stopped at the mouth of Crooked creek and spent the night with Captain Holliday, and naturally discussed the subject of mills. With

Capt. Holliday he looked over the ground in the neighborhood, and together they agreed upon an advantageous mill site, which was the same upon which a year or two later Capt. Holliday erected the first mills in Springfield township.

Conneaut was one of the original townships when Erie county was formed in 1800. The name is of Indian origin, and Conneaut is one of the two townships that bear aboriginal names, Venango being the other. Its southern boundary is the Crawford county line; its western the line that separates Pennsylvania from Ohio, and its northern is Conneaut creek. Originally, however, it extended a mile farther to the north, but in 1835 all the territory north of the creek was ceded to Springfield for the consideration that that township would bear half the expense of building and maintaining bridges over the stream.

As has been related, Jonathan Spaulding was the first permanent settler in that part of the county. Two years later the Pennsylvania Population Company sent Col. Dunning McNair as their agent, who established his headquarters at Lexington, a short distance north and west of Albion on the creek, and he, with a corps of assistants made surveys, laid out roads, and made all necessary preparations for disposing of the land to settlers. The Population Company's road, and the road from Waterford to Cranesville, were among the earliest in the county. In 1798 Abiather Crane and his brother Elihu moved in from Connecticut and located near Lexington. Abiather was one of Col. McNair's surveyors. Neither of the Cranes remained permanently, Elihu moving to Elkcreek in 1800 and Abiather to Millcreek in 1809. The dates of the arrival of others of the pioneers are: In 1800 Matthew Harrington from Vermont, George Griffey and Andrew Cole, and Stephen Randall and his son Sheffield from New York State; in 1801 Robert McKee from Cumberland county, Pa.; in 1802 Henry Ball from Virginia, Patrick Kennedy and his son Royal and William Payne from Connecticut; in 1803 Marsena Keep and his son Marsena from New York State; in 1804 Joel Bradish and brothers from New York; in 1806 Lyman Jackson from New York; in 1810 Michael Jackson, son of Lyman, remained a short time and returned to New York, but came back in 1815 and settled permanently. Others who settled at the beginning of the century, most of them from New York, were, Bartholomew Forbes, Howard, John, Nathan, David and Charles Salsbury, Thomas Sprague, James Paul, James Whittington, Thomas Alexander, John Stunz, Giles Badger, Ichabod Baker and Jacob Walker.

Henry Ball was a captain in the war of 1812, and several of the other early settlers served as privates in the American army of defense. Jonathan Spaulding's sons, David, John and George, were born in the township, the first in 1802, the second in 1806, the third in 1816. William Harrington, the oldest son of Matthew, was born in 1805. The first male child was Henry Wood, born in 1798; the first female children,

were Ruth, daughter of Elihu Crane, and Eliza daughter of Abiather Crane, both born in the same house near Lexington, on the same day, April 20, 1799. Ruth Crane married Isaac Pomeroy, and became the mother of two sons, Alden and Jerome, and seven daughters.

Beginning with 1815 there was a fresh influx, George Stunz and his son E. W. Stunz from Virginia, coming in that year. In 1816 the arrivals were Medad Pomeroy with his sons Nathaniel, Uriah, John, Lyman, James, George and Horace and three daughters, from Massachusetts—the family a colony in itself; and James W. and G. Spicer from New York. In 1817 Benjamin Sawdey and Isaac Pomeroy came from Massachusetts; in 1818, David Sawdey, Abijah Barnes and Samuel Bradish; in 1819, Noah Kidder and son Francis, Edward De Wolf, Daniel Rossiter and Samuel Sawdey, father of Benjamin and David, with his sons John, Job and Daniel; in 1820, Rodolphus Loomis; in 1825, Harrison Parks; in 1829, Jonas Lewis; in 1831, Thomas Bowman and family, including Ralph; in 1832, William Cornell and John Curtis; in 1833, Chester Morley and Andrew and Silas Morrison; in 1834, Christopher Cross, Edward Dorrence and Hiram Griffis; in 1837, Andrew Swap, Daniel Waters and Joseph Tubbs; in 1838, Isaiah and Johnson Pelton; in 1839, Marcus A. Bumpus.

There are evidences in Conneaut township—as indeed there are in Springfield and Girard—that in remote times that tract of country was inhabited by that race or branch of the aborigines that we speak of in these days as the Mound Builders. On the John Pomeroy farm there is a circular earthwork enclosing about three-quarters of an acre. When the country was first cleared up it was three feet in height by six feet wide at the base, with large trees growing upon it. One of these, a large oak, when cut down indicated by the rings of its growth that it was not less than 500 years old. Another circular work of a similar character existed on the Taylor farm, later owned by J. L. Strong. On the Pomeroy farm there is a mound about 100 feet long, 50 feet wide and 25 feet high. It stands on the south side of a small stream, upon flat land detached from the adjacent bluff.

At an early day John B. Wallace of Philadelphia located in Meadville as attorney for the Holland Land Company. In that capacity he took up tracts in various places, including 10,000 acres in the western part of Conneaut township. In 1825 this property was sold on an execution against Mr. Wallace and was bought for Stephen Girard of Philadelphia. It had been Mr. Girard's intention to make extensive improvements by erecting mills, opening roads, etc., but while his agent was arranging to carry out his plans, news came in January, 1832, of the death of the millionaire. By Mr. Girard's will the Conneaut lands, along with others, were left in trust to the city of Philadelphia as part of a perpetual fund for the maintenance of a college for orphans. After the death of Mr. Wallace, in 1833, his heirs claimed that the Conneaut lands

had been wrongfully sold, because the title was in Mrs. Wallace, and not in her husband. Suit was brought in the name of the Wallace heirs to recover the property, and the verdict was against the Girard estate.

The oldest of the settlements in the township was Lexington, given that name when Col. McNair established his headquarters there in 1797 as agent of the Pennsylvania Population Company. He laid out a plat of 1,600 acres at the big bend of Conneaut creek and opened roads, and, being the centre of the Company's operations in the west, Lexington in time came to be a village of no small pretensions. At one period it had a store, schoolhouse, hotel, distillery and several residences. A postoffice was established at Lexington Feb. 24, 1823, with David Sawdey as postmaster, and though the village long since went down it is interesting to know that by the Post Office Department at Washington that office still exists but under a change of names, for the record shows that Lexington was changed to Jackson Cross Roads February 23, 1835; to Pomeroy's Corners May 27, 1835; to Jackson Cross Roads, 1837, and to Albion, while O. M. Clark was serving as postmaster, in 1845. However, it is proper to state that Jackson Cross Roads was the original name of Albion. Lexington's name might be lost entirely but for the fact that the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad, by giving that name to a way station or siding, has preserved it.

Keepville's beginning was no doubt the settlement at that place in 1803 of Marsena Keep. When the country came to be opened up and roads laid out, two of them crossed at the Keep place near Conneaut creek, about two and a half miles southwest of Albion. Villages were planted thickly in that locality when the country was developing. Within a radius of four miles of Albion there are Keepville, Wanneta, Wellsburg, Cranesville and Lexington. At Keepville a Wesleyan Methodist congregation was organized in 1854 by Rev. John L. Moore, and a church was erected the same year. Cherry Hill, on the old State road, five miles west of Albion, is in the Harrington neighborhood and grew into considerable of a village, acquiring a church, a schoolhouse, two stores a smithy and perhaps thirty houses. Albion Depot, or Wanneta postoffice, is a mile west of Albion, for the railroad when it was built, was no respecter of persons or places and at Albion passed by on the other side. The Depot, however, came in time to support a store and a cluster of dwellings. Pennside at the county line, partly in Erie and partly in Crawford county, was originally a mill settlement brought about by the erection of extensive saw mills by the late J. Avery Tracy. It is of recent origin—within a quarter of a century,—but gives promise of permanence by possessing, in addition to the railroad station and saw-mill, two stores, a Methodist church, a school-house, blacksmith shop and a cluster of dwellings. Tracy, farther west, also started by the founder of Pennside and named after him, was a more pretentious place once than it is now, though it still lingers, with something of the air of a rural village.

The earliest road of this section was the Population Company's road from Lexington to Girard, laid out and opened in a sort of way in 1797. The State Road, opened in 1802 across the northern part of the township to the Ohio line, was the next common thoroughfare. The Meadville road, from Lexington into Crawford county, was opened in the beginning of the last century, and the Albion and Cranesville and Albion and Wellsburg roads, the Conneaut Centre road and the Albion and Keepville roads were also among the first. "Porky street," from Cherry Hill south and the Creek road from Pomeroy's bridge into Crawford county, have long been traveled.

Conneaut township citizens who have figured in public life are: David Sawdey and Humphrey A. Hills, members of the Legislature; Abiather Crane, John Salisbury, David Sawdey, H. A. Hills, Garner Palmer and George C. Mills, county commissioners; H. B. Brewster, jury commissioner; Liberty Salsbury, S. D. Sawdey, mercantile appraisers; W. J. Brockway, S. D. Sawdey, C. F. Weigel, county auditors; John H. Harrington, director of the poor; David A. Sawdey, a prominent Erie lawyer, is a native of Conneaut township.

The earliest village and the first postoffice in Conneaut township was Lexington, named by Col. McNair, the agent of the Population Company, when he established his office at that place. The postoffice was established there in 1823. In 1835, however, when a mile in width was taken from the township along its whole breadth, the interest of the people in the original settlement was transferred to a place that had sprung up where Jackson's run emptied into the East branch of Conneaut creek. It was called Jackson's Cross-roads. It was already making some pretentions to business. There was a saw mill there, which had been built by Lyman Jackson and a grist mill, operated by Amos King, and not a few people, had established homes in that vicinity—Thomas Alexander, Patrick Kennedy, William Paine, Ichabod Baker, and Lyman Jackson. The place continued to be a sleepy little country hamlet until the beginning of the decade of the forties.

Then there was a sudden start forward. Accessions were numerous. The place assumed activity, and its name was changed to Albion. It was all due to the building of the canal. That artery of internal commerce quickened the entire region through which it passed, and Albion was not an exception. Dwellings multiplied in the village; stores were established and industries sprang up. It was the centre of a good timber region, and was especially well supplied with white ash forests. Mills were built to saw the timber; manufactories of rake handles, of wooden rakes, of oars and other things were established and prospered, and the little community developed to such an extent that in 1861 it was chartered as a borough, its first burgess being Perry Kidder. Albion was then at its best estate, its population being 443, and all of its industries were flourishing.

Albion had attained considerable celebrity as a school town. The beginnings of education had been a little log house in which Lyman Jackson had taught. In 1838, however, there had been erected a school building of far more than ordinary pretensions, and it was called Joliet Academy. Its first principal was Elijah Wheeler. It was organized upon a high plane and its success dated from the start. It was widely patronized, attracting pupils from the greater part of Western Pennsylvania, and of other states. It made a specialty of fitting its students to be teachers, and because of the specialty it thrived. For a time it was greater than the little town in which it was located, and Joliet was as often the name of the place as Jackson Cross-roads. After the borough of Albion had been incorporated, however, the Academy (in 1862) passed into the control of the school directors, but the school has always been maintained of a high grade. A new school was built in 1868. Just before the close of the spring term in 1908 it was destroyed by fire. In its stead there was erected and formally opened in January, 1909, a handsome brick high school building that cost $25,000, and is the finest building in town.

The churches of Albion include the M. E. congregation which had its origin in the neighborhood or Albion more than three-quarters of a century ago, and at one time worshipped in a church that stood a little west of the village. The present church, built in 1855, was enlarged in 1894. The Roman Catholics, Disciples and Congregationalists also have organizations.

Albion Lodge of Odd Fellows was organized in 1849, passed through two fires and in 1885 emerged from the last of these disasters to establish itself in the most pretentious business block in the town, its own property. Western Star Lodge, F. & A. M., was chartered in 1859, and owns its own hall. Other orders that have flourished have been Albion Lodge, A. O. U. W., 1875; Albion Union, E. A. U., 1880; Mystic Circle, P. H. C., 1894; Conneaut Grange, 1893; Camp 67 State Police, 1893.

For a long period the principal hotel was the Sherman House, built in 1828 by Benjamin Nois, and for many years owned and managed by the Shermans, father and son. For seventy years it was the only caravansary of the borough.

Newspaper experience in Albion has been a repetition of that of every other little country town. The *Erie County Enterprise*, founded in 1877 by J. W. Britton and F. J. Dumars, failed three years later, notwithstanding its name. The *Blizzard* was started in 1882 by E. C. Palmer and E. F. Davenport, but finally blew itself out, consolidating with the *News*, managed by C. Provo, who yielded to circumstances and sought riches elsewhere, the various changes at length bringing to the editorial chair, F. J. Brown, who controls its destinies at the present time.

The Albion of today is different from what has been. The old Albion came into being through the influence of the canal. The new Albion owes its existence and splendid prosperity to another agency—the development of a railroad. With the building of the P. S. & L. E., Railroad Albion's hopes were revived. When that property passed into the hands of the Carnegie interests Albion's hopes were confirmed. From a population of 400 or less, in a few years the village grew to a town of 2,000, brought about by the fact that Albion had been made the junction of two branches of one of the most important railroads in the state. From a small station with a single siding the people saw track after track laid, and acre after acre added to the yards; saw roundhouses erected and shops built, until the ground was covered with a network of steel, miles in extent, and buildings sufficient to constitute a small town. In 1908, the yards had facilities for storing 4,000 cars; in 1909 enlargements were begun that promised to double the area and capacity.

Of course the town developed as the railroad increased. Dwellings were erected at the rate of 30 or 40 every year. Industries were added. In the place of the old Sherman House there was built in 1901 a fine new brick hotel now called the Hotel Albion, of which H. E. Wilson is manager; and the Central Hotel has been opened, in charge of F. J. Salsbury. In 1906 the borough was provided with electric lighting, furnished by the Albion Electric Light & Power Co. The Albion Water Company was chartered in 1909 and granted franchises, and is perfecting arrangements to introduce a gravity system to supply the town. A system of sewerage has been approved by the State Board of Health, and is soon to be introduced. A fire department has been equipped with chemical apparatus. The entire community is taking on modern and progressive ways.

In 1898 a half dozen of the business men formed an organization and opened the Citizens Bank which has ever since been successfully managed by E. F. Davenport. Steps are now being taken to obtain a charter for it. On September 14, 1909, the First National Bank was chartered with a capital of $25,000, and Thomas Dolan as president, John Eckert as vice-president and W. A. Pond as cashier.

Of the industries of Albion, many of those of the olden time passed out of existence, in most instances due to destruction by fire. The flouring mill that was built by Amos King in 1828 was purchased by Joshua Thornton, and upon its being burned in 1889 was rebuilt the next year. To this Mr. Thornton added the Albion Woolen Mill, but both were burned in 1904. The woolen mill of W. H. Gray, built in 1840, was burned in 1876 and rebuilt by Thomas Thornton in 1880. The rake factory built by Michael Jackson in 1846, passed to George Van Riper & Co., but was burned in 1894. An oar factory built by Henry Salisbury and Reuben McLallen in 1859, burned down in 1868,

was rebuilt, and again fell a victim to the flames. The manufacture of oars continued, however, A. Long & Son having opened their present oar factory in 1897. The handle department of the A. Denio Fork Works, was operated for many years at Albion, but upon its destruction by fire in 1875 was removed to North Girard. C. Grate & Sons have for years operated a saw and planing-mill and general lumber business.

Of the most recent of Albion's industries may be mentioned the Flower Milling Company, organized in 1904, and operating by steam a large plant alongside the railroad. It is the most important industry of modern Albion. The plant of the Rogers Brothers, builders of steel bridges and buildings was established at Albion in 1905. Their business operations extend throughout the central and western part of the State.

These public officials have been furnished by Albion: Assembly, Orlando Logan; Clerk to the directors of the poor for two years, and clerk to the county commissioners from 1890 to the present, J. A. Robison. Garner Palmer, who was county commissioner during the war period, and who devised and successfully carried out a plan for the payment of the county's war debt, still lives in Albion, esteemed and respected by his fellow citizens.

CHAPTER IV.—ELKCREEK.

Settled Early.—One of the Earliest Townships, but Twice Altered.—Its Villages, Flour Mills, Oar Factory and Other Industries.

Elkcreek was one of the original sixteen townships when Erie county was laid out in 1800, but then it was much greater in area than now. Girard township was an afterthought, and when it came into existence Elkcreek was called upon to contribute a portion of its territory, the result being that a rectangular piece was taken out of the northwest corner leaving a small pan-handle at the northeast. That change came to Elkcreek in 1832. Another change came in 1844, when Franklin panhandled Elkcreek on the other side, giving it the form of an L. Its area, after the changes were complete was about two-thirds what it was originally. It was not only one of the first of the townships to be created but its territory was also among the first to be settled permanently. The first settler was Eli Colton, who moved in from Granby, Conn., in 1797. During the spring of 1798 George Haybarger and his brother-in-law, John Dietz, came from Maryland and took up farms and their families arrived in the fall of the same year, escorted by Arnestes Dietz, father of John. Mr. Haybarger removed to Millcreek township in 1810, where his descendants still live. In 1800 Elihu Crane took up a tract where Cranesville now stands and remained until his death, but he had been a resident of the county from 1898, having in that year come from Connecticut to Conneaut township, changing to Elkcreek after two years. About contemporaneously with Mr. Crane numerous parties located in the township, among them David Randall, Daniel Akers, Mr. Odell and Mr. Harrington. In 1802 David Sherrod arrived from Susquehanna county, and others who settled during the first years of the Nineteenth century were James McCammon and his sons James and Robert, from Ireland, Jabez Clark, Charles Scott, Maxon Randall and the Shieldses.

It was a goodly country, especially in the valley of the Conneaut creek branch, and settlements continued for many years. In 1815 Daniel Winchester came from Connecticut, and Samuel Wells, with his sons Otis, Obed, Franklin, Samuel and Julius from Vermont; in 1818 Josiah Steward came; in 1824 the Stewarts, Rodgerses, and Brookses

from New York; in 1831, Thomas Bowman; in 1832, Levi and William Joslin and Edmond Goodenow, Sylvester Hubbard, and Samuel Sherman and family from New York State, John Warner from Massachusetts, and Wilson Cole from Chautauqua county, N. Y.; in 1833, John Stafford from Oneida county and William Vorce from Chautauqua, N. Y.; in 1834 Orange and Perley Miller; in 1835, Jeremiah Crowley, a native of Ireland, and Noah Almey; in 1836, David Smith from Vermont; in 1838, Hiram Irish from Vermont and Burr L. Pulling from Saratoga county, N. Y. From about 1830 the growth of the township was rapid. Samuel Sherman took up a large body of land which he divided among his five boys, and in 1840 Harley Sherman, one of the descendants of the pioneer of the name, opened a grocery store at Wellsburg. The Shermans became men of considerable note in the southwestern corner of the county. The forefathers of this family came to America from England in 1634, settling in New England, whence their descendants have spread into every State in the Union.

Villages quickly formed in the southwestern part of the township. In the valley of the east branch of Conneaut creek, where the Girard and Meadville road is crossed by the Albion and Edinboro road, Wellsburg sprang up. It derives its name from Samuel Wells who settled at this point with his five sons in 1815. They were a progressive family. At an early day Franklin Wells built a gristmill and several sawmills; Samuel drilled a salt well and supplied the neighborhood with the product until the opening of the canal made possible a better article at a lower price. In the course of time stores, a reasonably good hotel, schools, mills, churches, flouring mills and a furniture factory came, and the place assumed considerable importance. It is one of three villages exactly a mile apart—Cranesville, in the same township, and Albion, across the line in Conneaut township, being the other two.

Cranesville was founded by Fowler Crane, a son of Elihu Crane, who took up the farm which is its site in 1800. Fowler Crane laid out the village, built a tavern, and established a store and ashery. It is also located at a cross-roads—where the Girard and Meadville road crosses the Crane road. When the canal was built it passed through Cranesville and years afterward the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad, utilizing the old canal for its roadway, made Cranesville a station on its line, and a junction point, the Conneaut branch having its starting point at Cranesville. Besides a school the village has a church of the Methodist Episcopal denomination.

Four miles southeast of Wellsburg is located the village of Pageville, once an important manufacturing centre. The village obtained its name from E. Page. Situated on the edge of an extensive forest of ash and oak, Mr. Page established here a manufactory of oars, the product of which was shipped to all parts of America and Europe, and this business continued prosperously for many years, until the supply of ma-

terial had been exhausted. Upon the suspension of the oar factory the village declined, but still has an existence—and a memory of the "good old times."

Pont and Lavery are country villages, each boasting of a successful butter factory, besides stores, churches and schools.

The educational facilities of Elkcreek began with the school of Maxon Randall, which he taught in his own log cabin, beginning in 1815. It was located about a mile north of Cranesville. In 1817 Miss Becky Reese opened a school about a mile and a half south of Wellsburg. Immediately south of Wellsburg a Mr. Higgins began to teach in 1820, and the Sawdey schoolhouse, in the northwestern corner of the township was built about 1823. Not much later a school was established in Cranesville on the site afterwards used as the postoffice. These were all private or pay schools, and all that survived went out when the free school law made education a general charge upon the public and vastly increased the facilities.

The churches of the township are located chiefly in the villages. The Freewill Baptist church at Wellsburg (the Wellses were Baptists) began with a Sunday school that was successful for many years. The church was built in 1839. The Universalist congregation was organized in 1838, and erected its church in 1855, enlarging and improving it in 1871. A Methodist Episcopal society was organized at Wellsburg at an early day, and about 1835, built a church on the hill between Cranesville and Wellsburg, which was occupied until 1875 when the society divided, part going to Cranesville where a new church was built, and part going to Wellsburg, where services were for a time held in the school house. Soon there was a consolidation effected with the Pleasant Valley church, which was located some distance south of Wellsburg. It had been organized in 1833 and built its church in 1854. When the union was effected the Pleasant Valley church moved into the village. At Pageville there is another Methodist Episcopal church that has had an organized existence for many years, but the date of its beginning is not recorded. The Baptist congregation at Pageville was organized in 1839, and conducted services in the schoolhouse until its church was built in 1875. The United Brethren church at Pont was built in 1874, and the Randall church of the same denomination was organized in 1853, and built the little brick meeting house north of Cranesville soon afterwards. The Elkcreek Baptist church, at the intersection of the Population and Crane roads, was built in 1868; the society was organized in 1866.

The township has furnished a number of public men. Thomas Osborn was a member of the State Legislature; O. H. Irish of the U. S. Consular service, and later superintendent of printing at Washington, was from Elkcreek. George W. Colton, county commissioners' clerk, prothonotary and banker, was a native of the township. Stephen J. Godfrey and Richard Powell were county commissioners; C. C. Taylor,

county superintendent of schools; Daniel Roberts, Director of the Poor; Stephen J. Godfrey, George J. Powell and O. W. Irish, mercantile appraisers; George Manton, county auditor.

CHAPTER V.—FAIRVIEW.

Col. Forster and Capt. Swan.—First Mill in the County.—Centre of Religious Effort.—Manchester and its Many Enterprises.

The settlement of Fairview was begun when on the 25th of July, 1796, there was organized in Dauphin county the Harrisburg & Presque Isle Land Company. Each member of the company contributed £200 ($1000) to the common stock for the use of the organization in carrying out its purpose, which was the improving and populating of the country near and adjoining Lake Erie, and it was agreed the money should be used in the purchase of in-lots and out-lots in the town and county of Erie and for settling such lands as might be bought. In 1797 Thomas Forster and Capt. Richard Swan came from Dauphin County to Presque Isle. Both were stockholders in the Harrisburg & Presque Isle Land Company, and were the first settlers to locate in Fairview township, and they chose a large tract of land at the mouth of Walnut creek, part of what the company had bought of lands in Erie county. It was to these men that the township owes its name, which was suggested by the magnificent view of lake and valley and hill obtained from the high bluff, which, at a distance of half a mile from the lake shore, abruptly terminates the table land above. At this point, charmed with the beauty of the landscape, Col. Forster exclaimed to his companion, Capt. Swan, "This is the fairest view I have ever seen."

Col. Forster was agent of the Harrisburg & Presque Isle Co., and under his supervision a sawmill was erected the same year, being second only to the mill built at Erie by Capt. Russell Bissell. At the same time preparations were begun for the erection of a grist mill which was completed in 1798, and was the first mill of the kind in the county. These mills were only a short distance above the mouth of the creek, at about where the last bridge still crosses the stream. They were called "Forster's Mills." In 1799 Col. Forster's family joined him at Erie, of which town he was a resident thereafter until his death in 1836. Capt. Swan took charge of the mills as manager, and in 1802 brought his family to the new settlement at Walnut Creek. Among the members of Capt. Swan's family who thus became identified with the first settlers in Fairview were his sons John J. and Richard Swan

and a daughter who became the ancestor of the late Gen. D. B. McCreary of Erie. Their descendants still occupy lands on the east bank of Walnut creek, and in Millcreek, which belonged to their pioneer forefathers.

Contemporary with the mills a large dwelling house had been erected, built of peeled hemlock logs. From the first, probably, and for many subsequent years it was known as "Swan's Tavern." On his return from the east in 1802 with his family, having rented the mills and the tavern of the company, he took possession and occupied the property until his death in 1808. In all the early years up to 1805, when the Ridge Road was opened, the travel, such as there was, crossed the creek near its mouth, and Swan's Tavern was an important point in the journey. The present crossing of Walnut creek by the Ridge Road was not made until after 1820, when Arthur Oney cut down the west bank for $100.

Col. Forster and Capt. Swan were both men of position and influence in their native county. Col. Forster had been a student at Princeton, and was a surveyor by profession, and had held the offices of associate judge and member of Assembly. Both were soldiers in the Revolution and held commands in the Pennsylvania troops sent to quell the Whiskey Insurrection in the southern counties. They were eminently fitted by their tastes, their education and their experience to lead the forces of civilization in its progress toward the west.

In the early years immigration was by no means rapid. It was interrupted and retarded by conflicting claims of rival land companies and by fear of the Indians. Nevertheless, farm after farm was located and occupied, and little by little the population grew. Among the early pioneers, from 1797 to 1802, these were of the list: John and George Nicholson, John Kelso, Patrick Vance, Jeremiah Sturgeon, Thomas McCreary, Alexander, Patrick and John McKee, William Sturgeon, William Haggerty, John Dempsey, Thomas Kennedy and James Moorhead. All did not settle in the valley or on its immediate banks, but they were near neighbors, and the mills and tavern, with a store in 1802, became a common centre. In that year, 1802, there came into the township S. F. Gudtner from Franklin county; William and James Arbuckle from Maryland, Jacob Ebersole from Lancaster county, and Joseph M. Kratz, a Frenchman. The store was opened by Mr. Kratz, and was continued by him until 1804, when he moved to Erie. Meanwhile it became a very important mercantile establishment including patrons from Erie and Waterford as well as all the region round about. In 1805 James Ryan of Dauphin county came, and the same year Rev. Johnston Eaton, one of the pioneer missionaries in the county, preached in Capt. Swan's log tavern and held what was undoubtedly the first religious service in the township. Returning to the east for further study he came again to Walnut Creek in 1807 and began his permanent

work. In 1808 he was ordained, the service taking place in the barn of William Sturgeon on the site of the present village of Fairview.

Among the other early settlers of Fairview township were John Caughey and Samuel McCreary from Lancaster county, Moses Barnett, from Dauphin county in about 1816, Arthur Oney from Otsego county, N. Y., in 1820; John Silverthorn in the same year, David Russell about 1822; Samuel P. Allen from New England and Daniel Bear from Lancaster county in 1823, and Andrew Sturgeon in 1830. All the first colonists, with the exception of Kratz, Ebersole and Gudtner were of Protestant Irish stock. Subsequently many Pennsylvania Dutch moved in, and still later numerous foreign Germans. Daniel Waidley from Lancaster county, settled in 1834 and in time became one of the most prominent citizens of the township.

The first death of an adult white person was that of John Gordon, which occurred in 1805. He was buried on a lofty point that occupies a commanding position on the lake shore. It is now a part of the farm of Matthew H. Taylor, and is still known as Gordon's Point.

A short distance west of Walnut Creek there remains to this day some trace of an ancient mound and a circular construction of earth, that were in the early days very plainly discernable. They are remnants of the work of the mound-building Indians. Near these a log church was built, and a burial ground was established adjacent to what was believed to be a place of interment used by the aborigines. The church also served for school purposes. The settlers were largely farmers, with only such mechanics as were employed about the mills or in the growing improvements of the farms. They bore their part in the stirring events of 1812-15 as soldiers and helpers in the building of the fleet, but war's alarms did not affect their homes otherwise. They lived in the main quiet lives of hard labor with many deprivations and anxieties, but grew steadily into a prosperous community.

In 1829 Charles Lord erected a saw mill on Walnut Creek, and laid the foundations of a paper mill near the mouth of the stream. In 1830 his brother, Lynds Lord, who had purchased the 400-acre section embracing the valley of the creek from the lake to the present railroad line, built a grist mill and made the log tavern his dwelling. About 1836 the grist mill was sold to Selden & Spencer of Erie, who made improvements and named the village Manchester. The paper mill was primarily intended for the manufacture of coarse paper out of straw. It was the first paper mill in the county and probably the first anywhere in northwestern Pennsylvania. The building was a large one, built of heavy white oak timbers covered with clapboards, three stories high with a garret. When the mill was ready to start something broke, and Mr. Lord was obliged to go to Chardon, Ohio, 70 miles away, to get the needed repairs. While absent he died, and some time afterwards the executor sold the mill to Halsey and Roderick Pelton. In the course of time other Erie men became interested

in the property and in 1845 John Brecht of Fairview having obtained control, built the stone paper mill, the remains of which are still in evidence. In 1848 the property was leased to Erie parties who subsequently became the owners and under their management the frame building was removed and the stone mill was enlarged, new machinery was added and a large building for storage with a storeroom for merchandise and an office and several dwellings were built.

The Peltons built comfortable dwellings for themselves and their workmen, and soon afterward established and operated a stone saw mill for cutting into sills and caps for doors and windows, and other forms, the blue rock quarried from the bed of the creek. This stone was a stratum or series of strata of the shale formation, and subsequently furnished material for the second canal aqueduct under contractor George W. Barr. The little village of Manchester had now, by its varied industries, taken on an air of activity that placed it among the most important manufacturing centres in Erie county. Besides the saw and grist mills that had long been doing a large and increasing business, the stone mill, the paper mill and the extensive general store were all prosperously employed. The paper mill had abandoned the manufacture of course product upon which it was originally engaged and made the finer grades of "flats" or writing papers, and news prints and book papers, employing cotton and linen rags, so that the character of the goods furnished from the village was of a higher order as well as larger in quantity.

Meantime another paper mill had been built on Walnut creek near the crossing of the Ridge Road by Charles Folsom and John C. Perkins. Its specialty was manila wrapping paper, made largely for the Post Office Department. And there had been built in the same locality by S. F. Gudtner, a grist mill, which was continued in business under various owners, most recently Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Weigle, until the end of the century, when it was destroyed by fire. In 1815 the first woolen mill in the county was built by Samuel McCreary at the intersection of the depot and Lake roads, and was operated by him until 1841, when it fell into other hands. The Lock Haven Woolen Mill, on the bank of the lake was established by the Messrs. Caughey in 1842. It was destroyed by fire in 1878. The McCreary paper mill, afterwards owned by H. F. Watson, north of Avonia, was burned down in 1883. There was also operated in the township a tannery and a tile works, but they were abandoned years ago. The last of the grist mills were Kernick's and Lohrer's on Trout run.

In the course of time the water in Walnut creek, as well as the other streams, had so dwindled in quantity that it was insufficient to furnish the requisite power, and it became necessary to introduce steam. Coal was brought by canal, and to facilitate its handling as also that of other freight a dock and storehouse were built at the west end of

the aqueduct. The closing of the canal, however, erected a serious barrier to the progress of the mill industries of the creek that had now to place their dependance upon coal. However, the fate that ultimately overtakes most of industrial undertakings located in the country, came upon those of lower Walnut creek. It was soon after the coal supply had been cut off that fire came to the lower paper mill. With practically no facilities for fighting the fire it was vain to put forth the efforts employed. It was totally destroyed. It was the beginning of the end of Manchester. With the industries gone—for the saw mills had long since become useless because the timber had been exhausted, and the grist mills idle, the people sought other homes and other occupations. There remained for a time the picturesque little hamlet, Mayside, of which Capt. Sexauer was the ruling spirit. But the fiery element found that, too. One by one the fine houses that crowned the bluff were wiped out until now it is not a deserted village but an obliterated one, for there remains but a bare trace to show that there once had been a scene of human occupation and activity, where now only rural peace and quiet prevail. The beauty of that broad valley at the estuary of Walnut creek—and the scenery there is unsurpassed on the shore of Lake Erie—induced a company under the direction of C. E. Bacon, in 1908, to establish a summer resort. Cottages and fine grounds, a park and casino, and drives up the valley and through the charming country east and west will make it an ideal place for summer sojurn for the people of Pittsburg and the interior. And that is undoubtedly what the future has in store for this "fair view" that so charmed those pioneers upon whose delighted gaze it opened more than a century ago.

Fairview township was one of the first in the county to establish schools. The education of the children began in the log tavern kept by Richard Swan at the very beginning of the century. The first school house was built in 1804 of peeled logs and stood on School House run, about a mile from the mouth of Walnut creek and was taught by John Lynn, a Revolutionary soldier. His successor as teacher was William Gordon, the father of John Gordon, buried on Gordon's Point. Others of the earliest schools were that on the farm of Jeremiah Sturgeon within the present limits of Fairview borough in 1810; the school built by William Sturgeon in 1811; the school on the Lake road in 1812; one built in 1816 a mile west of the residence of Thomas Sturgeon; a school built later near the dwelling of Rev. Johnston Eaton and a schoolhouse in the southeastern part of the township near the dividing line between Fairview and Millcreek.

The religious or church history of Fairview began early. As has already been stated, Rev. Johnston Eaton came as a Presbyterian missionary in 1805, and after completing his studies, was ordained in 1808. At that time a log church was about ready for use. It stood on the bluff adjacent to the Indian mound and burying ground. Rev. Mr.

Eaton's dwelling was first near by the church but later at Lakeside, a mile or more to the west. His parish was an extensive one, reaching from Erie to Springfield and his ministerial work was prodigious. The original church was the Fairview church, for the original Fairview, upon which Col. Forster and Capt. Swan had bestowed the name, was the valley at the mouth of Walnut creek. The church of 1808 was abandoned in 1832, when a new Fairview church was dedicated at Swanville on the Ridge road. The new church continued in use at Swanville until 1851, when it was removed into Millcreek township and then became known as Westminster church, which is its name today. Rev. Johnston Eaton continued as minister of the Fairview church until his death June 17, 1847, in his seventy-second year, and after a period of ministration of over forty years. It was his only charge and was faithfully filled. In 1837 another Presbyterian church was established at Fairview village, afterwards incorporated as a borough.

Other church organizations in Fairview are these: Salem church of the Evangelical Association, started by the missionary efforts of Rev. J. Siebert in 1833; St. Jacobs' Evangelical United church, a mile and a half east of the borough on the Ridge road, organized in 1852 with Rev. Michael Kuchler as pastor; the Christian church, three miles south of the borough, organized by Rev. Asal Fish in 1835, the building erected in 1845; the United Brethren church, five miles south of the borough, organized in 1857, and holding meetings in the Van Camp schoolhouse until the new church was built in 1880, and the Evangelical church, southwest of Sterrettania, started in 1884.

Of the villages of Fairview township the earliest was that at the mouth of Walnut creek to which the name of Fairview was given. Besides its importance as a place of manufacturing, of which extended mention has already been made it became a postoffice in 1822 with James Dunn as postmaster, and from the time of the original settlement for a quarter of a century was the most important place in the township. The elections and general trainings were held there and it was a stopping place for the stages until the Ridge road was enabled to effect a crossing of the creek. Its name was changed to Manchester in 1829. Swanville came into existence in 1832, when John J. Swan built the first house and established the first tavern. It was in the same year the Fairview Presbyterian church was built. Subsequently the Nicholsons established a tavern, but both of these wayside inns were discontinued for lack of business. The village remains, however, with its collection of homes, its stores and postoffice. Avonia is the postoffice name of Fairview station and dates its origin to the opening of the railroad. Lock Haven was a mill village at the mouth of Trout run, its industries having been a woolen-mill and a saw-mill. These were burned years ago and Lock Haven is now only a memory.

Fairview village, originally known as Sturgeonville, was one of the earliest communities of the township, and much that was of importance in its history transpired while it was still a mere village. It was incorporated as a borough in 1868, its boundaries including an area a mile square. The earliest settlers were Jeremiah and William Sturgeon, who came in 1797. William Sturgeon erected a house on the Ridge road near Trout run and afterwards a tavern, which he kept for many years. Subsequently the Monitor House was built by S. C. Sturgeon, and this hotel is still in existence, although for years it has not had a liquor license.

On the death of William Sturgeon in 1837, he directed in his will that on the demise of his wife fifty acres of land and twenty town lots should go to the Presbyterian church of Fairview. It was a condition that a congregation was to be organized and a church building erected within one year from the time specified in the will, otherwise the property was to go to the Presbyterian Board of Publication. In the year of Mr. Sturgeon's death the General Assembly of the church separated into the New School and Old School. There were adherents of each in Fairview, and both sides made haste to qualify by organizing and building churches, the result of which was a contention that got into the courts, and a decision in favor of the Old School body. In 1869 there was a reunion in the general body, and this did away with the necessity of maintaining two churches of the denomination in Fairview, and both now worship harmoniously in one church, a new church of brick that was erected in 1874 at a cost of $11,000.

The Methodist Episcopal church is the result of a class formed in the house of Justice Osborne in 1817. The first meeting house was built in 1836, and stood just outside the bounds of the borough. The new church, built in 1854 is situated inside the borough limits. Mt. Nabo church of the Evangelical Association dates its origin to 1833, when Rev. J. Siebert was doing missionary work in the county, Salem church, in the township having had its start at the same time. The church of Mt. Nabo was that formerly occupied by the New School Presbyterians, which was bought in 1872 and moved to its present location. The Evangelical Lutheran church of Fairview and St. Jacobs, in the township were originally one but afterwards a division occurred, and at length, in 1878 the church in Fairview borough was built.

The Fairview Cemetery has been in use now upwards of thirty years. The first body interred was that of Mrs. Milton Sturgeon.

Citizens of Fairview who have held public positions are: Assembly, Myron H. Silverthorn, S. B. Bayle; Sheriff, Miles W. Caughey, Andrew F. Swan, Joseph W. Swalley; Register and Recorder, Daniel Long, James D. Hay; County Treasurer, Joseph W. Swalley, Jacob Yeagla, William C. Hay; County Commissioners, George Nicholson, Isaac Webster, W. W. Eaton, M. H. Silverthorn; Directors of the Poor, Curtis

Heidler, M. M. Kelso, Alex. Nicholson, W. W. Eaton, F. Willis, Noah Waidley; Clerk and Treasurer of Poor Directors, D. W. Nason; County Surveyor, R. P. Holliday; County Auditor, George Nicholson, Daniel Sayre, David H. Chapman, John J. Swan, Moses Barnett, H. H. Bassler, J. P. Swalley, O. H. P. Ferguson, W. C. Eaton; Mercantile Appraiser, Johnston Eaton, James McCreary; Jury Commissioner, Noah Waidley; Steward of the Almshouse, M. H. Silverthorn; County Superintendent of Schools, S. B. Bayle.

CHAPTER VI.—FRANKLIN.

Last of the Townships to be Settled.—Its Remote Position.—When it was Formed.—But one Village.—The Howard Stone Quarry.

The township of Franklin was established in 1844 out of portions of McKean, Washington and Elkcreek, and given the name of the printer philosopher and patriot of the Revolution on the suggestion of Hon. John H. Walker. J. P. Silverthorn was the principal person in circulating petitions and working for its creation. The viewers were Robert Porter and Elijah Drury of Girard and Thomas R. Miller of Springfield. Franklin township is exactly five miles square and contains 16,896 acres.

Franklin is so remote from the main lines of travel that settlement was delayed until a much later period than any other section of the county. The State road, which was opened by the Commonwealth in 1802 from the head waters of the Delaware to the Ohio line, passes through the centre of the township, and on this road immediately afterwards a few settlers located, but it was so remote that they left soon afterwards, and from that time until 1829, it cannot be learned that anyone chose this section for a home. It remained the whole of that quarter of a century an unbroken wilderness, save for the thread through it made by the State road, a section of the great forest in its virgin condition. In 1829 L. D. Rouse went in from Connecticut, but so far as is now known, was without a neighbor, far or near, until 1832, when William and Levi Francis from New York, James P. Silverthorn from Girard township, Henry Howard from Vermont, and Messrs. Goodban and Longley from England took up land and became permanent residents. In 1833 there were added Thomas Spence and Thomas McLaughlin from Ireland, William Vorse from Chautauqua county, N. Y.; Allen Mead from Saratoga county, N. Y.; Ezra Milks and his son Amos from Rensselaer county, N. Y.; Curtis Cole and father from Unadilla, N. Y., and Andrew Proudfit from York county, Pennsylvania. Isaac Fry from Vermont and John Tuckey, an Englishman, took up land in 1834; John Loyer from Eastern Pennsylvania in 1835; Levi Howard from Vermont in 1840, and James B. Robinson from Pompey, N. Y., in 1844. Levi Silverthorn also went in during 1844, the year the township was organized. John Gilbert was born in Somerset county, Pa., and moved

with his father into Waterford township in 1826. He married Elizabeth Gregory January 22, 1846, and the young couple immediately settled in Franklin and made that their permanent home. Among other early settlers were Messrs. Webster, Huff, Gibson and Perry, all from Warsaw, N. Y.

The whole country embraced within the limits of Franklin township is high rolling land, devoid of the ravines and broken ridges that prevail in the other elevated townships. The soil is a heavy clay loam, not the best adapted to the cultivation of grain, so that dairying became the chief industry. But as a rule the people of Franklin are distinguished for unusual progressiveness, and it is said the township has improved more, proportionately within the last forty years than any other rural district in the county. The houses and barns are mostly good, and the citizens generally free from debt. It has been a common saying that the farms of Franklin township have fewer mortgage blankets upon them than have those of any other township in the county.

There is but one village in the township, Franklin Centre by the voice of the people, but Franklin Corners according to the Post Office Department at Washington. It was founded by Oren G. Wood, who started a store on the old State road, where it is crossed by the Quarry road, and induced others to settle around him. The original owners of the land upon which the village stands were John Tuckey, O. G. Wood and John Loyer. In the course of time it grew into quite a sturdy little town with two stores, a church, schoolhouse, cheese factory, two blacksmith shops, a wagon shop, shoe shops, and a dozen or fifteen houses, with about 75 people. A grange of the Patrons of Husbandry was started in 1876 but disbanded after two years. There are two other trading places, cross-roads stores, called Ivarea and Population Corners, but they never attained to the dignity of villages.

Franklin township never had a grist-mill, the most of the grain being taken to the mills at Sterrettania, five miles from the Centre. There has been a good deal of lumber making, however, but little remaining of the splendid timber with which the township was originally covered. The earliest of these was probably that built on the State road near the Washington township line in 1854 by J. P. Silverthorn, Daniel Munson and Charles Billings and afterwards known as Sweet & Alden's mill. The Mohawk mill, on the Crane road in the southwest was built by D. Knight in the sixties and operated for about fifteen years. Mischler's on the State road less than a mile east of the Centre was built about 1870 and did business for ten years. These were all steam mills, the situation of the township being such that water power is not available, for it is the starting point of all the streams included within its boundaries. In 1874 J. R. Steadman started a creamery and cheese factory at the Centre, and there are also similar industries at Silverthorn's Corners

and Population Corners. Lawrence's cooper shop in the southern corner is another of the vanished industries of Franklin township.

There were no log schoolhouse days in the history of Franklin township, for the region was much too sparsely settled for schools until after the school act of the State was in effect. The first schoolhouse in the township was built at Franklin Centre about 1840, and occupied the site of the present schoolhouse. The schools are, the Foy, on the Crane road in the southeast corner; the Eureka, on the same road near the Eureka church; the Silverthorn, on the State road, two miles from the Centre; the Franklin Centre school; the Howard, at the stone quarry, and the Goodban, on the Sterrettania road. There are, besides two joint schools: the Billings used by Franklin and Washington, and the Francis, used by Franklin and Girard, both of which are within the bounds of the township. In addition there is a school in Elkcreek, belonging to the Elkcreek and Franklin independent school district.

The religious societies include two Methodist churches, one Lutheran and one Baptist. The M. E. church at Franklin Centre was organized in 1866. Two years later there was built there a Union church, intended for the use of any or all religious denominations, and this was put into service from the beginning by the Methodists. A church of the Lutheran denomination, organized in 1871, also holds services in the Union church at the Centre. The Eureka M. E. church was organized in 1867, and erected its own meeting-house on the Crane road two years later. The Baptist church is more properly an Elkcreek institution, as its name implies, and is located on the Population road, which is the western boundary of the township.

The Howard stone quarry, on Falls creek, near the northern boundary of the township, is worthy of note. For many years a large amount of business was done in the product of this quarry. The stone is a fine hard sand rock, somewhat laminated, and defective in that respect, but much of the material taken out, when carefully selected is of an excellent quality. When the courthouse at Erie was built in 1853 all the stone required for its construction was supplied by the Howard quarry, which was fully equipped to supply every need. The stone tile of which the floors of the first story are composed was sawed and shaped at the quarry, as were also the stones for the portico, the steps, sills and other purposes. In its day the Howard quarry, with its machinery and equipment was an extensive and valuable plant. In early days more or less petroleum exuded from the standstone stratum from which the building stone is taken, but, though wells were drilled in the vicinity, oil was never found in any quantity worth while. There is also a sulphur spring at the Howard quarry, but its waters have never been utilized. There are other quarries in Franklin, opened later, and operated to some extent.

CHAPTER VII.—GIRARD.

How the Township Came to Be.—The Canal.—The Miles Family.—The Borough of Girard.—The Old Stages.—Circus Days.—Modern Industries.

Girard township did not appear on the map of Erie county until the year 1832, for it was in that year it was created out of contiguous parts of Springfield and Fairview townships, and it received its name from Stephen Girard, who held a large area of land in the adjoining township of Conneaut. The original boundary line between Fairview and Springfield was a continuation of the line between Conneaut and Elkcreek, so that in the new deal, considerably more land was contributed by Fairview than by Springfield. In the first years of the settlement of Erie county the territory embraced in the township of Girard was regarded as remote territory by both Fairview and Springfield, so that while colonists came in quite early they did not come in such numbers as they did in the other townships. But it was not because the land embraced in Girard township was inferior, for, as a matter of fact there is no finer soil in the county. The lake plateau is here between three and four miles wide, and the soil, sandy near the lake and gravelly on the higher ground, is ideal for purposes of cultivation. The principal valley, that of Elk creek, is wide toward its mouth, and its soil a rich alluvium, rendering it very desirable for tillage.

The first settlers within the limits of the township were William Silverthorn and his son, Capt. Abraham Silverthorn, who come from Fayette county in 1798. About a year later Robert Brown located near the mouth of Elk creek, but remained only until 1804, when he removed to Weigeltown, and from there, after but a brief stay, to Erie. In the year 1800 Robert Porter, Isaac Miller and John Kelley moved in. Mr. Kelley did not remain long, in 1802 changing to Millcreek. In 1801 James and Isaac Silverthorn and Thomas Miles located, and in the same year Jacob Coffman came from Somerset county and settled on the site of Lockport, at about the same period Patrick Ward choosing a house on the Lake road. Mr. Coffman was accompanied by his four sons, one of whom, Conrad, in 1814, returned to Somerset where he married, remaining there until 1836, when he again moved into Girard to remain, bringing with him a son of seventeen years. William and Samuel Mc-

Clelland and William Crane natives of Ireland, and John Miller, from Fayette county, took up lands in 1803. Joel Bradish and his brothers and James Blair came in 1804; Martin Taylor in 1813; William Webber in 1814; Cornelius Haggerty in 1815; Samuel Jenner and his son Peach, Justus Osborn and his son Philip, Abner Boder and Scott Keith and wife in 1816; Elijah Drury in 1817; Ethan Loveridge and Nathan Sherman in 1818; Joseph Long in 1825; Matthew Anderson in 1830; George Traut in 1831; James Miles, from Union township, and Titus Pettibone in 1832; William Kirkland in 1833; Joshua Evans and family from Summit township in 1837. Among the early settlers, the date of whose arrival is not preserved, were Messrs. Taggart, Pickett, Badger, Martin, Wells, Clark, Laughlin and Wolverton. The last four were the earliest who located on the site of Girard borough, Mr. Wells having owned most of the land included within the corporate limits. John Ralph opened a tavern at the mouth of Elk creek about 1804.

The most picturesque settlement made in the township was that of James Miles, who came in 1832. He was a son of William Miles, who, with William Cook, settled in Concord in 1795, being really the first actual settlers in Erie county, for their arrival in June of that year, preceded that of the Reeds by about a month. James Miles moved over from Union township and acquired 1,600 acres of land extending two miles along the lake shore, and embracing the mouth of Elk creek. In the valley he erected a substantial brick residence and here, surrounded by handsome grounds, he lived in baronial style, and was easily the most distinguished man in the township. The estuary of Elk creek is deep, and forms an excellent harbor for small craft, with possibilities for great enlargement, the facilities being quite equal to those of Conneaut, which in recent years has become one of the most important harbors on Lake Erie. From the first Mr. Miles contemplated laying out a town there and in the thirties the opportunity to do so seemed to have arrived. It came with the state project to extend the canal, built from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, to Lake Erie. When the decision had been reached to undertake the Erie extension, there was a dispute whether to adopt the eastern or French creek route, or the western route, by way of Conneaut creek. When it was decided in favor of the latter there arose another contention: whether to make the mouth of Elk creek the terminus or carry it on to Erie harbor. While this latter subject was still under consideration at Harrisburg, on March 3, 1837, a contract was entered into between James Miles, Thaddeus Stevens, and Charles Ogle, a Congressman from this state, providing for the building of a city on the land of Miles in Girard township. Miles was to dispose of 200 acres of land on both sides of the stream to Stevens and Ogle in consideration of $5,000, and $95,000 from the sale of lots; Stevens was to work for the adoption of the site as the terminus of the canal and Ogle was to obtain an appropriation from Congress for

the improvement of the harbor. But the canal went to Erie, and the project of the trio having failed, Miles sued Stevens and Ogle for the $5,000 that was to have been a bonus payment. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and during the trial of the case a good deal of curious and interesting testimony came out. The final decision was in favor of the defendants.

That was not the last of the harbor at the mouth of Elk creek, although, so far as James Miles was concerned, his dreams and ambitions were blighted by the court decision. In these latter years the subject of establishing a harbor at that point has more than once been revived, and when the U. S. Steel Corporation or its allied interests obtained options on all the land on the shore of Lake Erie, from Conneaut into Girard township, talk about a railroad terminus at Elk Harbor became so common that for a time it appeared as though it might materialize.

Mr. Miles was a very active and enterprising man, full of public spirit, and possessed of the quality of initiative in high degree. With Judge John Galbraith and Hon. Alfred Kelley he built the railroad from Erie to the Ohio state line, that afterwards became a part of the Cleveland & Erie Railroad, and later of the Lake Shore. He was long a director in the C. P. & A. Railroad. He took an active part in the organization of the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, and exerted himself, though in vain, to have it located on his Girard estate, offering a tract of 100 acres of land, or more if necessary. He was elected Associate Judge of Erie county in 1851 and served until 1856 and died in 1869 at Miles Grove, a thrifty village that had been named after him, but now known as North Girard.

Though the construction of the canal did not have the effect of locating a city within the boundaries of the township, at the mouth of Elk creek, it nevertheless did contribute very materially to building up other places—indeed, created them. Before the canal came the principal village in Girard was that now known as West Girard, down in the valley of Elk creek, where the Ridge road crosses the stream. In the early days, when travel was by stage and the route of travel was by the Ridge road, West Girard was a place of great importance. It was the end of a division or run, and the stage company maintained extensive stables there. Naturally, being a place for longer stops than other country towns were favored with, it grew in proportions rapidly. There were, at one time, four taverns, several stores, two tanneries, an oil mill, a smith shop, several other smaller industries and a respectable collection of dwellings. When the canal came, however, there was an immediate and radical change. The canal, coming from the south, skirted the several hills to the southward of the village of Girard, after crossing Elk creek on an aqueduct ninety feet above the bed of the stream, and at length, turning northward passed through the west end of the village.

As soon as the canal was in operation, business was drawn to the place where the Ridge road crossed, and in a remarkably short space of time there had grown up a little town full of activity and enterprise. It was beautifully located upon high level ground. The ridge road was its principal street, and that throughfare, quite thickly settled and bordered with fine shade trees for miles east was itself a bid for settlers. Stores and inns and industries sprang up, and residences multiplied, and it was but a short time until Girard was a full fledged village, full of business, with church and school facilities and all the features that invite.

The same influence that operated in the creation of Girard brought into existence another village a little more than four miles south, namely, the Canal. But there was an additional circumstance, which was the presence in that vicinity of a large number of locks. Within a distance of two miles there were twenty-eight locks, and this condition of affairs naturally resulted in the formation of a village, which was given the appropriate name of Lockport. The beginning of Lockport and Girard was about 1840. Lockport was incorporated as a borough in 1870.

Miles Grove came later. It was a production of the railroad, and was therefore more than ten years later than the canal villages in securing a place on the map. In the course of time it became a strong rival of the older towns especially in an industrial way.

The rural industries of Girard township date back to early days. The Silverthorn mill, the first in that vicinity was built in 1799 on Spring run, a branch of Elk creek that joins the main stream some distance below Girard borough. At first most of the mills were built upon tributary streams, but in 1814 Peter Wolverton built a mill on Elk creek at West Girard, which operated for many years, was burned down while owned by Mr. Rowley but was afterwards rebuilt, and became quite an extensive industry, embracing a grist-mill, a saw-mill and a cider-mill, while hard by a planing-mill and sash factory was successfully conducted. Thornton's woolen-mill and Brown Brothers' hand-rake factory on Spring run; Rossiter's tannery on Brandy run, and Godfrey's sawmill on one of the streams emptying into the lake, are other of the enterprises that were not included in the industrial centres of the township. For a number of years Pettibone & Morehouse operated a lime kiln on the Lake road north of Girard, the stone being brought from Kelley's Island, at the head of Lake Erie and unloaded at the mouth of Elk creek. While the canal was being constructed a sandstone quarry was opened on the Elisha Smith farm, east of Girard borough, and considerable material for the construction of locks was obtained from it.

When the Lake Shore Railroad was built, in 1852, the crossing of Elk creek valley was effected on a wooden trestle or viaduct that was 115 feet high and 1,400 feet in length. Following the policy of this progressive corporation a stone culvert and "fill" were substituted in 1858, which has gradually been widened until it is now of sufficient breadth for

four tracks, representing itself a very important engineering enterprise. The Erie & Pittsburg Railroad, built in 1864, using the Lake Shore Railroad's tracks through Girard, branches south at Cross's, and it was the construction of the E. & P. that resulted in establishing a station at Girard.

To the railroad, and the locating of a station for Girard, is due the laying out of the two roads from Miles Grove to the borough. These are among the most recent in the township. The first public road was that of Col. McNair, from Lexington, laid out in 1798, and eventually continued to Erie as the Ridge road. The Lake road and the road through Lockport to Meadville, though later were among the earliest of the township's thoroughfares. The creek road was not constructed until after 1825, although now regarded as one of the old roads. Of the two roads between Miles Grove and Girard, the most recent, called Rice avenue, owes its existence to Dan Rice, the famous showman, who laid it out, expecting it would become built up, and that a street railway line would be operated upon it. The first expectation has been pretty well realized, and though the street car project was a still-birth, locally, the time came in the course of events when there was street railway communication between the towns—it came when the lightning was drawn upon to propel these vehicles. When the Conneaut & Erie electric railway was built, in 1901, in order to avoid the wide valley and steep grades of the Ridge road at its crossing of Elk creek, a detour was made to the north, the route being through Miles Grove, which is now North Girard, and there crossing the Elk creek valley at a much narrower place upon a costly viaduct. Just west of Elk creek the company established its power house, an expensive and very complete modern establishment. Girard township has thus become the heart of a modern system of transportation.

Dan Rice in his day was a great deal to Girard, and Girard, in return, was not slow to recognize its obligations to the great showman. For many a day Dan Rice and Girard were so intimately associated that to the stranger as well as to the inhabitants, to allude to one was almost tantamount to referring to the other. It was in 1853 that Rice made his first purchase of real estate at Girard. He had for some time been wintering his circus there; in that year, however, he decided to drive his stakes and locate a claim. He bought from Col. John McClure his property on the north side of the public square, paying $18,000 for it. Rice moved into it in 1856, and then set about acquiring the rest of the square, in the course of a few years owning two and a half acres. This he spent a large sum of money upon, erecting a fine residence and a costly brick stable, constructing a high brick wall upon three sides, laying the grounds out as a fine park with shade trees, lawns, statuary, a conservatory and other luxurious features, expending $60,000 for his home.

Then he came to become prominent in the affairs of the town, and though his favorite role in the show was that of a Shakesperian clown, he was rated something of a philosopher and a wise man by the inhabitants. And such he was in no small degree, for he was a traveled man and had an observant mind. It is recorded of him that when the first regiment of volunteers was on its way to Pittsburg, early in 1861—the Three-months Erie regiment—he made an address to the boys, and his address was not at all in accord with the belief of the times. He was not of those who believed the war would be at an end in three months, and he so stated to the young soldiers. He declared that, having traveled extensively in the south, he had come to know the Southern people and believed himself competent to pass judgment upon the temper of the people. He therefore declared that it would be a long and stubborn contest, and he warned the volunteers not to regard the service upon which they were entering as anything in the nature of holiday soldiering, but to be prepared for the bitter war. His words were prophetic. But from the first to the last he was a stalwart friend of Union cause.

He proved his friendship and loyal admiration for the boys in blue in numerous ways, not the least in erecting a monument in memory of their valorous deeds. This, built in the public square of Girard at his own expense, was dedicated November 1, 1865, and was the first monument to the soldiers of the Union in Pennsylvania—perhaps the first in the United States. It is of marble, designed by the Chicago sculptor Leonard Volk, and is enclosed by an iron railing. The principal speakers at the dedication were Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania and Governor Tod of Ohio—two famous war governors,—and General Alfred B. McCalmont of Franklin.

The adoption of Girard as his home town by Dan Rice was the means of drawing to the same place many others of his profession, so that in time, and for a considerable period, Girard was known as a show town. But then many of them grew up in the Dan Rice circus and afterwards set up for themselves, and more than one circus enterprise was organized in Girard. Dr. James L. Thayer, an employe of Rice, and Charles W. Noyes, a pupil, there started the Thayer & Noyes circus. Agrippa Martin, Abe Henderson, and Seymour Pease were also residents of the village. No less than five shows were organized at Girard, in addition to Rice's; Thayer & Noyes's, Rice & Forepaugh's, Anderson & Co.'s, Abe Henderson's and G. R. Spalding & Co.'s circuses started out from Girard. They were all "road shows" at the first, but Rice was the pioneer in adopting other methods of transportation, at first employing the canal, then the great rivers, and from that the evolution to the railroads was a natural and easy one. Rice continued to winter his circus at Girard until 1875, when, through financial embarrassment, he lost all he had not excepting his splendid home in Girard, which in

time came to be the property of Carl Jones, who tore down the old house and built a newer and more modern home.

It was in 1846 that Girard was incorporated as a borough, the stimulus imparted by the canal, opened in December, 1844, bringing about an immediate and swift development. Its first officers were, Burgess, Mason Kellogg; Council, John McClure, Jr., Leffert Hart, H. McConnell and George H. Cutler; Clerk, L. S. Jones. At the close of the war of 1812, the site of the borough was partly included in the farm of John Taylor, whose log house was the only building. Later the land was acquired by Daniel Sayre, who sold to Joseph Wells, and the first frame dwelling within what became the limits of the borough was built by Mr. Wells. When the canal came the village sprang up on either side, later to spread eastward and then towards the north and south. When the railroads came to be built Girard was passed by, a good distance on the other side, but in time it turned out differently, for upon the abandonment of the canal, its tow-path was converted into a railroad bed, and the modern railroad, now the Bessemer & Lake Erie, passed through the village and Girard, come to its own, has now the air of a full-fledged railroad town, the frequent passage of the trolley car along its main street completing its claim to be regarded as a Twentieth Century town.

And such it is in respect to its trade, its undustrial enterprise, its social features, its religious and educational facilities, and everything that a modern community requires. The churches of Girard township and borough include two of the Presbyterian denomination, that at Girard organized in 1835, and the church rebuilt in 1893; and that at Miles Grove or North Girard built in the winter of 1885-6 at a cost of $10,000, all but $1,600 of which was contributed by A. Denio. There are five M. E. churches: one at Girard, organized in 1815, the present meeting house for which was built in 1868 at a cost of $30,000; one at Fairhaven in the southwestern part of the township, organized in 1815 and built in 1861; one at Lockport, organized in 1843 and built in 1878; one at Fairplain, toward the north, organized in 1840 and built in 1841, and one at North Girard, built in 1867 on land donated by James Sampson. The United Brethren church, that stands on the State road near Elkcreek township line, was built in 1870. The Christian church is located on the Population road between Girard and Franklin Centre. The Disciple church was organized at Lockport in 1877. The Episcopal church at North Girard was organized in 1860, and the church, erected in 1877 was made possible by a sum of money bequeathed for that purpose by Mrs. Bell, a daughter of Judge Miles, the land on which it stands donated by J. Robert Hall. The Catholic church at Girard was built in 1853. The Universalist church at Girard was built in 1852, and St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church, organized in 1866, bought the building previously owned by the Methodists in 1869.

The first school in Girard township was opened in 1809, and the teacher was John J. Swan, a youth of 16 years. It stood in Girard village and children walked three to six miles to school. Mr. Swan later taught in Erie. There was a log schoolhouse built in the southwestern part of the township in 1819, which, after a number of years was burned, and a new school was built in its place. About 1822 there was a school established in a frame building at the foot of Girard hill on the Ridge road and in 1823 another was established a mile east of Girard. In 1827 the Girard village school was held in the first floor of a log building on the main street. In 1850 Girard Academy was organized on the stock company plan. Land was bought and a commodious two-story brick building was built and opened in 1851. It flourished for many years, but in 1862 was turned over to the school board and became a public school. The township has had a high school for about twenty-five years, which was held in a frame building in North Girard until 1901, when there was erected a handsome eight-room brick building costing $25,000.

If, in the sixties, Girard owed much to Dan Rice, a decade later it was far more deeply indebted to R. S. Battles and his associates. Their performances were not so spectacular, but there was in them that which was to yield lasting and solid good to the town. Mr. Battles first came forward in connection with banking, in 1859, in company with C. F. Webster engaging in business as private bankers. Later, however, they became interested in other lines, and in 1875, saved to Girard an industry that otherwise would have been lost. The Girard Wrench factory was built in 1874, by a company that obtained a bonus from the people of the town. It failed in 1875 and the plant was bought at sheriff's sale by C. F. Rockwell, W. C. Culbertson, C. F. Webster and R. S. Battles. Immediately what had been a losing venture became a splendid success. For a number of years it was operated as a limited partnership, but in 1902 was incorporated as the Girard Wrench Mfg. Co. with W. C. Culbertson, president; C. F. Webster, vice-president; C. F. Rockwell, secretary and R. S. Battles, treasurer. The officers in 1909 were J. A. Culbertson, president; C. F. Webster, vice-president and treasurer; F. G. Luce, secretary. The goods manufactured are adjustable wrenches, of which six styles are made.

The Theo. J. Ely Manufacturing Co. was started at Conneautville in 1880, when a partnership was formed between T. J. Ely and I. S. Klick, to make and market traps and other saleable articles, patented by Mr. Klick. After a short time the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Ely becoming sole owner. In 1889 the business was moved to Girard to a building on the site of the present shop. That was burned in 1894 and immediately rebuilt. Then the scope of the factory was greatly enlarged, until at the present time a great diversity of articles are produced, of wood or wood combined with steel. Among the specialties are mop-

sticks of eighteen different styles, twelve styles of carpet whips, and twenty-three different styles of cross-cut-saw handles. Six thousand gross of mops were made in 1908. In 1908 the Theo. J. Ely Manufacturing Co. was incorporated, the directors being M. E. Ellis, Theo. B. Ely and Theo. J. Ely.

The Lake Erie Foundry Co., was incorporated in 1901, with these officers: F. G. Luce, president; C. F. Webster, vice-president and treasurer; W. C. Kibler, secretary. The plant has been favored by prosperity from the beginning. Its product is light and heavy gray iron castings. In this industry as well as the wrench factory the Battles interest is an important factor. At his death, it was specified in his will, the interests with which he had been identified were not to be disturbed.

The Girard Model Works, established in 1905, by F. E. Wood, is engaged in specialty work in metal, and particular attention is paid to developing inventions. A gasoline engine for light work is built for the market.

The town of North Girard, that formerly went by the name of Miles Grove, is become a hive of industry. The oldest establishment of the place is the Otsego Fork Mills, in which hand agricultural implements are made. This industry originated with A. Denio, who had a handle factory at Albion, ash timber being abundant in that vicinity. The steel work was made at Baldwinsville, N. Y., and for a time the handles and the steel parts were brought together at Miles Grove where the tools were completed. The factory at Albion burned in 1873 or 1874, and in 1875 both the steel mill and the handle factory were removed to North Girard, where the business is still continued. In 1902 there was a consolidation effected by which the works at North Girard became the Otsego Works of the American Fork & Hoe Co.

The Federal Electric Co. located in North Girard in 1904, removing from Erie, where it had been established for several years in the old Canal Mill building. The product is electric generators and motors. The building occupied was built in 1883 for the Novelty Works which was operated by the Novelty Manufacturing Co., and later by the Keystone Manufacturing Co., which made, among other things, an adjustable shade roller. The novelty business was removed to Saginaw in 1892, and little was done at the factory until the Federal Manufacturing Co. took possession.

The Ideal Foundry was established at North Girard in 1890 by O. R. Hanchett, who conducted a prosperous business until 1902, when he was induced to remove to Ashtabula.

North Girard has a number of small manufactories devoted to the production of novelties, principally of wood. The Eclipse Co., chartered in 1909, was organized by W. E. Abbey in 1892 as the Eclipse Manufacturing Co., to make wooden ware for household use. The Wells & Abbey Manufacturing Co. organized in May, 1909, turns out sleeve boards,

knife trays, coat racks and specialties of that sort. Fire destroyed their building in July, 1909, but work was resumed in the old foundry while a fine new building was being erected. The L. Hopkins Mfg. Co. dates from about 1904, and makes clothes driers, sleeve boards, etc. Frank Hopkins began business in the manufacture of household specialties of wood and iron in 1904. The Empire Co., chartered in 1909 with S. C. Long as president and W. C. Lewis, secretary and treasurer, began in 1908 the manufacture of wooden coat hangers and other household specialties. William Skivington began business in 1894 as the Gem Manufacturing Co., and his product is clothes racks and other wooden ware.

Girard has two banks. The first organized as a private bank in 1859 by R. S. Battles and C. F. Webster, continues to do a banking business up to the present time. In 1863 a charter was granted to the First National Bank of Girard, of which Mr. Battles was president. Upon the close of the term of the charter, the business was wound up in an honorable fashion and the National Bank ceased to exist.

On August, 24, 1904, the National Bank of Girard was opened for business, with a capital of $50,000 and these officers: H. G. Harvey, of North Girard, president; J. C. Murphy, vice-president; O. M. Sloan, cashier.

In 1893 the Robert Wilcox public library was built at Girard. It was made possible by a bequest for the purpose by Mr. Wilcox, which was added to by an association, principally of ladies, organized for the purpose. The library is self-supporting.

About ten years ago the borough of Girard inaugurated important public improvements. On August 6, 1896, the borough council adopted a plan for a sewer system, which is being carried out. In the summer of 1899, provisions were made for a supply of water, which is obtained from a system of wells, ensuring pure water. In the fall of 1899 arrangements were completed for lighting the town with electricity, the borough installing its own plant. In 1900 a fire department was organized on the volunteer plan, and consists of the A. F. Dobler Hose and Ladder Co., equipped with a hand hose truck and a hand hook and ladder truck, and the Citizens Hose Co., equipped with a hand hose truck.

Public men furnished by Girard were: Senate, George H. Cutler, president of that body when the office was second only to Governor; Congress, W. C. Culbertson; Associate Judge, Myron Hutchinson, James Miles; Assembly, Theo. Ryman, Leffert Hart, Henry Teller, Geo. P. Rea, H. A. Traut; District Attorney and afterwards Register in Bankruptcy, S. E. Woodruff; U. P. Rossiter was elected District Attorney in 1893; Sheriff, George W. Evans; Prothonotary, James C. Marshall, Samuel Perley; County Treasurer, Jeremiah Davis, A. A. Hopkins; County Superintendent of Schools, L. T. Fisk, T. M. Morrison; County Commissioner, Myron Hutchinson, James Miles, E. C. Palmer; Mercantile Appraiser, D. W. Hutchinson, J. M. Ball; Jury Commissioner, Wm. Biggers,

C. H. Nichols; Director of the Poor, John Hay, Wm. Hopkins; County Surveyor, George Platt, Dan Rice, Jr.; County Auditor, James Miles, Philip Osborn.

Senator and Secretary of the Interior Teller of Colorado, was a resident of Girard while a boy; D. W. Hutchinson, Register of the U. S. Land Office at Bismarck, S. D.; Marcus N. Cutler, long a department clerk at Harrisburg, and T. C. Wheeler, appointed by President Lincoln U. S. Assistant Assessor, were all natives of Girard.

CHAPTER VIII.—GREENE.

Conditions That Influenced Its Settlement.—The New England Contingent and the Welsh Colony.—Villages and Industries of the Township.

Greene was one of the sixteen original townships when the county was laid out in 1800, but it was then known as Beaver Dam; and that continued to be its name until 1840, when it was re-named in honor of Gen. Nathaniel Greene of Revolutionary fame. The western boundary has twice been changed, first by adding a section of McKean, and again in 1854 by contributing a portion of the township of Summit, created that year. Its greatest dimensions are seven miles from north to south and six miles from east to west, and its area is a trifle more than 22,000 acres.

Being of the original townships, and approximately near to the lines of travel, settlement began early. The first persons to select homes in the township were Peter Himebaugh and Conrad Wineman, two Pennsylvania Germans, who went in in 1800, selecting lands in the Valley of Le Bœuf creek, where they remained until they died. About two years later Jacob and Samuel Brown, Thomas Bunnell and John and Ambrose Coover settled in Le Bœuf Valley. In the spring of 1802 Thomas Hinton and five sons and two daughters made their homes in the northeast corner, and, being Welsh people, that section has ever since been known as Wales. The Hintons were followed by the Jones, Knoyles, Morgans, Wilkenses, and others, Welsh people all. For about twelve years Greene had no accessions. Being an elevated section and the land hardly as arable as that of the plain to the north, or the wider valleys to the south, new comers were not attracted in that direction. Between 1816 and 1818, however, there occurred a fresh influx. A colony of New England people came in, among whom may be named Cyril Drown and sons, Martin Hayes and sons, Isaac and David Church, Benjamin Gunnison, Roger Root, David Edwards and S. T. Rockwood. Wm. B. Weed and William Yaple settled at what came to be known afterwards as Weed's Corners, when the entire country south to Lake Pleasant was an unbroken forest. The immigration of the Germans began in 1833, when the Hirts, Pringles, Kellers and others settled on and near the Wattsburg road. Mr. Kuhl and his sons moved into the German settle-

ment from Millcreek in 1835. The Irish began to arrive in the township in 1836 and settled mostly on the Kuhl road not for from the Germans. Among them the Barrys, Gallaghers, Morrisons, McManuses, Cosgroves and McGinneses were first. H. L. Pinney bought a farm in Greene in 1843. E. O. Pinney rented a farm in the same year and bought it in 1846. Martin Pinney moved into Greene in 1851.

Greene township roads came as they were needed, and therefore were not all laid out at once, nor even early. The first of the main roads was that from Harborcreek to Wattsburg, made in 1810. The Lake Pleasant road was opened from Erie as far as the Hayes place in 1821-22, and was completed to French creek in 1826-27. The Shunpike, constructed, as its name would imply to avoid the payment of toll on the Waterford Turnpike, was built in 1827-28. The Wattsburg plank road was laid in 1853, but, proving to be a losing speculation, was surrendered to the township in 1865. The plank road had been constructed largely along the original Wattsburg road, but from the Siegel place adopted a new route. The old road to Wattsburg by way of Philipsville continued in use and is traveled to this day.

From Greene township not a few of the more important of the streams of the county derive their source—Mill creek, Four-mile creek, Six-mile creek, and Le Bœuf creek. These furnished power for the mills of the early days—and there was more milling in the township then than at present. Sawmills were comparatively numerous, for it was a well-wooded section, but in the course of time the timber was thinned out to such a degree that one after another the mills were abandoned. Miles Brown, a son of the Brown who was one of the first comers, built a sawmill early in the century on Le Bœuf creek, in the section that was first settled. The Kane sawmill near the northern boundary and David Ripley's sawmill, about a mile north of St. Boniface's, both on Four-mile creek were early mills, and there were two others on Six-mile creek, north of Wales. Jacob Brown's grist-mill built in the beginning of the century, and operated until it was burned down in 1872, was the only grist-mill the township ever contained. There were other sawmills —one on Le Bœuf creek, one near the Lake Pleasant road, a third near John Evans's and a fourth at Bogus Corners, but all were long since abandoned.

There are no incorporated towns, and no settlements that are entitled to be called villages even, in Greene township. There are, however, many neighborhoods or thickly settled localities known by distinguishing names, that have long endured and are very much a part of the traditions of the county. The earliest of these is Wales, settled almost entirely by Welsh immigrants. In this neighborhood sprang up some of the accompaniments of rural village life: the store, the smith's shop, the school, the church. There was a Presbyterian congregation organized in 1849 by Rev. G. W. Cleaveland, that erected a church in 1851. At about

the same time a church of the Methodist Episcopal denomination was established at Wales. St. Boniface village, as it has been called, though it is not in reality a village, derives its name from the Catholic church located there. It is on the Wattsburg road and is the heart of the German settlement. The colonists came in as early as 1833, but the church that gave the locality its name was not organized until 1857, when Rev. J. A. Oberhofer gathered together some forty families and formed the church. The first church was erected in 1857 but in 1867 it was destroyed by fire. The congregation was for some years without a church, when Father Oberhofer, who had built the first edifice, was returned to the charge, and again undertook the work of building, the result being a handsome and enduring structure that cost when built in 1873, $4,000. In the meantime there arose a dissension in the church, the German element and the Irish falling out. The Celtic people left and set up a church of their own, building in 1870. The final site of the second Catholic church is on Kuhl Hill. Eventually the priest settled at St. Boniface's also ministered to the congregation at St. Peter's, as it was called, and good feeling was finally restored, though contained in two separate churches. St. Boniface is Hamot in the postoffice directory. In time it acquired a country store, a smithy, a wagon shop and a church school. East Greene postoffice and a school-house are situated at Bogus Corners, near the centre of the township, and the postoffice was established in 1829. The German Lutheran church, half a mile west, was built in 1857, and near by a graveyard, a grocery and a saloon came very near to entitling the place to be ranked as a village. Weed's Corners is a collection of farm-houses, and began with the settlement of William B. Weed in 1828. West Greene, in the southern part of the township, is a cross-roads collection of houses, with a cheese factory, built in 1873 and a Methodist church, a store, blacksmith shop and school house. The church was organized in 1827 and held meetings in private residences and schools until about 1848, when a chapel was built. This served until 1883, when an attractive frame church was erected. There was a Free-Will Baptist church for several years at West Greene, but the organization was abandoned after a number of years. In addition to the churches located at the villages or cross-roads above enumerated there was a United Brethren church organized in 1871 that built near the head of Lake Pleasant in 1872, and another United Brethren church, or society, that for years met at the house of David Ripley in the northwestern part of the township.

There were no schools in Greene township prior to 1825. Soon after that date one was built in the eastern part; a second two miles south and a third on the farm of W. B. Weed. These were all built about the same time. One of the first teachers was Mrs. Brace, a pioneer of the township, from Connecticut. The public schools of the township are the Kuhl, on Kuhl Hill; Drown, on the Wattsburg road; Bogus Corners;

New, near Wales; Weed, on the Lake Pleasant road; Lawrence, on the same road; West Greene, and the Brown, near Le Bœuf creek.

The public officers furnished by Greene township were: Capt. Thomas Wilkins, collector of the port of Erie; Jonas Gunnison (father of Judge Frank Gunnison) a prominent attorney and member of the Legislature; Rodney Cole, William B. Weed and Albert B. Gunnison, County Commissioners; Ora P. Gunnison, Deputy Sheriff, Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue, Collector of Internal Revenue, Mercantile Appraiser and Clerk of the County Commissioners; Horace L. Pinney, George H. Myers, Jury Commissioners; E. O. Pinney, Trustee of Erie Academy; Wm. E. Hayes, County Auditor; A. S. Pinney, Treasurer of the City of Erie.

CHAPTER IX.—GREENFIELD.

Chosen for a Location by Judah Colt.—Centre of the Pennsylvania Population Co. for a Time.—Greenfield People of Note.

Barring the French appellations Greenfield is the oldest geographical name in Erie county, and in the matter of settlement falls just one year short of being even date with the earliest. It owes its name and its early settlement to Judah Colt, who, though reckoned as a settler of 1796 when he took up his residence in Greenfield, was in reality among those who found the way to Erie in 1795. It is already related in these pages how he and Mr. Porter came from Canandaigua by way of Buffalo and the lake, passengers on the "shallop" of Capt. Lee, to Presque Isle in the late summer of 1795, and his coming to Erie (or Presque Isle) at that time was with the purpose of establishing himself in business. That year, the first of the permanent settlement, he bought 400 acres of land. But he did more. He looked the ground over, and reached a determination. So, instead of remaining he returned east to carry out a purpose he had formed. That he had applied himself to obtaining information while here is very clearly shown by his procedure after returning east. While here he had learned that the Pennsylvania Population Company had obtained title to all the land in the Triangle. The spring after his return he proceeded to Philadelphia, and there endeavored to buy from the Population Company 30,000 acres of the eastern end of the Triangle, offering a dollar an acre for that area of land. His offer was not accepted, but the officials of the company, impressed with his energy and satisfied that he had the desirable business qualifications, made him an offer to serve as their agent in the new country, which was such an advantageous proposition that he accepted it, and at once proceeded to business. How he fitted himself out has already been related. Before the end of the summer of 1796 he was settled in Greenfield.

He was preceded by two brothers-in-law, Elisha and Enoch Marvin. In 1797, early, these with Mr. Colt established themselves in about what is the centre of Greenfield township as it is known today, and the place came at once to be known as Colt's Station. The same year there was considerable of an influx, including Cyrus Robinson, Henry and Dyer Loomis, Charles Allen, Joseph Berry, John and William Wilson, James

Moore, Joseph Webster, Philo Barker, Timothy Tuttle, Silas and William Smith, Joseph Shadduck, John Daggett and John Andrews. Now, not a few of these names will be recognized as of the earliest settlers of North East, and lest there may seem to be an incongruity in this statement, it is proper here to explain that the original Greenfield extended to the lake shore, and that what is now the township of North East, was at the beginning known as Lower Greenfield. These settlers were from the East, chiefly New England whence Mr. Colt had come, and represented the tide of immigration into the new country which Mr. Colt had expected to bring about, and the early advent of so many from New England will explain why Mr. Colt was so desirous of closing that bargain for 30,000 acres of land which he went to Philadelphia to accomplish. The North East township land was a part of what constituted the tract he desired to purchase.

There has been no reason assigned for the selection of the lofty site chosen for Colt's Station. It was not far from the highest altitude attained by any portion of Erie county, for, as a matter of fact, the highest land in the county is in the southeastern corner of Greenfield or the northeastern corner of Venango. But it was all forest then, the forest primeval and well-nigh the forest impenetrable. It stretched unbroken in every direction. It is more than probable the reason for establishing his station where he did was that, being so elevated, it appeared to him better fitted to become a desirable section, for at the beginning of the lake shore plateau, along its entire length there was a strip of greater or less breadth that was of a wet or somewhat swampy character. No other good explanation seems available, for one of the first undertakings of Mr. Colt was to construct a road from the station to the lake shore, at the mouth of Sixteen-mile creek, where a port was established and supplies for the interior were received from Buffalo and carted all the way up the difficult road to the depot of the Population Company. This road was the first road cut through the forest after the advent of the permanent settlers, and was second only to that made by the French more than forty years previously, from Presque Isle to Le Bœuf. The lake terminus of this road of Mr. Colt's came to be known as Freeport, and, though no longer a port of entry is still known by that name, at any rate to the people of North East. Soon the road was extended southward to a place called Greenfield Village, or Little Hope (the latter not a very promising name, to be sure). The extension occurred in 1798, and the reason for it was that Mr. Bissell had established a landing there on French Creek. Later that year the road was again extended southerly to the forks of French Creek, which later became the borough of Wattsburg at the southern edge of Venango township. In 1800 another road, farther east, was cut through the woods from North East through Greenfield to Wattsburg. Between 1804 and 1806 a third road was constructed from Colt's Station, by way of Philipsville to Waterford.

The road from Wesleyville to Colt's Station, to this day known as the "Station road," was made in 1830, and it was extended to Mayville, N. Y., at the head of Chautauqua Lake.

After Colt's Station had been established a considerable colony sprang up around it. In 1798 Mr. Colt brought his wife, and for a time the settlement grew. But before long, convinced that it had been a mistake to locate where he did, Mr. Colt, in 1804, removed to Erie and continued there until his death in 1832. He was over seventy-one years of age when he died. On Mr. Colt's departure the greater portion of the colony also left, many going into Lower Greenfield or North East, as it had then come to be known. Enoch Marvin, one of the brothers-in-law who had helped to form the settlement, became the Population Company's agent in the Beaver Valley, but his brother Elisha remained at the Station until his death in 1829. His wife died there also in 1858, and at that time their son, William E. Marvin, who had lived with his mother until her death, removed to North East.

The earliest mechanical industry of Greenfield was the sawmill of Leverett Bissell at Little Hope and it was the existence of this mill that brought about the extension of that first road southward. Mr. Bissell was a Revolutionary soldier, and among the earliest of the settlers, took up a soldier's right of 400 acres. In addition to his mill he established a landing on French creek, at which batteaux unloaded supplies from the country south and west. In the course of time considerable of a village sprang up around the mill and landing and varied industries were established, besides the sawmill, a feed-mill, two cheese factories, a blacksmith shop, creamery, cheese box factory, a shingle mill, besides stores, a schoolhouse and perhaps thirty houses. It is still the most considerable village of the township. In 1824 a sawmill was built in the southern part of the township by John Whiteside. For a long time, however, dairying has been the chief industry of Greenfield, aside from agriculture. There is an obstacle to the completely successful prosecution of farming in the late frosts, which are especially troublesome in the otherwise fertile valley of French creek. Being on the opposite slope of the dividing ridge, and cut off from the influence of the lake, and being moreover, of so much greater altitude, this climatic condition is a serious detriment.

The people of Greenfield are an industrious, thrifty class, but it is not a wealthy community. It is, however, a law-abiding and intelligent people. Schools were early established. In 1816 A. Young taught school two miles east of Little Hope, and had a fair degree of patronage. In 1820-21 a school was begun at Colt's Station. Subsequently, the public school laws encouraging education, the system grew, along with the general development of the free school idea and just at the beginning of the Twentieth century, Greenfield, in line with the most progressive of the townships, established a high school.

In church matters Greenfield may seem to have lagged behind. In religion it did not. The first religious service ever held in Erie county was that conducted at Colt's Station on July 2, 1807. There were about thirty persons present, from Greenfield, North East and Venango, and Mr. Colt, who presided at the service, read a sermon. The township is not very thickly populated now. It was very sparsely settled then. It is due to the fact that the population is so scattered that there are not more church organizations. The Methodist Episcopal church near Little Hope was organized in 1836, and erected its meeting house in 1850. The church has maintained its organization ever since. In 1868 a parsonage was built. The Free-Will Baptist church was organized in 1881 and in 1882 dedicated its church, which stands near Shadduck's Corners. The United Brethren formed an organization about 1875, and for several years met in the schoolhouse nearby; erecting for themselves a house of worship in the Walling neighborhood in 1893.

Men who have been honored by their constituents, by being elected to public positions, were Mark Baldwin, county auditor in 1833; William E. Marvin, county commissioner in 1845; William Parker, county commissioner in 1853, and J. Ross Raymond, member of House of Representatives, first in 1892. A native of Greenfield, and still a property owner in the township, Emory A. Walling has thrice—indeed four times—had the distinction of being elevated to positions of trust. Soon after being admitted to practice at the Erie bar he was, in 1881, elected district attorney, his home at the time of his election being North East. Before his term had expired, however, in 1884, he was chosen by the voters to represent the county in the State Senate. In 1896 he was elected President Judge of the Sixth District, and in 1906 was re-elected, being the only president judge re-elected in the history of the district.

But not all of Greenfield's men worthy of note came into positions of publicity where their names were handed down to posterity in the public records. There were heroes and honorable men of humble life who well deserve to have monuments erected to their memory. Such a man was J. W. Babcock. When just crossing the threshold of manhood he had the great misfortune to be crippled for life. While at work in the woods he was struck by the branch of a falling tree and his right arm so severely injured that it withered and became useless forever afterward. It was a dreadful handicap to enter upon life's career with, and quite enough to discourage most men. But Mr. Babcock took up the duties of life with unabated courage. He made his one hand serve for two. In the labors of the farm he contrived to get along and get along well. With his left hand he cut wood, and built buildings, he managed his horses and cattle, and attended to the duties of the field. He married and reared a family. With all these duties a man not crippled would have found his hands full. But Mr. Babcock added to them those of a teacher of Sunday and day school, in the performance of his duties

in the latter even making the quill pens for his students. He was also the friendly adviser of everyone who had troubles and gave ready response to every one in distress. Always cheerful, his example was an inspiration to the entire community. So good a man was entitled to a good wife. And such she was. How could it be otherwise with him as a constant companion and an ever-present example? She was the nurse of the township, and to those of her sex was a constant reliance. J. W. Babcock and his wife were the friends of everyone, and everyone was a friend to them. Today their only monument is a stately pine in the little cemetery. A shaft of granite with the noble record inscribed upon it would be as appropriate in the case of J. W. Babcock as in that of any other man who ever lived.

CHAPTER X.—HARBORCREEK.

First Clearing Made by Thomas Rees, Erie County's Early Surveyor.—Numerous Rural Industries Established Early.—Its Villages.

Harborcreek township was one of the original sixteen laid out when the county was organized in 1800, but its name would appear to be a misnomer, from the fact that, in the act of the Legislature of 1792 by which the first general disposition of the land of the Triangle was made, the stream that afterwards came to be known as Mill creek, which is taken to be the origin of the name of Millcreek township, was called Harbor creek. However, though it has no stream that ever furnished a harbor, the name has been long enough identified with it to be ever divorced from it. It was settled early. The first land taken up within its boundaries was the tract of Thomas Rees, acquired in 1796. He was not an actual settler at the time, having merely acquired the land. Settlement began in 1797, when William Saltsman, Amasa Prindle and Andrew Elliott moved in and took up farms. In 1800 Hugh McCann and Alexander Brewster came in but the latter did not become a permanent resident. After clearing thirty acres of his farm he abandoned it and moved into Erie, where he remained the rest of his life. In 1801 the accessions were Thomas Moorhead, John Riblet and his sons; John, Christian and Jacob Ebersole and the Backus family. The Riblets and the Ebersoles were from Lancaster county, and were among the first of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" to come to the lake shore region. Ezekiel and Benjamin Chambers came in 1802. Thomas Moorhead's father and brothers John, Robert and George, came in at varying intervals from 1802 to 1806, and settling in the eastern part of the township, near Twelve-mile creek, gave that neighborhood the name of Moorheadville, which it bears to this day, though there is in reality no well defined village there. Following closely upon the pioneers already named and within about the first ten years of the century came Robert Scott, Thomas Greenwood, Robert Jack, John Shattuck, Aaron Hoag, Henry Clark, Andrew Culbertson, Thomas Bonnell and the Caldwell brothers. The Moorheads and several others were from the eastern part of the State; Mr. Saltsman was from Northumberland county; the rest were from New York state and New England. Among the earliest of the people of

Harborcreek were three negro slaves brought here by Davis Rees. These were manumitted by the emancipation act at the time they reached the age of twenty-eight, and being provided with farms by Mr. Rees, settled permanently and reared families, so that in the course of time there was quite a colony of colored people over in the Gospel Hill region, probably more of their race than any other township of the county possessed. Dr. Ira Sherwin, for many years one of the most prominent citizens of Harborcreek, located in the township in 1825.

Though the villages of Harborcreek and Wesleyville are among the oldest in the county they neither of them ever aspired to the dignity of becoming incorporated as boroughs. Wesleyville came into existence in the early twenties, at the time John Shattuck built his mills there. In 1828 he laid out the town, owning the farm, and that year donated land and built a church for the Methodist Episcopal society. The village got its name from Rev. Hallock, father of the late Attorney John K. Hallock, of Erie, the minister being the first in charge of the church of the village. It was long a stopping place for the stages, on the Buffalo and Erie line—as was also Harborcreek. It was also in slavery days, a notable station on the so-called Underground Railroad, made so chiefly by the activity of the late Frank Henry. Frank was a son of one of the pioneers of the township, William Henry, who, settling first in Millcreek in 1803, moved into Harborcreek a few years later.

Harborcreek in the early times had numerous industries, its streams affording a pretty dependable source of power. Four-mile creek was available for but a short distance, however, but even at that was well utilized. This stream, rising in Greene township, enters the locally famous canyon before it reaches the southern boundary of Harborcreek, and then for six miles flows through a narrow gorge varying in depth from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet, emerging about a half-mile south of Wesleyville. The first mill erected in the township was that of James Foulk at the mouth of Six-mile creek, built in 1800. It was operated only a year or two, when Mr. Foulk, with Capt. Daniel Dobbins, built a much larger mill at or near the mouth of Twelve-mile creek. This mill began operations in 1803. In 1816 it came into the possession of Joseph Neely, who did a prosperous business there until 1841, when it was turned over to his son-in-law, John W. McLane, who operated it successfully until the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, when he enlisted and went out as colonel of the Eighty-third Regiment, and lost his life at the battle of Gaines Mill. Joseph Neely in his day was a man of progress and enterprise. The first cargo of flour and pork shipped from Erie county to New York was taken through the Erie canal by Mr. Neely, the flour made at his mill on Twelve-mile creek. In 1802 John Riblet built a sawmill on Four-mile creek a half mile south of Wesleyville, and near there, at the lower end of the Four-mile creek canyon, William Saltsman built a sawmill in 1815. The records with reference to the in-

dustries of Six-mile creek are very defective. The Backus mill was built at an early date. In 1810 a carding and woolen mill was built on that stream in South Harborcreek, to be succeeded by the large Cass woolen mill, and there were other mills and a tannery on the same stream a short distance lower down; but they have fallen into decay, long ago abandoned. The Cass woolen factory itself has been many years in disuse. John Shattuck built a grist mill on the left bank of Four-mile creek at Wesleyville in 1823, and a sawmill in 1825, and in 1826 William Saltsman built at Wesleyville the mill that for long was known as the Cooper mill. Later mills were Dodge's handle, shingle and sawmill, built in 1870, and Troop's cider and feed mill, in 1878, both credited to Harborcreek village. The first canning factory in the county was established at Wesleyville in the seventies by W. P. Trimble.

The history of organized religious effort in Harborcreek township begins with the Baptist denomination in 1822. At that early date there was a quasi organization, of which there are traditions only. So far as inquiry can go, nothing is revealed of any record that was kept of the doings of the society then formed. No church was built and no minister ever regularly served the class or society. The first church to be built and organized into a permanent body was the Methodist Episcopal congregation of Wesleyville, which at the time of its organization, or directly afterwards took possession of the new meeting-house built for it in 1828 by John Shattuck, the founder of Wesleyville. The Presbyterian church at Harborcreek came into existence in May, 1832, and was formed through the aid of the Presbyterian church at North East, fifty-eight of the members of that church who lived in Harborcreek township being assigned to the new church as members. The original church was built on a piece of ground donated by Judah Colt half a mile farther east than the site of the present church. Both of these earliest churches were subsequently replaced by more enduring structures, the Methodist church at Wesleyville by a brick building in 1866, and the Presbyterian church at Harborcreek by a handsome brick edifice in 1871, that cost $10,000. Rev. G. W. Cleaveland became pastor at Harborcreek in 1852, and continued as minister until his death in 1874. His successor was Rev. W. C. McBeth, until 1897; then followed Rev. H. W. Warnshiers until 1903, and Rev. J. A. McGowan. The South Harborcreek Methodist Episcopal church is the outgrowth of a class that, established at an early day, had preaching for a number of years in the schoolhouse at Lowry's Corners, until a church was built in 1841 in the Walker and McGill neighborhood. The United Brethren church was organized in the Clark neighborhood in 1856, and erected a meeting-house the same year. The Methodist Episcopal church at Harborcreek village was erected in 1873 at a cost of $4,000 on a piece of ground donated by Rev. Noah Sullivan. The Baptists, Alpha in religious effort in the township, were Omega in the matter of permanent organization. This church came into existence

through the missionary efforts of the First Baptist church of Erie, which in 1871 started a Sunday-school at Wesleyville that met on Sunday afternoons. A suitable building was erected at the time, on land donated by Dr. Applebee, and in 1873 the mission became a full-fledged church, Rev. W. L. Lemon being its first pastor. The story of religion in Harborcreek would not be complete without reference to Gospel Hill. It has no church, and perhaps it is not proper to say that the hill has no denomination, for as a matter of fact, the character of the locality was given to it by the Methodists who principally live there and the name was complimentary to their unorganized zeal.

Education in Harborcreek began at an early date. In 1802 a log schoolhouse was built in the Moorhead district, but for a short time previously school had been kept in the barn of Thomas Hurst, half a mile farther west. Soon afterwards a schoolhouse was built on the farm of William Wilson on the Buffalo road, near Harborcreek village. In 1811 Mrs. Burrows taught in Wesleyville, or what was later to be known as Wesleyville, and in 1825 Miss Eleanor Burgett had a school in Harborcreek village. With the adoption of the public school laws, schoolhouses sprang up in every quarter of the township, upon nearly every road, at first small frame buildings, but later of brick and some of them of considerable pretensions. Harborcreek village for many years boasted of a two-story building that was largely patronized until 1902, when it was abandoned, a large and handsome township high school having that year been built.

Harborcreek has had a hand in much that pertains to the activities of the county. In the railroad war, in 1853, it was scarcely less prominent than the city of Erie, either as regards the active opposition made to the railroad, or the part taken in creating Ripper sentiment. Industrially it has always been active, not alone in the mechanical industries, but those of the farm. It vies with North East as a fruit-growing section, the cultivation of the grape beginning soon after the demonstration of its practicability in this region had been made in the adjoining township, and the full breadth of Harborcreek on the lake shore plain is grape land. Much of the acreage is, however, given to other fruits, which are profitably cultivated, and to market gardening, which yields satisfactory returns. In the politics of the county it has figured prominently. Cassius M. Wood was sent to the Legislature, and county offices were filled by these Harborcreek citizens: member of Assembly, C. M. Wood; sheriff, John Kilpatrick and John W. McLane; register and recorder, Wm. P. Trimble; clerk of the courts, W. P. Trimble, Robert S. Moorhead; county treasurer, James Chambers; county commissioners, James M. Moorhead, Samuel Low, James Chambers; directors of the poor, George W. Walker, Benj. E. Riblet; county surveyor, G. W. F. Sherwin; county auditors, Thomas Rees, James Chambers, Jesse Ebersole, W. P. Edwards. A remarkable career was that of James

Chambers, who was probably the oldest justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, both as to his age and term of service. He was born in 1805, and was first commissioned by Gov. Ritner in 1837. From that time he held the office continuously, except as interrupted by his election to other offices, until he had passed the age of ninety years, the people of the township manifesting their respect for him to the very last, by selecting him to his final term in 1895. It was Harborcreek that contributed Col. John W. McLane, commander first of the Erie Regiment and immediately afterwards of the Eighty-third, for the War of the Rebellion, and it is not improper also to mention Frank Henry, whose zeal in the cause of abolition extended to the degree that he had enlisted to be one of John Brown's company in his famous raid but was prevented from serving only because the movement was prematurely undertaken.

CHAPTER XI.—LE BŒUF.

How It Came to Be Settled.—The Moravian Tract and William Miles.—Mills and Stone Quarrying.—Borough of Mill Village.

Le Bœuf township was one of the original subdivisions of the county, and is the only one that bears a name reminiscent of the French occupancy. Its name is a sort of hall-mark of antiquity, and, directly in line with this, is its position as a rival of the town of Erie and the township of Millcreek in the claim of being the first district in Erie county to receive permanent settlers. It is, however, one of the southern tier of townships, while Erie, on the lake shore, is located in the Triangle, and to the English speaking settlers there seems to be more of history connected with the purchased part of the county than with that which was part and parcel of King Charles's grant, though that may be a mistaken idea. Situated directly south of Waterford, on the line of direct communication, by the original water route between Fort Le Bœuf and the Forks of the Ohio, it is not unnatural that pioneers prospecting for home sites should, in the fertile valley of the Venango river and its tributary, find attractive locations, and stop short of the terminus of the water route. This is what, from the record, actually occurred. Captain Robert King, a soldier of the Revolution, having first settled in Lycoming county, was not satisfied with conditions there. There were too many high hills to make it inviting to the agriculturist, and, like many others who had first chosen that county and deserted it to seek another and a better, the Captain turned his face in the direction of the foothills. Proceeding up French creek he discovered a spot that looked good to him, and there he decided to locate. That was in 1794, and the place selected was on the left bank of French creek, opposite the point where it receives the waters of Le Bœuf creek. The official map published in the report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs for 1906 shows that this piece of ground was 414 acres in extent, that the warrant for it was issued March 1, 1791, and the survey was made June 14, 1794, and that it then became the property of Robert King.

Captain King did not then make his fixed settlement. He was content simply to drive his stakes. But, this done, he returned to Lycoming for his family and early in the summer of 1795 they all came on, and began at once to hew out of the forest a place that was to be their permanent place of abode. But they already had neighbors. Two tracts, of 431 acres each, next east, had been taken by Thomas Black and William Black, and both were in possession, having preceded the Captain and his family by but a comparatively few days. The Blacks had brought their families with them, and it was but a very brief time after they had settled in the wilderness when there occurred the interesting event of the birth of the first white child in Erie county, John R. Black, born August 29, 1795. In 1797 the little colony of three families was enlarged by the arrival of Francis Isherwood with a son and daughter, and James, Robert and Adam Pollock. Mr. Isherwood was from Lycoming, and, having established his claim, left his son and daughter upon it to hold it and make it good while he returned for the rest of the family. In 1801 William Mallory located, and in 1802, John Clemens, James Biggers and Philip Gregory. Following closely upon these came James Weston, David Boyd and Matthias Himebaugh. All were from the eastern part of the state.

While these and others came with the purpose of becoming permanent settlers, and set about clearing the land and establishing homes, not all of them remained. In the course of a few years many of them had shifted to other localities. But there were others to take their places. Between 1815 and 1820 there was a new immigration, and these generally remained and the descendants of many of them are still residents of Le Bœuf. In 1825 there began an influx of Pennsylvania Germans, chiefly from Lehigh county, who settled mostly on the banks of French creek. Among these were the Burgers, who later came into prominence in various lines, including the milling business.

The industries of Le Bœuf include lumbering, quarrying, dairying and the grist mill business, besides agriculture. The township was originally covered with a dense forest, much of it pine, and sawmills were numerous. These were operated at various periods and for many years the mills of Troup, Waterhouse, Burger, Thompson and Wheeler, until in process of time not much of the timber remained, the last large area being secured by Hon. C. M. Wheeler, who for many years did a prosperous lumber business. The township having had, since the middle of the sixties the advantage of two lines of railroad, the Pennsylvania and the Erie (originally they were differently named) the facilities for getting the lumber to market were excellent. In the line of grist mills the principal were the Burger mill on French creek and the Wheeler mill at the junction of

Moravian run and French creek. The grist mill on French creek near Mill village has for some years been known as May's mill. It is over forty years since cheese making began at the Wheeler factory, but the manufacture of this useful food-stuff began in that vicinity all of ten years earlier. Quarrying has been engaged in for many years, but while the stone, a fine sandstone of good texture, is itself of excellent quality, it is impregnated with petroleum to such an extent as to render it of no special value for any other purpose than bridges and rough masonry. More or less of it is obtained comparatively free from this defect, and it is then in request for foundation walls. It is obtained from a bluff about forty feet in height that extends along French creek for a mile or so, from the old Dunlap place to near the A. L. Tilden farm. Three quarries were opened, known as the Senger, Paskett and Atlantic & Great Western quarries, the last named yielding much of the stone used in construction work by the Erie Railroad.

Le Bœuf township contained the "Good Luck" tract of the Moravian Grant, made by the State to the Society of the United Brethren for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, in recognition of the good service it had performed at its own expense in cultivating peace and good will among the Indians. The Good Luck tract was 2,875 acres in extent, and the first agent of the Moravians at Le Bœuf was William Miles, one of the earliest and most active of the settlers in the county. One of his earliest acts was to establish a landing at the mouth of the South Branch of French creek, where he built a log store house to encourage the business of transportation on that stream. The land of the Moravian Grant was occupied on lease until about 1850, when it was sold, James Miles and N. Blickensderfer being the purchasers. It was by them subdivided into farms and put on the market. The first purchase of Moravian land was made by P. G. and John D. Stranahan, who moved over from Concord and settled in the vicinity of Le Bœuf station on the P. & E. Railroad. There were two other tracts of land withheld by the State. The Academy tract, granted to Waterford Academy, consisted of 500 acres of land at the mouth of Le Bœuf creek. This was also for a time occupied on lease, but in 1840 the land was sold. The other tract was called the Le Bœuf Reserve and extended north from the Academy tract to Lake Le Bœuf in Waterford township. It had been withheld in order to encourage immigration. Of this tract about 400 acres were included within the boundaries of Le Bœuf township. In 1799 an act was passed by which this was sold at a low price and by the beginning of the last century it had all been sold in small quantities. The Holland Land Company, and George Fisher of Dauphin county also held extensive tracts in the township, all of which found purchasers in farmers who desired to make homes within the township.

A Methodist Episcopal society was organized in 1839, and meetings were held in a near-by schoolhouse until 1855, when the Edenville church

was built. John W. Manross built a church in 1869, which he intended should be used by religious bodies generally. It has, however, been chiefly employed by the Methodists. The Presbyterians effected an organization at Millvillage through the efforts of Rev. J. M. Gillett in 1870, and in 1872 erected a building. Rev. Gillett, who was settled at Union, supplied at Millvillage for a time, until in 1873 Rev. David Waggoner became pastor, and served until 1879, but since then, having no regular minister it has been supplied by Revs. M. Wishard, William Grassie, A. H. Caughey and J. P. Irwin, and others. The United Brethren church dates as a permanency from 1876. There had been an organization earlier but the society fell away, and ceased to exist until a revival in 1876 resurrected it. A church building was dedicated January 6, 1878.

Schools began in Le Bœuf before the free school period. In 1820-21 a school was established in the Ford district in which Miss Elizabeth Strickland taught in the summer and James Skinner in the winter. Later Miss Hannah Hall was the summer teacher. This school came to be known as the Smith school and served the people of that region for many years, among the teachers being Stephen Skinner, Patrick McGill, Cyrus Nutt and Thomas Graham. A log schoolhouse was built in the northeast part of the township in 1822, and served for several years, until it was burned. Another building was erected on land owned by Adam Yocum, and among the teachers were Sophia Sackett, Mrs. Ward and Mr. Crownstar. In 1825 a school was built in the district—known as New Ireland, among the early teachers in which were Nathan Mallory, Mr. Reynolds and Emeline Stone.

There are but few villages in the township; indeed there is but one that attains to the dignity of being more than mere hamlets or neighborly settlements. That one is Millvillage. There is a small stream called Mill run that flows into French creek, and along this run a number of saw-mills were built. Attracted by these industries other buildings sprang up until in time it had attained to the proportions of a real village and went by the name of Mill Town. When the Atlantic & Great Western Railroad was built in the sixties it passed through this village and located a station, calling it Millvillage. The people adopted the name, and in 1870 it was incorporated as a borough. It grew quite rapidly then. Stores were opened and merchandising along varied lines was engaged in, and fresh industries were started, and in time attained to a population of between 300 and 400. The idea of laying out the town was conceived by Wm. Kingen and the survey was made by Hon. William Benson of Waterford. The Methodist church of Millvillage was built in 1878, but the organization dates back to 1810, and first built in 1850 about a half mile south of the village. That church having been burned the new edifice was built in the borough. The Presbyterian church was built in 1872, and the Free Methodist church in 1894. Roman Catholic services are conducted in the borough by priests from Corry. The

village has its newspaper, the Millvillage *Herald*, started in 1876 by C. C. Wright, who sold it in 1882 to J. S. Ross.

Edenville came very near to becoming a town, for at one time it boasted a store, a postoffice, a sawmill, an oil refinery and a considerable number of dwellings. But the railroad which built up Millvillage was the undoing of Edenville, which though no longer what it was still retains its name. The other hamlets are called New Ireland, the Wheeler and Waterhouse settlements and Le Bœuf station, which is a station chiefly because it is a point from which to ship building stone.

Le Bœuf has contributed of its men to the public service: James Pollock as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1837; in the State House of Representatives James Weston, John D. Stranahan and C. M. Wheeler have served; A. L. Tilden was Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth. County officers were: Sheriff, James Weston; Commissioners, James Weston, James Pollock, A. L. Tilden; Treasurer, W. J. Robinson; Director of the Poor, William Bracken; Auditors, Thomas Pierce, John Wood, E. K. Range, C. J. Bunnell; Steward of the Almshouse, George K. Mitchell; Mercantile Appraiser, H. L. Minium

CHAPTER XII.—McKEAN.

THE COUNTRY OF THE BEECH WOODS.—THE STERRETTS, THE STAFFORDS AND STANCLIFFS.—FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH.—THE BOROUGH OF MIDDLEBORO.

McKean township was laid out when the county of Erie was laid out, and was named in honor of Thomas McKean, then Governor of Pennsylvania. Originally it was much larger than now, being at the beginning one of the largest subdivisions of the county, but it was called upon to contribute to other townships, yielding a part to Waterford in 1820, another part to Franklin in 1844 and again to Summit when that township was formed in 1854. It occupies territory both in the Triangle and the original grant of King Charles, the old State line running through it near its centre and cutting the borough of Middleboro in equal parts. The settlement of McKean began early, contemporaneous with that of Presque Isle, for the first settler in the township was James Talmadge, the skipper who brought Col. Seth Reed and his family to Erie from Buffalo. That same year, 1795, Capt. Talmadge decided to abandon the sailor's life and adopt that of the woodsman and farmer. His home originally was Genesee county, New York. His wife and father accompanied him. The next year Stephen Oliver became a neighbor, and in 1797 Thomas and Oliver moved into McKean. Lemuel Stancliff, from New England, settled about a mile south of Middleboro in 1799; Benjamin Grubb, from Lancaster county, settled on what came to be known as the John Peffer farm in 1800, and during the same year Benjamin Grant came in from Connecticut. Robert Sterrett founded a home in 1804, where the village of Sterrettania afterwards came into existence; and in 1806 James Aubrey came. Eliachim Cook, who came with Mr. Grant settled in that part of the township which was eventually set off to Summit. Mr. Sterrett remained in the township only until 1807, when he sold his farm to his brother James and took up land on the lake shore five miles west of Erie, which to this day is known as the Sterrett farm. John Evans came from Maryland in 1802 and took up land that was then partly in Millcreek and partly in McKean—that part of McKean that is now Summit—but in 1811, he removed to Millcreek, the Evans settlement being at Glenwood Park of the present and south of it. Among other early settlers in the township were Russell Stancliff, Rufus

Trask, Benjamin Cullom, David Welden, Joseph S. Bush and the Dunlaps. The Staffords, a family from New England, settled around Middleboro in 1815, and Ansel Crouch arrived from New York in 1817. David Sterrett and his son James settled on the Sterrett farm. David was the father of Robert W., Ennis, Brice, Thomas, James and Andrew J. Sterrett and Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Brockway and Mrs. Hall. Besides these early settlers there were Ira Glazier, who came from Oneida county, N. Y., in 1809, and Ezra White, in the same year; Zachariah Joiner, from New England, in 1812; the Washburns from Massachusetts, in 1825; about 1826 Benjamin F. Morey from Vermont; in 1831, John Drown, from Lyons, N. Y.; about 1835, the Marshes, from Nova Scotia, and Peter J. Barron, from France; in 1837, Oren Reed, from Otsego county, N. Y.; in 1840, Lorenz, Antony and Daniel Hauck from Germany, being among the pioneers of the German influx that contributed so materially toward populating the township. The earliest births in the township were Joseph Weldon and Hannah Talmadge, daughter of James Talmadge, both in 1798.

The city of Erie is indebted to McKean township for a number of men who were long prominent in its affairs, among them Hon. Joseph M. Sterrett, the founder of the *Gazette*, an associate judge and postmaster; Andrew Jackson Sterrett, for many years county commissioner's clerk; the Crouch brothers, the Johnston brothers, the Minnig brothers and the Stancliff brothers.

A good share of McKean township is in that indefinite territory to the south long known as the Beech Woods, but not a little of it consists of somewhat broad and fertile valleys, the principal of these being that of Elk creek, Erie county's largest stream. Upon this stream were located most of the industries of the township. The first sawmill in McKean was built by James Sterrett in 1810, and the second by Oliver Dunn in 1812. Both were in the main stream. Lemuel Stancliff built a sawmill in the south branch in 1827. The grist mill of David Sterrett was built in 1839. Around these Sterrett mills there soon sprang up a village of considerable proportions. It was right in the heart of the Sterrett settlement, and, both from this circumstance and because of the Sterrett mills the place obtained the name of Sterrettania. In time this village became one of the most important business places in the county, though small. The Sterretts, as a rule, were thrifty people and money getters. They were prosperous as farmers, and successful as business men. Thomas Sterrett, for many years a justice of the peace, was long the banker for the entire country round about, and had the confidence of everybody. He was a power in politics—and this was another trait of the Sterretts. The pioneer of the clan was Robert Sterrett, who came into the county of Erie from Cumberland in 1804, and though he left three years later to settle permanently in Millcreek, he paved the way for the coming of the rest of the flock. The Sterretts were as a rule

prolific, and the name is not by any means a rare one throughout a large extent of the county. Besides the saw and grist mills the township has also had in successful operation for varying periods, cider mills, cheese factories, jelly mills, shingle factories, a tannery and a woolen mill.

The churches of the township outside of Middleboro, are the South Hill Methodist Episcopal church, dedicated in 1880, and built on land donated by Oren Reed. The organization had been in existence for years and previously had been met in the schoolhouse in the neighborhood. At Sterrettania there is a Union Church which was built jointly by the Methodists and Presbyterians. Both of these local bodies had been organized for some time, previously meeting in the schoolhouse. The Union church had for a time been occupied by the Congregationalists, and still is at the service of any religious denomination of the vicinity. A church of the United Brethren was organized at Branchville, a hamlet in the southern part of the township, and after worshipping for a number of years in the schoolhouse erected a meeting-house of its own in 1865.

The first school in McKean was opened in 1811, with Seth Spencer as teacher. In 1820 a school was opened near Middleboro, and continued until 1825. The school at Sterrettania was begun in 1828, and was long, and until the free school laws went into effect, one of the best. Among the early teachers were George H. Cutler and William Benson, both afterwards leading members of the Erie county bar, and the former a representative in the State Senate from Erie county, and president of that body.

A mail route through McKean between Erie and Edinboro was established in the winter of 1835-36, and the plank road that in the fifties was constructed between Erie and Meadville, through Edinboro, traversed the length of the township, north and south. It is over the same route the Erie & Edinboro electric railway line now passes.

The principal town in McKean is Middleboro, incorporated as a borough in 1861. It is in the centre of the township, and located directly on the old State line. Without any especial natural advantages Middleboro has long enjoyed the reputation of being the liveliest village of its size in the county—or in this corner of the state for that matter. It is a business centre, which attracts from all the surrounding country, and its merchants have been enterprising and prosperous. For many years the McKean Carriage Works of Henry Mankel did a large business and had a wide and excellent reputation. Mr. Mankel at length removed to Erie. There are blacksmith shops, a creamery, a saw, planing and feed mill among its industries. In the postoffice directory the borough is known as McKean.

The Roman Catholic church of Middleboro is the pioneer church of that faith in Erie county. The church in the borough was built in 1876, but the original church of St. Francis was dedicated in 1833, and

stood about two miles north. It was the "Beech Woods" church from which the projectors of St. Mary's in Erie obtained their inspiration when, in 1837, they set about erecting a church in the city. The Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1819 and held meetings in the school house south of the borough until 1857, when a church was erected within the borough limits, and this was enlarged and practically rebuilt in 1869. Trinity Church of the Evangelical Lutheran denomination, was organized in 1896 and the church building in the borough was erected in 1899. The church had then seventy communicants.

The secret societies of Middleboro included the G. A. R. post, organized in 1880; A. O. U. W. lodge, 1880; Equitable Aid Union, 1891; Junior Order U. A. M., 1894; Odd Fellows lodge, 1892. The last named organization erected a substantial brick building in 1894.

The public men from McKean township were these: State House of Representatives, Stephen Skinner; county commissioner, Stephen Skinner, Thomas Sterrett, Thomas Dunn, Seymour Washburn; Director of the Poor, David Sterrett, Joseph Parmeter, James Dunn, Seymour Washburn; Steward of the Almshouse, Thomas Dunn; Jury Commissioner, William Grant; County Surveyor, Hiram Humphrey, Stephen Skinner; County Auditor, Thomas Dunn, Eli Webster, Oren Reed, Elias Brecht.

CHAPTER XIII.—MILLCREEK.

How it Came to be Settled.—Its Relation to Erie.—Its Farming and Other Industries.—Modern Facilities.—Resorts. —Villages.—Weiss Library.

The history of Millcreek township has from the beginning been so interwoven with that of Erie, that what belongs exclusively to the township is but fragmentary. The relations between the town and township, and the interdependence that began almost upon the original and practically contemporaneous settlement of both, has continued up to the present time. From the period when the first settlers of Erie, then largely farmers, went out into the country with their grists to be ground, until today, when great business enterprises have spread beyond the city's bounds into the township; when the masses seek recreation at the shore resorts, the race track or the baseball field; when the better off, in their country clubs, golf links or summer cottages find their summer pleasure, or in touring cars enjoy the Twentieth century luxury of a trip at railroad speed over the common roads; when trolley cars make possible shopping trips in the city for the farmers and their wives and the R. F. D. service furnishes them with a daily mail and the morning newspaper on the day of its publication, there has been a continuous interdependence that has made the township a part of the city and the city the heart of the township. So that, while there is some history recorded of the township apart from the city, it is more meager by reason of the fact that much of what is of the township belongs to the city, such, for example as the narrative that may be set down of each of the important manufacturing industries that have been established contiguous to the city but just beyond its bounds.

Millcreek was one of the original sixteen townships laid out when the county was erected in 1800. It was surveyed, however, years before. The original surveys were made in 1795 by George Moore under the direction of Thomas Rees, the first State surveyor in the county. The law directed that in the laying out of the country a survey was to be made of certain lands bordering the town of Erie which were to be withheld from sale and settlement. This tract was called the Presque Isle reserve, or, as it came to be generally known, the Erie State reservation. It began at the head of the bay, the western boundary a line

at right angles with the coast extending southwardly three miles; beginning at that point the southern boundary was a line parallel with the shore extending east eight miles, where the line of the eastern boundary began, extending three miles to the lake shore. It embraced an area of 15,360 acres or thereabout. But there was included in that the reservation for the town of Erie, which consists of 1,600 acres for town lots and 3,400 acres for out lots, a total area of 5,000 acres, or almost a third, which surrounded Erie on three sides. All of that reservation, outside the portion set apart for the town of Erie was a part of Millcreek township. By the special act passed in 1832 the township acquired about 2,000 acres of the reservation made for the town of Erie, that act transferring the third section to the borough of Erie to be sold and the proceeds employed in the construction of the canal basin at the harbor of Erie. That tract extended westward from Cranberry street.

Besides these reservations, that were part of the township, there was another tract of 500 acres set apart for the support of the Erie Academy. It was situated south of the city just beyond the Coffin factory, and the Academy lands lie on each side of the Waterford turnpike or Edinboro road, by both of which names the thoroughfare is known. These lands, originally leased for long terms, were finally, by legislation obtained in 1851 or 1852, sold. There was also another fraction of the township that came up for disposition. It was known as the "gore." By some error of the surveyors, due to faulty instruments perhaps, a long narrow wedge, beginning at a point (or nothing) at the shore end of the eastern boundary of the Presque Isle reserve, extended southwardly steadily widening until at its southern end it had a width of 500 feet. For a time it was no man's land, but in the end it was disposed of generally to those owning on either side of it.

Settlements in Millcreek began the year after the first English speaking people found their way into what is now Erie county. Indeed, one of the first settlers in the township was the first of those who came to Erie to locate permanently, for it was in the year 1796 that Col. Seth Reed left Erie and took up his abode in the valley of Walnut creek near the present village of Kearsarge. There is no record which shows that at that time, nor indeed for many years afterward, a road had been laid out south from the town along what is now the traveled route. Quite likely there was nothing but a trail blazed through the woods across the two hills or ridges. Nor is there any record or even tradition that will tend to explain the choice made by Col. Reed or to indicate how he arrived at any knowledge concerning the section of country into which he moved. It is probable that Capt. Talmadge, the skipper who brought Reed and his family to Erie, may have had something to do with it, for Talmadge made a break for the deep woods when he abandoned the water after that first trip to Erie, settling in

McKean, still farther to the south. But whatever the inducement, Kearsarge became the oldest settlement outside of Erie within Millcreek township, and one of the oldest in the county, and it was not many years before a pretty considerable community had sprung up on the banks of Walnut creek. Marrying and giving in marriage had its Erie county beginnings there, Charles J. Reed, a son of the Colonel, taking Rachel Miller to wife on December 27, 1797. The same Charles J. Reed was a doer of other first things, for it was he who built the first frame barn in Erie county in 1799 on the Zimmerly place at Kearsarge, and the first frame house on the same farm the year following.

The year 1796 witnessed many accessions to the population of the township. David McNair, George Moore, James Baird, Capt. Russell Bissell, David Dewey, Francis Randall, J. W. Russell and Thomas P. Miller, all settlers of 1796, had the year before contracted for land and then came on to take possession, which no doubt was the impelling motive with Col. Reed when he took possession of the farm in Walnut creek valley. And there were others who became settlers that year—John Grubb, Benjamin Russell, Anthony Saltsman, and John McFarland. In 1797 the colonists included William Saltsman, John Nicholson, the McKees, Jacob Weiss and Boe Bladen, a free colored man. Joseph Henderson came in 1798, and in 1800, William Bell, Joseph F., William, Samuel and David McCreary, James Wilson, John M. Warren, and John Cosper. William Bladen, Samuel and Joseph Conrad, the Ebersoles and the Riblets settled in 1801. Hamlin Russell, Andrew Caughey and sons, Joseph B. McCreary, George Reed, James Love, the Arbuckles, John McCoy, John Robinson, Robert McClelland, John Pherrin, James Dumars and William Henry, all came in 1802. The first two years of the last century witnessed the arrival of the first "Pennsylvania Dutch" in Erie county. The Arbuckles first located in Fairview, but Joseph, Adam and John changed to Millcreek.

The dates of the arrival of other pioneers can also be given, and that they were to be actual settlers is proved by the existence to this day of their names among the prominent people of the township. John Kelley came in 1803; Christian Ebersole, George Bissell, Warren Foote, Andrew Martin, Abraham Wagner, David Robinson and John Mosier, in 1804; James B. Wilson in 1806; John Fagan in 1807; John Ryan in 1809; George Haybarger, Spencer Shattuck, William Whitley, Alexander Robinson and sons, and Andrew and John Norcross in 1810; John Evans, John Burton, James Stewart, John McCrea and Robert Evans in 1811; N. W. Russell and Calvin Foote in 1812; Conrad Brown, James Gill and I. M. Martin in 1813; Samuel Flickinger, Jonas Parker, and George and Arthur Davidson in 1815; S. B. Wagner and Asa G. Olds in 1816; William Miner, Christian Thomas, James Cronin and Agnes Herrman in 1817; Robert Davidson, J. J. Miller, J. A. and S. S. McCreary and Nancy McKee in 1818; Jacob Riblet in 1819; E. H. Thomp-

kins in 1820; S. H. Caughey in 1821; A. G. Gates and Thomas Willis in 1822; Marcus Lewis, S. C. Pherrin, C. K. Riblet and Giles Russell in 1825; Francis Davidson in 1826; Charles Galliard in 1829; G. W. Brindle, John Hess, H. C. Nick and A. Sullivan in 1830; William Birkenkamp and James Scouller in 1832; E. Lewis and Uras Schluraff in 1833; S. S. Caughey and Isaac Wolf in 1834; Artemas Martin in 1835; J. S. Conrad, George A. Evans, George C. Dunn and John Nellis in 1836; S. C. Brown and Samuel Oxer in 1838; John McKee, Nelson Sawdey and Mr. Dighton in 1839; George Reed in 1840; Henry G. Hartt in 1841; T. D. Willis in 1842; M. B. Briggs and J. W. Shenk in 1844; George Beibel, Charles Herrman, Leonard Mong and A. M. Powell in 1845; Peter Herrman in 1848.

During the year 1828 a second immigration of "Pennsylvania Dutch" occurred, including George Weigel, Martin Warfel, Samuel Brenneman, Thomas Mohr, Jacob Metzler and others, followed by Jacob Charles in 1829. They were from Lancaster county. The Zimmerman, Stough and three Kreider families, as well as the Ebersoles, Riblets, Zucks, Browns, Weisses and others who came in 1805 or earlier, were of the first immigration. Benjamin Russell landed at Erie July 4, 1796, and settled at Belle Valley on almost the identical spot long occupied by his nephew, Capt. N. W. Russell, where he built a cabin and located 1000 acres of land. He was followed in 1802 by his brother Hamlin Russell, who bought 150 acres of Benjamin's land and established his home hard by. The first male child was David M. Dewey, born December 15, 1797; the first female child Matilda Reed, born at Kearsarge, November 14, 1798.

The early mills of the township included some of the earliest in the county. The Eliot mill, or Densmore mill as it was known later, was built by John Cochran, who opened a sawmill for business in 1800 and a grist mill in 1801. These mills stood on or near the bank of Mill creek, and the grist mill, often repaired and largely rebuilt, stands to this day on the Waterford road at Eliot avenue, north of Glenwood park. The last use to which it was put was a manufactory of paint by the Glenwood Paint Co. Just above Glenwood Park in the valley of Millcreek is to be found the remnant of an industrial village that took the name of the Happy Valley. At the upper end, where a small affluent comes into the creek from the west Robert McCullough built a sawmill and a grist mill in 1802, and it was long known as the Erie County Mill. This mill and the Eliot mill were for many years among the most important grist mills in the county. In the Happy Valley, at its lower end, there was a woolen mill that for fifty years engaged in the manufacture of a variety of woolen goods such as suitings, flannels, and blankets. It was so badly wrecked by the flood of 1893 that it never recovered and was afterwards torn down. Farther up the stream, where the Lake Pleasant road crosses the creek, there was a

settlement called Yankeetown, where there was a woolen mill, abandoned in 1845, when Lewis W. Olds embarked in the business of making wooden pumps, being the pioneer in that branch of manufacturing in Erie county. A sawmill was built by Foote and Parker at the Arbuckle place in 1816, and the same year James Love built a saw mill on Walnut creek above Kearsarge. For a number of years there were two brick yards in the neighborhood of Kearsarge: H. C. Dunn's, which was abandoned shortly before he began the manufacture of shale brick about a mile east of the city, and Mr. Dudenhoefer's, which was operated until his death but a short time since. The Schaal Glue and Fertilizer works, between the railroad and the Buffalo road a mile east of the city, was successfully operated until it was burned down a few years since. The coffin factory on the Edinboro road near Glenwood Park was opened more than thirty years ago by Robert Evans, conducted most of the time by Dr. A. K. McMullen, and is still prosperously operated under the direction of T. W. Walker. The Knobloch brewery, in the Happy Valley, and Voghts, nearer the city, thrived for a time but the former has been long out of the recollection of nearly all living there, though its vaults remain, now occupied by the Glenwood Wine Co. The most important industry the township ever contained was the rolling mill of the Mt. Hickory Iron Co., that stood on the Green Garden road just south of the Lake road. It was built in 1879, and burned down on December 9, 1883, the only remnant of its busy days being the collection of company houses, still tenanted, that form a more or less picturesque hamlet on West Lake road. Today there are numerous large and very important industries in the township contiguous to the city, but these belong so directly to the city that they must be included in the industrial chapter of Erie.

Undoubtedly the most notable farming enterprise in the history of the township was that of W. L. Scott, whose operations included the Frontier farm, the Massassauga gardens, the Algeria stock farm, the Cascade farm, the Carter farm and the Lake View farm. The group, originally comprising 1,380 acres, was completed in 1888, when he added the Jesse Ebersole farm of 250 acres. On these farms everything was undertaken regardless of expense and without respect to profit. And yet, though the venture may have been a losing one in some of its departments for a time, and though critics in farming may have found something to cavil over, there is no doubt that he made enough of a success to at least satisfy himself. The farms were of the model sort, and, as he always did, he gathered a force of the most experienced men to take charge of the various farms and work out the problems that pertained. The Algeria stud farm became celebrated. It began in 1880 with four mares and the stallion Algerine. In 1882 he imported, at a cost of $40,000 the stallion Rayon d'Or, the best race horse of his day in England and France, whose total winnings on the turf had been $122,145.

Nineteen of his get at the Algeria farm sold at auction in December, 1887, for $44,275. In 1883 Kantaka, another famous horse, was imported, and the old race horse Wanderer, was added in 1886. The farms were for many years under the management of James Sampson, an Englishman, who had been very successful in farming in Girard, and who left Mr. Scott to engage in agriculture in California.

The most important institution of Millcreek, that is destined, it is hoped, to long endure as a monument to the memory of the man who made it possible, is the Weiss Library. The late John Weiss left an estate valued at $58,000. Of this $3,000 was left to the children of Mrs. Hinkle, his deceased sister, and the whole of the residue, by the terms of his will, was to be applied to the establishment of a free public library for the use of the residents of West Millcreek, McKean, Fairview township and Fairview borough. The trustees under the will were enjoined to procure land, not to exceed two acres in extent; to erect and maintain a building for a free library; to purchase and keep up a library of books for reading and mental improvement, and to prescribe rules therefor. Going further into details, it was directed that the building should be conveniently located; that it was not to cost more than $5,000; that it was to be kept insured and replaced if burned; that after paying for the building and the books the balance was to be invested in real estate mortgages, the income to go for the support of the library; if the increase should be above what was necessary to maintain the library, aid was to be extended for the education of some young person deemed worthy, meritorious and needy, not to exceed $100 per year for each, however; and reports were to be made annually to the auditors of Millcreek township.

The site selected for the library was at the junction of the Thomas and Valley roads, near the corners of Millcreek, Fairview and McKean townships, on land donated for the purpose by Amos Hinkle, a brother-in-law of Mr. Weiss, and one of the trustees under the will, the land being part of the old Weiss homestead. It was completed and in operation in 1896, and immediately became a most useful institution to the people of the entire county-side. Soon after it was opened the department at Washington recognized it by establishing a postoffice at Weiss Library.

Millcreek is a region of excellent farming country and its farmers are a thrifty, prosperous and, generally educated people. The churches of Millcreek date back to the beginning of the last century. The first of these, Westminster church, in West Millcreek, was organized in 1805 by Rev. Johnston Eaton. It was his first church, and at the time it was organized the society's meetings were held in a log church near the mouth of Walnut creek, in Fairview township. In 1833, the congregation moved to Swanville, into a new church that had just been erected, but in 1845 a part of the congregation was set off as the Presbyterian church of Sturgeonville and erected a new

building in Fairview borough. This left to the Swanville church the members who principally resided in Millcreek, and in 1851 it was decided to move the church building from Swanville. It was then located on the Ridge road, in the western part of Millcreek, retaining its name of the Fairview church, however, until 1861, when it was changed to the Westminster Presbyterian church, by which it has since been known. A handsome new brick building was erected in 1894, during the ministration of Rev. George Booth, and the new church was dedicated on November 30, of that year.

The Belle Valley Presbyterian church, in East Millcreek, was organized in 1841. The original members of this church, called at first the Presbyterian church of East Millcreek, came from the First Presbyterian church of Erie, and the organizers were Rev. George A. Lyon, D. D., of Erie and Rev. Nathaniel W. West. The schoolhouse served as a place of worship until 1843 when a building with a capacity of 300 was erected, and has served ever since, having been remodeled and improved from time to time, however, notably in 1885, 1892, and 1894.

Asbury M. E. church, on the Ridge road, west of Westminster church, was organized in 1846, and erected their first meeting house in that year. The church was rebuilt and greatly improved in 1894. St. Paul's German Lutheran church, in the southwestern part of the township, was erected in 1837 and reconstructed in 1873.

Millcreek has no well organized villages though there are several settlements or groups of houses, some of them containing a store or a smithy, a church or a school, a wayside inn or a postoffice, and these, hamlets, formed without design, most of them years ago, have endured. Belle Valley came into existence when a number of the farmers, the Russells and others, built their houses where the corners of their farms came together, and there, naturally, in course of time came the school, the church and the country store. The place takes its name from the beautiful valley of Mill creek which was given that appellation by the pioneers of the Russell family, and dates its beginning back to about 1805. Yankeetown, where the Oldses settled with others from New England, was a sort of mill village, that sprang up about the saw-mill, the woolen mill, and later, the pump factory. Happy Valley did not get that name until about 1845, though the industries began in the year 1800 with the building of the first of the McCullough mills. The village of Kearsarge began with the inn of Seth Reed in 1796, and for many years it was known as Walnut Creek, until the Postoffice Department changed it to Kearsarge. Weigeltown, where Brown Avenue joins the Ridge road, came into existence in 1833, when George Weigel bought the farm there and platted a portion of it into building lots and built a tavern. It was then a mile and a half distant from any portion of Erie; it is now just over the border. Warrentown, a mile west on the Ridge road, had a similar origin early in the last century. All these places still have a

village-like existence. Eagle Village, at the top of Federal Hill, where the Edinboro road crossed the Ridge road, has been lost in the city of Erie since 1871, and Marvintown, where Parade street, the Old French road, the Arbuckle road and the Wattsburg road come together, is also now, and for the same period has been, a part of the city. The Halfway House, is scarcely a village, for the ancient hospice, notwithstanding the name painted upon its front three-quarters of a century ago, has for many years been tenantless, and the smithy, the store and two or three houses that stand where four roads come together can by no sort of rule or reason be denominated a village.

Millcreek possesses other features. Space will not permit more than a mention of the summer colonies that have sprung up at Hartt's Farm, The Willows, Glenruadh, Eaglehurst and the Kelso farm, or the cottages, many of them elegant and costly that, at these localities and scattered along the shore as far as to Walnut Creek, and even beyond, become the summer residences of hundreds of Erie people, and which, begun twenty years ago, show accessions every year. The Kahkwa Club, organized in 1895, built and occupied for several years a fine club house on the top of the bluff overlooking the bay on the Tracy farm, but in 1904 erected a still finer building on the Reed farm, a mile east in a situation commanding a magnificent view of the bay and peninsula. The Country Club, then just organized, took over the club house that had been vacated by the Kahkwa Club. A year or two earlier a real estate company acquired title to a strip of land from the Lake road to the top of the bluff and laying it out in building lots, named it Erncliff, and the beginnings of a suburban town were immediate. The Erie Golf Club secured a quite extensive tract lying between the Lake road and the Kahkwa Club grounds, built a club house in 1904 and laid them out. In 1879 Massassauga Point, that previously had been known only as The Head, by the public spirit and enterprise of the late William L. Scott, became a popular pleasure resort, continuing open to the public until 1901. In 1887 Grove House Park, at the mouth of Four-mile creek, was opened as a public pleasure ground by Mr. Lang. In 1895 Reed Driving Park, on the Reed farm a short distance west of Four-mile creek, was completed, with a good race track, club house, grand stand, and the necessary stabling accommodations, but the club house was destroyed by fire in 1908. Waldameer, the fine park and pleasure resort, four miles west of Erie, was opened by the Motor Company in 1901.

The county farm of 100 acres, located on the Ridge road where the later road known as Pittsburg street joins it, was selected out of the land of the Third section of Erie in 1833, and the almshouse was erected in 1871, enlarged from time to time to meet the steadily growing demands of the county. The period of the agricultural fair began in 1860, when a section of the Shannon farm, on the Buffalo road near Wesleyville, was secured and the first county fair was held. The breaking out

of the war for the Union, however, changed the plans of that early agricultural society, for the grounds were requisitioned for camp purposes by the regiments that were organized at Erie. After the war, when the people were again at liberty to think of fairs, a fresh start was made and grounds were laid out on the Reed farm immediately outside the city limits, with the entrance from Twelfth street. It was on these grounds that the Pennsylvania State Fair of 1872 was held. There, for a number of years, sometimes conducted under the auspices of the Northwestern Pennsylvania Fair Association (organized in 1875), once by the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, and again by the Erie County Agricultural Society, highly successful fairs were held.

What preceded has to do with the living. But provision for the care of the dead has also been made in Millcreek, East as well as West Millcreek having its Machpelah. In 1867 a tract of land at the corner formed by the Lake road and the "Head road," was bought by Rev. J. L. Coady, vicar general of the Diocese of Erie, and Trinity Cemetery was laid out. Adjoining it on the west are other cemeteries consecrated as burial places for Catholic communities of other nationalities than the English speaking and German people who bury in Trinity Cemetery proper. This is the burial ground of West Millcreek. In the eastern section Lakeside Cemetery, the property of a corporation organized for the purpose, was purchased and laid out in 1895. It consists of 135 acres, located about a mile and a half east of Erie, and extending from the Lake road to the shore of the lake, beautifully situated, operated under the perpetual care system, and artistically laid out.

Citizens of Millcreek who have filled public offices are these: Secretary of the Land Office (national) John Cochran; Congress, Samuel Smith; Assembly, Stephen Wolverton, B. B. Whitley, George Evans; Postmaster at Erie, Robert Cochran; Associate Judge, William Bell, John Cochran, Samuel Smith, John Grubb; Sheriff, David Wallace, Stephen Wolverton, Albert Thayer, William E. McNair; Coroner, Benjamin Russell, David Wallace, David McNair, John K. Caldwell; County Commissioners, John McCreary, John Grubb, Robert McClelland, Albert Thayer, James Love, William E. McNair, Joseph Henderson, George W. Brecht, Richard H. Arbuckle, B. B. Whitley, Thomas H. Mohr; Commissioners' Clerk, Robert Cochran, O. P. Gunnison; Jury Commissioner, W. W. Love, George A. Evans, Hartman Fisher, James Halinan, John A. Farver; County Treasurer, James F. Love; Directors of the Poor, Conrad Brown, John Evans, William E. McNair, George W. Brecht, Thomas Willis, John C. Zuck; Stewards of the Almshouse, Freeman Patterson, Samuel Fickinger, S. P. Zuck, William Brown; County Surveyor, John Cochran, Irvin P. McCreary; Auditor, William Wallace, John Grubb, Robert McClelland, William E. McNair, Robert Cochran, Thomas Nicholson, George W. Brecht, N. W. Russell, Henry Gingrich, W. W. Love; Mercantile Appraiser, N. W. Russell, James C. Russell, O. P. Gunnison,

R. H. Arbuckle, James F. Love; County Superintendent of Schools, Thomas C. Miller.

The Schwingel farm, near Kearsarge, was the scene of a terrible tragedy on the night of October 15, 1880—Charles Schwingel, with some neighbors, had spent the evening drinking hard cider and playing cards. Philip, his brother, came home from Erie late at night, very drunk. After the neighbors left Charles and Philip fell into a dispute which resulted in the death of Charles by a pistol shot fired by his brother. Philip was tried, convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to the penitentiary at Allegheny.

CHAPTER XIV.—NORTH EAST.

At First Part of Greenfield.—Settled Very Early.—First of County Roads and Earliest School.—Burgettstown and North East Borough.

It was surely in a spirit of jocularity that North East obtained its name; but having borne up under it when young, and survived the infliction until years of discretion had been reached, in time it came to be an honorable and honored name, standing for only what is best in all that pertains to rural and village life, in industry, in business, in society, in religion, in culture. The name of North East stands now the synonym of all that is desirable in suburban life. The township with its wide spreading plain and hilly slopes toward the south; the borough with its numerous fine residences, beautifully shaded streets and general air of comfort if not wealth, and the entire county-side breathing an atmosphere of thrift and content: North East, town and country, is a region fair to see and to take delight in.

North East was with the beginning of things when this part of the great American republic came to be permanently settled. It may have been even earlier than Erie to become the choice of the pioneer from the east. The spot that had been Ft. Presque Isle received its first permanent acquisition in 1795. North East was a year earlier. Joseph Shadduck, from Brattleboro, Vt., came to North East in 1794, and the year 1795 witnessed quite a large influx. Henry and George Hurst from New Jersey, Francis Brawley, James and Bailey Donaldson, Henry Loomis and George Lowry coming in 1795. Mr. Lowry took up 400 acres near the borough—or what years afterward became the borough. In 1796 Margaret Lowry, mother of George, came from Cumberland county, Pa., with nine other sons, and settled 2,800 acres of land. Four of her sons subsequently married four daughters of James Barr. Dyer Loomis, Sr., father of Dyer Loomis, prominent in affairs in later days, also came in 1796. In the year 1797 these came: Thomas Robinson and Joseph McCord from Cumberland county, James McMahon from Northumberland county, Abram and Arnold Custard from Bucks county and James Duncan from Ireland. In 1798 came Thomas Crawford from Susquehanna county, Matthew, John and James Greer from Ireland, William Allison, Henry Burgett, and Lemuel Brown and Joel Loomis from Washington

county, N. Y. From that time until the end of the year 1800 these came: Robert Hampson with his wife and child from Huntingdon county, John and Andrew McCord and Alex. T. Blaine from Cumberland county, Samuel Graham from Centre county, Robert Burrows, William Dundas, James Barr, Timothy, Amos and Jerry Tuttle, Timothy Newton, James Silliman, Thomas Mellen, Cornyn Shadduck, Hezekiah and Tristram Brown, Robert McNeill, Stephen Sparrow, Perrin Ross, Charles Allen and John Russell.

The trouble that grew out of the disputed land titles affected the settlers here as it did in the townships to the west. It had its origin in the fact that a grant had been made to the Pennsylvania Population Company of 200,000 acres of land in the Triangle. Considerable of the land had been settled by immigrants under the original settlement laws and been improved in accordance with the provisions of those laws, and the Population Company undertook to dispossess those under the conditions of its grant. An appeal to the courts sustained the Population Company and the result was a grievous injury to a number of the settlers, particularly William Wilson, John Stewart and John Lowry. John Stewart, who at great sacrifice had for three years maintained his family besides clearing a few acres of land and erecting the necessary buildings, sold his only cow to buy a gun with which to maintain his rights, and John Lowry, who had settled near the mouth of Sixteen-mile creek, became mentally unbalanced and hanged himself.

Previous to 1800 North East was known as Lower Greenfield. When Judah Colt came into the Triangle to represent the Pennsylvania Population Company, he established himself at Colt's Station and named the district Greenfield, including the territory to the lake, and the first road after the permanent settlement that was laid out in the county was that from Colt's Station to the mouth of Sixteen-mile creek, the lake terminus being named Fairport. It was upon the erection of the county of Erie in 1800 that Lower Greenfield became North East Township. After the beginning of the nineteenth century the accessions to the population became more numerous and the growth steady. Among later settlers who were to found names of prominence and permanence were: Henry Taylor from Mifflin county in 1802; William Dickson, 1805; Wendell Butt, 1810; Jesse Belknap, 1812; Cyrus Robinson, 1813; Justin Nash, Gilbert Belnap and W. E. Mason, 1814; Harmon Ensign from Litchfield, Conn., Buell Phillips, Edmond Orton, Joseph Force, Joseph Law, Levi and Shubal Adkins, 1815; Alex. Davidson, William Hale, Dr. Smedley of Litchfield, Clark Putnam from Vermont, and John Butt, 1816; Arnold Warner, 1817; Osee Selkregg from Litchfield, 1818; Hugh Beatty, 1819; Clark Bliss, 1821; Judge John Greer, 1823; Bester Town, 1824; James Cole, 1825; John Scouller from Kilbrida, Scotland, William Graham, D. D. Loop and N. C. Remington, 1830.

Churches and schools came early to North East. There is a good deal in names and those of North East's pioneers are of the order from which one would expect religion and education. History's record is that the names were not at fault. The first sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered in Erie county was at the house of William Dundas in North East Sept. 27, 1821. In the year 1798 the first building used exclusively for school purposes, to be built in Erie county, was erected on the main or Buffalo road about two miles west of the present borough of North East. Among those who attended that school were W. A. McCord, Mrs. Col. James Moorhead, Jesse and William Custard, Mrs. Joseph Y. Moorhead, George Hampson, Mrs. John Shadduck and Mrs. McNeill. A day school was maintained in an addition to the log church in the cemetery until 1817, when the first school building in the borough was erected near the southwest corner of the park. In 1824 the ground now occupied by the high school was purchased of Stephen Sparrow and a brick school building erected, to be replaced by a better building in 1844 for the Academy, that to give place in 1878 for a new high school, built at a cost of $10,000, that was enlarged in 1893 at a cost of $16,000 more.

The first church building in the township was erected by the Presbyterian society in 1804 on a tract of five acres, comprising a part of what is now the beautiful cemetery of North East. It was of hewn logs 20x30 feet in size, and the first elders were John and Joseph McCord and Thomas Robinson. The cemetery of today is but a continuation of that old church-yard. The cemetery was incorporated in 1852. The Methodist Episcopal congregation was organized in 1812, by Rev. Thomas Branch from Connecticut, and the original members were Tristram Brown, George Culver, John Russell and two others. In 1822 a brick building was erected in the park but was abandoned in 1852, for a new church on the east side of Lake street. That in time became inadequate and the present elegant new church was built in 1904. The First Presbyterian church to be erected in the borough was built in the centre of the park in 1818, which served until 1860 when a commodious brick church was erected on the site of the present church. That was destroyed by the fire of 1884, when the present fine edifice was undertaken and finished in 1885. The First Baptist society organized in the township was in the extreme eastern part, and in 1833 a small frame church building was erected two miles east of the borough. The organization ceased to exist in 1850, but the same year Rev. Zebina Smith organized a new church within the borough and in 1859 the present Baptist church was built and rebuilt and enlarged in 1870. The Episcopalians organized a mission in 1872 and in 1879 built the fine edifice now known as the Church of the Holy Cross. St. Gregory's Roman Catholic church was built about 1866; St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran church, organized in 1864, built first in

1868, and afterwards, in 1888, erected the present handsome brick building on the corner of Pearl street and Clinton avenue; the German church of the Evangelical Association of America, organized in 1870, dedicated their place of worship on Division street January 15, 1871.

The first dwelling erected within the present boundaries of the borough was the log house of William Dundas, and it stood a little east of the Presbyterian manse. The second was built by John Lowry where the Haynes House now stands. In 1806 Henry Burgett came into possession, by purchase, of the Dundas property and converted the house of that strict Presbyterian elder into a tavern. Now Burgett was a character. He was not the ordinary every-day tapster, but a Boniface who knew how to make a place for himself in the community, and this he did to such good purpose that, not only could he not be displaced, but there was no such thing as heading him off. It came in time to be said he owned the town, and in derision the village was named Burgettstown. The name stuck by it. For years it was known by no other name, and there would not have been a change but for a circumstance, and this is the circumstance:

There came from the east a wise man. His name was Gibson and he was wise because he saw there was a promising future for the place notwithstanding it was named after the leading tavern-keeper. He proved his faith by his works, buying up a considerable area of land including what is now the park, and the latter piece of ground he donated as the site of a church. To be sure it was not an entirely disinterested gift, but it was liberality beyond the common practice, so in 1818 Mr. Gibson and his church proposition supplanted Mr. Burgett and his tavern in public favor,—a distinct victory for the church—and the name of the village became Gibsonville. This name endured until 1834, when the borough of North East was incorporated.

The original survey of the borough was made by Thomas Forster and comprised 275 acres, but by act of the Legislature in 1852 the boundaries were extended, so as to increase the area to $340\frac{5}{16}$ acres. Then the southern boundary was the Erie & Northeast Railroad—now the L. S. & M. S.—and in 1893 there was another expansion, this time to include the section south of the railroad that had locally been known as Germantown, and increasing the area to 540 acres. The population of North East borough at the present time is approximately 3,000.

Early in its history North East set out to engage in commerce, its lake harbor being at Freeport, the northern end of the road that led from Colt's Station through the village to the lake. William Wilson, who settled a tract of land in 1799, soon afterwards ventured across the lake in an open boat and in Canada bought a cargo of flour. It was a luxury, being worth $18 a barrel. It was so successful a venture that several trips were later made for the same purpose. Another necessity in the early days was salt, and in 1802 Henry Taylor with two others went to

Salina to procure a cargo of it. They hauled the salt to Buffalo by ox-team and built a scow to transport it to Freeport, but they encountered such rough weather that boat and cargo were lost. Salt sold for $50 per barrel in Erie county that year.

Postal facilities began in 1806 when the first mail route between Erie and Buffalo was established. It was a pony express, the postboy being Abner Williams. But little mail was left for North East and that little at the house of John McCord, about a mile west of the borough. Something of an improvement was instituted in January, 1821, when Col. Nathaniel Bird of Westfield had a contract from the government for a weekly trip and this continued until 1829 when Rufus S. Reed, Thomas G. Abell and Bela D. Coe started a daily stage delivering mail along the route. The stage was an ordinary lumber wagon with a canvas cover and when the roads were in their worst condition, in the spring, the passengers walked, content to do this in consideration of getting their trunks carried.

The first of North East's hostelries was the tavern of Henry Burgett opened in 1806. Two years later Lemuel Brown built a more pretentious house at the corner of what is now Lake and Main streets, but he could not make headway against the redoubtable Burgett. Brown's Hotel was, however, the regular stopping place of the stages for many years. The original Haynes House was erected in 1852-53 and occupied the site of Brown's Hotel, standing until August, 1884, when it was destroyed by fire, the present Haynes House immediately taking the place of that burned. The Brawley House, taking its name from Richard M. Brawley, was built in 1833. In recent years it has come to be known as the Park Hotel. Short's Palace Hotel on Pearl street, at the railroad, was built in 1877; the Earl, on Clinton Avenue, in 1894, and the Colonial, on Lake street, a transformation of the Short mansion, opened by F. L. Bowman in November, 1903.

Newspaper history in North East began with the North East *Guard*, begun in 1855 and ended a year later. In 1867 Stephen O. Hayward started the North East *Herald*, a small four-page weekly, but a rather lively little sheet, but its career was brief. It survived for but a year. A third newspaper venture was entered upon September, 1868, by Brainerd & Cushman, when, with a better outfit than its predecessors had been blessed with, the North East *Star* was begun. It was so well received that in 1873 it was enlarged and the name changed to the *Sun*, and it is still published. In 1869 S. M. Brainerd of the original firm retired, removing to Erie, when L. B. Cushman took his place and the Cushman Brothers D. R. and L. B. became the publishers. Previous to 1884 a paper called the North East *Advertiser* was published by Mr. Will Belknap and others. That year Messrs. Belknap, Camp and Johnson of North East, acquired an interest in the Erie *Dispatch*, when the *Advertiser* came into possession of G. W. Moore, who continued its publication until 1892, when M.

C. Moore and T. O. Marshall bought it. In 1895 M. C. Moore became sole proprietor, but was succeeded in 1897 by E. M. Foye, who published the paper until 1907, when he sold out to the Garfield Printing Co., its present owners.

The North East *Breeze* was started by W. H. Sandborn on May 8, 1893, and it was certainly well named, for it was as breezy a village paper as ever was printed. Mr. Sandborn continued the business successfully until taken sick in 1906. He never recovered, his death occurring Nov. 20, 1908. Meanwhile, October 25, 1907, the property was purchased by L. B. Yale, who is now the successful publisher.

Banking business in North East was begun in 1860, when A. W. Blaine opened a banking office in the borough. In 1865 a charter was obtained and Mr. Blaine's bank became the First National Bank of North East, which continued to do business until 1884, when, the charter having expired, the bank discontinued business. The People's Savings Institution was incorporated in 1870. The firm of Blaine, Gould & Short began business in 1871, subsequently became Short, Blaine & Co., and discontinuing business May 14, 1883, was succeeded by the People's Savings Institution. On January 23, 1895, the latter suspended, and five days afterward Samson Short started a private bank under the name of the Short Banking Co., for the purpose of protecting the interest of the patrons of the defunct People's Savings Institution, of which bank Mr. Short had been president. This accomplished and the fear of serious complications to result from the closing of the People's Savings Institution dispelled, Mr. Short announced his intention of retiring from the banking business and on June 30, 1896, notice was given that no more deposits would be received and all depositors would be paid in full. On July 1, 1896, W. H. Adkins & Co., improving the opportunity offered, opened an office for the accommodation of the patrons of the bank that had gone into liquidation. W. A. Ensign & Son, as successors of the original First National Bank, began a private banking business December 24, 1884, but the bank failed in December, 1907. August 1, 1903, a national bank with $50,000 capital began business under the name of the First National Bank of North East. They occupy a handsome office of their own on Lake street. A. W. Blaine is president and B. C. Spooner cashier.

The National Bank of North East was organized in June, 1908, with a capital of $50,000, and the following officers: R. A. Davidson, president; O. C. Hirtzel, vice president; F. M. McDonald, cashier, and as directors R. A. Davidson, C. E. Leet, W. S. Wheeler, D. C. Bostwick, George E. Pierce, C. C. Hill, O. C. Hirtzel, H. E. Norris and F. B. Moorhead.

North East did not lag behind when grim-visaged war displayed his threatening front. There had not been the fear of Indian hostilities that came to the pioneers of other sections, but in the period of the war of

1812, real danger threatened. In common with the rest of the southern shore of Lake Erie, North East felt keen apprehension from invasion by the British and their savage allies. About thirty of her citizens became volunteers in the army that was hastily gathered to form a body of defense at Erie. And there, for the protection of their homes, an organization of minute men was formed, known as the Home Guards. Happily the guards were never called into actual warlike service, but their existence did not a little to establish a feeling of security, confirmed into confidence when news came of the victory of Perry on September 10, 1813.

And again the shadow of war fell upon the peaceful community, when the ill-advised people of the southern states rashly undertook to destroy the Union. President Lincoln's call for volunteers met a ready response and each of the regiments that went to the front from Erie county had its full contingent from North East, including a captain in each. N. L. Terrell was captain of Co. K, 83d Regiment; John Braden (after whom the Grand Army post of North East was named) commanded Co. F, 111th, and Dyer Loomis was captain of Co. C, 145th Regiment.

Among "first" occurrences with which North East is connected or concerned, it may be stated that the first post office was established in 1812; the first telegraph line was built in 1847 or 48; the first railway train passed through North East January 10, 1852, on the Erie & North East Railway; the first white child born in the towsnhip was Lyman Brown and the first white child born in the borough was Wm. B. Allison; David M. Dewey, who removed to North East in 1846, born near the banks of Walnut creek, November 15, 1794, was the first white child born in Erie county—his death occurred on his birthday in 1874. (This statement is found in the chronicles of North East, but evidently it is a mistake, for there were no settlers at or near Walnut creek in 1794.)

It has already been stated that the first school built in North East township was also the first school in the county of Erie. North East has ever since maintained an advanced position on educational matters. In the early days church and school were closely related, and in later times while the free school system of public education was zealously supported, the combination of religion with education was continued down to the present time. The renewal of the old-time dual relation came about in the decade of the sixties when an effort originated in the Methodist denomination to establish a seminary for the education of young people. It appears to have been a conference idea, as, at the beginning there was an open question as to where the proposed seminary would be located, Erie, North East and Westfield being candidates, the decision to rest with the place that would most generously contribute to the stock of the enterprise. North East won out, and in 1867 a site was chosen for Lake Shore Seminary and work was begun. The seminary was built

in 1868, at a cost of $70,000. By the time it was ready for use, the financial burden had begun to be so heavy, that aid from the Presbyterians was gladly accepted, and then for a period of several years the Lake Shore Seminary appeared to be in the enjoyment of prosperity. But it turned out otherwise than as it appeared. Financially it was falling behind and its excellent work as an educational institution did not help it to prosperity as time passed. At length it could no longer stand the strain. To save it an effort was made to induce the government to take it over as an Indian school, but the effort failed of success, and at length it fell into the hands of the sheriff and the property that was held to be worth $90,000 was sold to the North East Savings Bank for $12,000. For a number of years the property lay idle, the bank endeavoring meanwhile to dispose of it. In February, 1881, the seminary was bought by the Redemptorist Fathers, who founded St. Mary's College. (See sketch elsewhere.)

North East borough was for half a century a country town of the good old-fashioned unpretentious type; rather better laid out and more evenly built, and with more of the evidences of culture and comfort as well as of business enterprise than the average country town. But there came to it a baptism of fire in its year of jubilee that immediately took it out of the old class and made it a modern town. The saying that it required a good fire to make a good town, was literally true of North East. In September, 1884, a destructive fire, which started on Lake street just north of the creek, swept both sides of the street to main street, extending west to the Presbyterian church, and included on the east side of the street the Haynes House. It was the most disastrous fire in the history of the town, involving a loss of a quarter of a million. The principal benefit derived from the catastrophe was the lesson that showed the town's weakness. They had no protection whatever in case of a fire. The people had literally to stand idly by and see the best part of the business section devoured by the flames. When it was over, however, the people became busy at once. An organization was effected to provide a system of water works. The borough was bonded for $20,000, and in 1885 work was begun. A reservoir with a capacity of 4,000,000 gallons was constructed on the hills southeast of the town, which conserved the water of a number of springs, and this supply, piped by a complete system of about ten miles of mains, furnished the town with an adequate supply for years. The pressure at Main street of 100 pounds to the square inch was ample for fire protection and the distribution included 700 connections. This provision was found to be sufficient for a time, although during seasons of unusual drouth it became necessary to supplement the gravity system by pumps to lift water from Sixteen-mile creek into the reservoir. During the summer of 1908, however, it became apparent that there was not a sufficient margin to come and go upon, and it seemed as though even the auxiliary service of the pumps

would not be adequate to put the water supply out of jeopardy. Immediately the council set about providing a means that would put the water service upon a perfectly reliable footing. A careful survey disclosed the fact that it was possible to impound the water of Sixteen-mile creek at a point a mile and a half southeast of the original reservoir and obtain a height sufficient to serve the old reservoir by gravity. Steps were at once taken. A fund sufficient for the purpose was easily obtained, for the finances of the water department were in excellent shape, more than half the original debt having been paid. With the fund of $20,000 raised for the purpose a dam was built which formed a reservoir of 80,000,000 gallons capacity. The reservoir was completed the latter part of 1908, and the water department has set itself to the task of installing a filtering plant, so that the supply of water will not only be abundant but pure. This adjunct of the new reservoir will be completed during the year 1909. Financially the water department has been most successful, and the receipts have been steadily increasing. From $4,551 in 1901 they advanced to $9,371 in 1908.

A more troublesome problem than that of the water supply has been to provide a sewer system. The simplest expedient would have been to drain into Sixteen-mile creek—the old fashioned solution of such a puzzle. The North East people never favored that. They would not be permitted now to do it, the State board of health having placed a rigid ban upon the pollution of the streams of the state. However, the problem was taken up with the purpose of solving it, and the result has been a plan which has met the approval of the State board. This has been adopted by the progressive council and work is to begin upon it during the summer of 1909.

The progress of North East has been all along the line. Modern community living demands paved roadways for the streets as well as for the sidewalks. In the latter particular the village has for years been notable; in the paving of the roadways a splendid start was made in 1907, when Lake street from Main to the railroad was paved with brick on concrete, and in 1908, the central section of Main street was similarly paved. This public work was done with judgment, all the under work having been taken care of before the paving was laid. The sewers were so constructed that they will naturally form a part of any drainage system which may be adopted. During the year 1909 the paving was continued. The material employed is vitrified brick with concrete curbing.

Street lighting is not new in North East, nor is the use of electricity for that purpose a thing of but yesterday. Electricity was adopted for street lighting in 1889. The town owns everything connected with public lighting, except the power plant, the current being supplied by the North East Electric Light & Power Co.

Another borough department is semi-public in its character. This is the fire department. In days of old the village had to depend on the

hand fire-engine and the volunteer fire brigade. The introduction of the waterworks service with its high pressure and numerous fire hydrants rendered the old fashioned engines useless. But the fire brigade is just as necessary as ever. Two good volunteer hose companies and one hook and ladder company are maintained, the borough owning the engine houses, the trucks, hose, and necessary apparatus and paying the companies $200 a year each for incidental expenses—for horse hire or whatever the companies deem advisable. Excellent service is now obtained in case of fire, the very general use of the telephone in the village supplying in efficient fashion a fire alarm system.

North East has always been the seat of varied industries, the beginning being the erection of Col. Timothy Tuttle's grist mill on Sixteen-mile creek southeast of the borough,—now known as Scoulter's. The first iron foundry in the county was established in North East township. The Franklin paper mill, at which an excellent quality of printing paper was made, was built at the mouth of Sixteen-mile creek in 1833 by Steele, Judd & Easton; became the property of Wm. L. Hall and was burned in 1838; was rebuilt by John Scoulter and Chauncey Easton, who sold in 1853 to James S. Johnson; in 1871 the mill was again burned and again rebuilt, but the cost of rebuilding on a larger scale proved to be too great an undertaking in the face of a strong decline in the price of paper, so the mill was sold to Cochran & Young of Erie. Other early industries were Grimshaw's woolen mill, built by Archibald Duncan in 1845, and burned during the eighties; Ezra Scoulter's grist mill, the largest in the township; Coffman's pump factory; Bannister's brewery; Greene & Chase's cider and vinegar mill; E. K. Nason's tannery; Green's door and sash factory; Stetson's handle factory; the New Era parlor organ factory, built in 1873; Jones's barrel factory, built in 1864 and burned in 1881; Applebee & Butt's steam saw-mill; Scoulter & Tyler's tannery; Gay & Beatty's grist and saw-mill; Rhodes's cider and vinegar mill; Jones's grist-mill, to which a distillery was subsequently added, besides three brick yards and a number of creameries. All of these were of the olden or relatively olden time, and most of them have ceased to exist.

A notable exception, however, is the iron industry that was started at Freeport in 1824 by Philetus Glass, and was the first foundry in Erie county. It suffered in more ways than one—by fire and by removal, and several changes of owners,—but is still doing a profitable business in the borough, where it is operated by John D. Pabody, under the name of the North East Iron Works. The Ezra Scoulter mill, once the largest in the township, is still in operation.

Of the more recent industries the North East Canning Co.'s works were built in 1887 and operated until 1907, the last few years as a branch of the United States Canning Co. The large grist mill near the railroad was rebuilt in 1885, and was taken by the Blaine, Mackay, Lee Co. in 1902 and by the Otto Brothers in 1908. The Short Mfg. Co. or-

ganized in 1889 operated a large works near the railroad west of the station until 1907 in the manufacture of wooden novelties. Upon the discontinuance of the business the shop was taken by the North East Grant Fence Co., the product being wire fences.

In 1888 the Eureka Tempered Copper Co. was organized, and in 1889 it was incorporated with W. L. Scott, J. C. Brady, Alfred Short, Luzerne Merket and A. Thomas as directors. Upon the failure of Mr. Short the industry became involved and the plant was sold. The purchasers reorganized the Eureka Tempered Copper Works, which was chartered with a capital of $100,000 in 1896, and the directors at the present time are Charles Schimmelfeng, O. C. Hirtzel and H. C. Norris. The product is electric specialties of copper, hardened by a secret process, and the industry is the largest in North East and steadily growing.

The Fernald Manufacturing Co. of the present was established 1896 by George H. Fernald, succeeding the Columbian Novelty Co., and was incorporated in 1906 for the manufacture of anti-rattlers and other carriage attachments, including numerous specialties. The North East Cider Works was chartered in 1896; the Electric Light & Power Co., in 1903; the North East Heat & Light Company in 1906, and the Independent Telephone Co. in 1909. The Mutual Benefit Telephone Co., an earlier organization, was formed in 1895. Fink & McLaughlin's North East Preserving Works was built in January, 1901. The mammoth factory of the North East Grape Products Co. was erected in 1909. Besides, the industries include planing mills and factories for the manufacture of grape baskets and crates.

The North East Public Library Association was incorporated February 18, 1902, with the following subscribers: I. H. Russell, C. C. Hill, A. S. Knepp, G. W. Putnam, P. P. Remington, C. F. and J. L. Heard, P. A. Sandborn, A. L. Kinter, R. L. Williams and R. J. Moorhead. The North East Opera House (Short's) was erected in 1885. In 1895 a horticultural fair of unexpected excellence was held at North East. The Oak Hill driving park dates from 1874.

North East has furnished these public officials: Presidential elector, John Greer (he voted for Lincoln in the college of 1861); Assembly, Mark Baldwin, A. W. Blaine, Charles A. Hitchcock, Alfred Short, E. K. Nason, J. Ross Raymond; Prothonotary, J. W. Loomis, E. K. Nason; District Attorney, S. M. Brainerd, A. B. Force, E. A. Walling; Sheriff, E. W. M. Blaine; Coroner, John McCord; County Commissioner, James Lowry, Francis Brawley, Henry Taylor, Alex. McCloskey, John McCord, Amos Gould, Clark Bliss, L. G. Youngs; Associate Judge, John Brawley, John Greer; Director of the Poor, Archibald Duncan; Steward of the Almshouse, Calvin Poole, George W. Griffin; Mercantile Appraiser, John D. Mills, James W. Crawford, R. L. Pierce; County Auditor, James Smedley, William H. Crawford, George W. Griffin; State Bank Inspector,

Robert J. Moorhead; County Superintendent of Schools, Isaac H. Russell.

S. M. Brainerd was elected to Congress, James D. Dunlap to the Assembly and afterwards to the State Senate, Emory A. Walling to the State Senate and afterwards to be President Judge, after removing from North East to Erie. Henry Hurst, who moved to Meadville, was there elected a State Senator. Julius Caesar Burrows, born in North East, served in Congress and the United States Senate. Rev. Cyrus Dickson an eminent Presbyterian clergyman and Rev. Thomas H. Robinson, a Presbyterian minister at Harrisburg and afterwards college professor at Sewickley, were also natives of North East. Dr. Samuel D. Norton a famous evangelist in his time, died at North East.

CHAPTER XV.—SPRINGFIELD.

Laid Out in 1800.—Subsequent Changes.—Hospitality Tract of the Moravian Grant.—Early Settlers.—Schools of the Township.—Mills and Villages.

Springfield, the northwest township of the county, was one of the original sixteen, and the date of the beginnings of its settlement is very nearly contemporaneous with that of the first settlement of any other part of the county. As originally laid out the south line of the township was about a mile farther north than now, but in 1835, by an arrangement with Conneaut, the territory between the original south line and Conneaut creek was added to Springfield, the condition being that it would assume half the expense of building and maintaining the bridges across the creek. There was also a case of subtraction, for at the beginning Springfield extended as far east as Miles Grove (now North Girard). When the township of Girard was erected in 1832, a section of Springfield was taken. The first township officers were elected in 1811. The Moravian Grant, known as the Hospitality tract, was located mostly in Springfield, extending from the lake to a short distance south of Conneaut creek, and containing 2,797 acres. William and James Miles were for many years the agents of the Moravians. The tract was bought in a body by N. Blickensderfer and James Miles in 1849, and sold out in small parcels from 1850 until it was all disposed of.

The first settler in the township Capt. Samuel Holliday, came from Franklin county in 1796, located 700 acres of land at the mouth of Crooked creek, built a log cabin, and in the fall of the year returned to his former home to obtain a help-meet. Soon after his first arrival he was joined by John Devore of Bedford county, John Mershon of New Jersey and William McIntyre and Patrick Ager, natives of Ireland. Capt. Holliday married in Franklin county in April, 1797, and with his bride, started for their new home on the shore of Lake Erie, Mrs. Holliday riding on horseback and her husband walking by her side with his gun on his shoulder. Their route was by a trail through the woods to Erie, and thence by the beach of the lake to the cabin near the mouth of Crooked creek. During the year 1797 the arrivals were Oliver Cross from Vermont and Thomas and Oliver Dunn from Ireland. The Dunns, however, did not remain long, changing to McKean, where they settled

permanently. The dates of the arrival of other pioneers were: In 1798, Nicholas Lebarger of Bedford county; in 1800, Matthias Brindle of Franklin county and a Mr. Bruce; in 1801, Robert McKee of Cumberland county and Oliver Smith from Massachusetts; in 1802, Isaac, Jesse, John D. and Thomas R. Miller, John Eaton and John Law, all of Franklin county, Henry Adams of Massachusetts, John Hewitt of Connecticut, and John Rudd, Jr.; in 1803, Andrew Cochran and Abraham Eagley of Dauphin county, George Ferguson of Cumberland county and William Ferguson of Ohio; in 1804, Samuel Rea of Franklin county and John Rudd, Sr., and family; in 1806, John Hall of Mifflin county; in 1808, Erastus De Wolf of New York; in 1810, Joseph Ware of Vermont; in 1813, Zachariah Thomas of Vermont; in 1815, William Gould of Chautauqua county, New York; Anderson Hubbard of Ohio, and Luke Thayer of Massachusetts; in 1816, Benjamin Carr of New York; in 1817, John Albert of New York; in 1818, David Ellis of Massachusetts and Derby Walter and Ezekiel Currier, both of New Hampshire; in 1819, Andrew and Henry Mallory and Thomas Ivory, all of New York; in 1820, James, Benjamin and Lucius Bond of Massachusetts, John S. Sherman of New York, and James Anderson of Virginia; in 1824, A. Whiton; in 1826, John Monell and Peter Simmons; in 1829, George Simmons; in 1830, Lorenzo Harvey, William H. Townsend and Selah Walbridge; in 1831, I. Pond and Seymour Devereaux; in 1832, Scott Keith, Stephen Warner and Matthew Gray; in 1833, R. R. Robinson; in 1834, William Marsh and E. Smith; in 1835, Clark Baldwin, Thomas Potter, E. R. Hedden and William Church; in 1836, Thomas Webster; in 1839, T. S. Cowles; in 1840, C. Lindsay; in 1841, Joseph Strong; in 1842, Gilbert Hurd; in 1846, L. W. Savage; in 1854, Joel Day; in 1863, Humphrey A. Hills. Mr. Brindle, who came first in 1800, located land at that time and then returned and brought on his family.

Mr. McIntyre, who died in 1867 at the age of ninety-five, brought the first potatoes planted in Springfield township, carrying them in a sack on his back from Pittsburg. Andrew Cochran was captain of a company in the war of 1812, and was attached to the command of Col. Wallace at Erie. The earliest births in the township were Elizabeth Holliday, May 14, 1798, and Joseph Brindle, March 1, 1800.

The first mill built in Springfield township was that of Capt. Holliday, the first comer. It stood near the mouth of Crooked creek, and was erected in 1801 or 1802. In 1803 he built a grist mill adjoining, but both have long since been abandoned. The Porter mill on Conneaut creek, north of Cherry Hill, was built by Comfort Hay about 1823. The Strong mills, north of East Springfield, were built by Andrew Cochran about 1820, and rebuilt by Thomas Webster in 1841 or 1842, who operated them until his death in 1860, after which they came into the possession of Joseph M. Strong. Later he overhauled and modernized them. The first sawmill where H. V. Line's mills stand, on the Ridge road, was built

by Amos Remington and Oliver Cross about 1814, and rebuilt by Nathan Cass in 1824 or 1825, who managed it jointly with Willard Pope. The firm sold the property to Mr. Case, who built the gristmill in 1832. After Case the property changed owners frequently being sold in succession to Tucker & Woodruff, Justin Nash, William Cross, Scott Keith, and Walter and Henry Keith, who rebuilt them in 1857. A few years later they were sold by the sheriff to Judge Cross, who gave the title to Jonathan Keith, from whom they passed to Oliver & Brecht, then to Mr. Fickinger, and, in 1870, to Mr. Line. The West Springfield tile works were started in 1869. The cheese factory at West Springfield was established in 1874. The Line and Strong mills are both in the valley of Crooked creek, and in the early days these, as well as Holliday's mills, obtained their power entirely from the water of the stream. For many years, however, it has become necessary to employ steam to supplement the water power, which, especially in dry seasons, is greatly reduced because of the depletion of the streams. The Lake Shore Railroad Company's culvert and fill at the crossing of Crooked creek compose one of the largest and most costly pieces of work in the county, the culvert being a massive piece of masonry. In the fall of 1878, during the greatest flood ever known in this stream, a house was swept through the railroad culvert.

Springfield township became famous because of the excellence of its schools, its three academies becoming well known throughout a wide area of the country. The first of these, at West Springfield, was founded in 1853, and in 1855 had 165 pupils, with four teachers. Among its principals were John A. Austin, W. H. Heller, Joseph H. Colt and C. C. Sheffield. It was burned down in 1859 and two or three years later rebuilt of brick. The East Springfield Academy, built in 1856, started with 150 scholars. It was a rival from the start of the older school. The first principal was B. J. Hawkins, and in 1858 L. W. Savage held the position of head teacher. The development of the public school system, under the fostering care of the State, proved detrimental to these private educational enterprises, so that in the course of a few years they came into the possession of the public school directors, the East Springfield Academy wholly so, and the West Springfield one partly so, there being two teachers in the public school section and three in the academy. When the two first academies had run down the third was established, North Springfield Academy dating from 1866, and continuing for a long period as a select school, at length went the way of the others, all being now incorporated in the public school system. Perhaps the first schoolhouse of the township was that built on the Joseph Eagley place, near the lake very early in the past century. The material was logs, and the chimney of sticks and clay, with a fireplace of stones. In 1818 James Porter was teaching in a log schoolhouse that stood in what is now East Springfield, and William Clark, a Mr. West and a Mr. Smith

were other teachers of the East Springfield school. In 1822 Louisa De Wolf taught school in a vacated log house in the Ferguson neighborhood, about three miles southwest of East Springfield. Not long after this school was taught in a similar building a mile east of East Springfield, in the summer by Jane Ferguson and in the winter by William Branch. About the year 1827 a frame schoolhouse stood in the Vandeventer neighborhood, in which Hiram Dixon was one of the early teachers. The public school system grew apace in Springfield until there are now fifteen schools within the township.

The earliest of the common thoroughfares in the township was the Ridge road, which, passing throug the centre, forms the main street in the villages of East and West Springfield. From the close of the War of 1812, until the railroad was opened in the beginning of the fifties, travel over the Ridge road was very extensive, requiring numerous public houses on the route. Scott Keith opened a tavern at East Springfield in 1832, that quickly became one of the best known and most popular houses between Erie and Cleveland. In 1822 William Doty moved from North East to East Springfield and took charge of the old Remington house, which he kept until his death in 1864. The East Springfield postoffice was the first in the township. The postoffice at West Springfield was established in 1838 or 1839, with Samuel Castle as the first postmaster, and the office at North Springfield was opened some time after 1860. On the night of December 6, 1874, the West Springfield postoffice was broken into, robbed, and set on fire by burglars, and destroyed, with the store to which it was attached. Two of the robbers were caught, convicted and sent to the penitentiary.

Methodism in Erie county began in Springfield township, when Mrs. John Mershon, who had been married the year before, in 1800 induced Rev. John Bowen to hold services at the Mershon home. It resulted in the organization of a class in 1801, and the erection of a meetinghouse in 1804, about a mile south of West Springfield. The denomination grew rapidly until in time there were four societies in the township. The Cottage church which stood on the Ridge road about a half-mile west of West Springfield, was begun in 1830 and finished in 1836. The present church at West Springfield, a brick building, was erected in 1854, and the church at East Springfield, also of brick, was built about 1866. The second parsonage in Erie Conference was built at Springfield. The first Presbyterian church in the township, a log cabin, stood on the old portion of the cemetery grounds, and was built in 1804. A preaching point was established at Springfield in that year by Rev. Robert Patterson of North East, who was then the only settled minister in the county. The congregation was organized in 1806, by Rev. Johnston Eaton, pastor of the church at Fairview, who assumed the same relation with the Springfield church in 1808, and this relation continued until November 8, 1814. The original congregation consisted of about thirty members,

and Isaac Miller, James Blair and James Bruce were the first elders. The Presbyterian church was built in 1844 at a cost of $4,000. The Christian church at East Springfield was organized with twelve members in 1826 by Rev. Asa C. Morrison and Rev. Joseph Marsh was its first pastor. The church was built in 1839. The Baptist congregation was also organized in 1826 and erected a church in 1833. This building was sold to the township for a town hall, and in 1858 a new church was erected at West Springfield. Rev. Asa Jacobs was the first pastor. The Universalist congregation was organized in 1848 at West Springfield and built a church in 1850.

The cemetery at East Springfield is the principal burying place of the township and consists of eighteen acres of high gravelly land just north of the village. It was orginally the burial ground of the Presbyterian church, to which other land was added by purchase. The cemetery was surveyed in 1864 by John H. Millar and graded by Robert P. Holliday and the first interment was that of Henry Keith in August, 1864, before the work was completed. The original officers were William Holliday, president; I. Newton Miller, secretary; T. Webster, treasurer; William Cross, Samuel Holliday, Henry Teller, J. M. Strong and Samuel H. Brindle, managers. Judge Cross was elected president in 1878. The cemetery is tastefully laid out, kept with the greatest care and is the pride of the people. Funerals come from Girard, Elkcreek and Conneaut. During the war for the Union, Springfield contributed 150 men to the army. Every one of the patriots who has passed over, has a headstone in the cemetery at the expense of the township.

The village of East Springfield, the earliest of the small communities that sprang up in the township, and the most active, was incorporated a borough September 5, 1887. At that time it had a population of about 400, and with three churches, a large school, a hotel, one general store, two groceries, hardware, millinery and drug stores, harness shop, tailor shop, meat market, three smithies, a wagon shop, furniture store and undertaking establishment, and other business enterprises, with a residence section exceedingly attractive, was a fit candidate for promotion.

West Springfield almost as old, and always distinguished by its modern and progressive spirit, possessing three churches, a school, a cheese factory, hotel, stores, tile works, blacksmith shops, a doctor and numbers of fine residences, is the second village of the township.

The third to bear the township's name, North Springfield, came with the railroad, beside which it stands. It occupies a portion of the John Holliday farm, and is supplied with stores, school and other adjuncts of a self-contained rural community.

The public men from the township have been: In the State Legislature, Thomas R. Miller, David A. Gould, I. Newton Miller, Col. E. P. Gould (then resident in Erie), S. D. Ware; associate judge, William Cross; prothonotary, Major S. V. Holliday; county superintendent of

schools, L. W. Savage; register and recorder, Samuel Rea, Jr., Henry G. Harvey; county treasurer, Thomas J. Devore; county commissioner, Thomas R. Miller, Richard Robinson; director of the poor, Thomas R. Miller, John Spaulding, J. O. Smith; county auditor, John Eagley; mercantile appraiser, Samuel Rea Jr., Perry Devore; county surveyor, Robert P. Holliday, George M. Robison, E. J. Hollenbeck. Hon. Humphrey A. Hills, who moved into Springfield from Conneaut in 1863, was previously a county commissioner, deputy marshal for taking the census of 1850, commissioner to fix the boundary line between Erie and Crawford, and a member of the State Legislature. E. B. Ward, the Detroit millionaire, was a native of Springfield township, where he began life as a fisherman and sailor. Springfield citizens who have become residents of Erie are Samuel Rea, Col. E. P. Gould, Joseph Patterson, Hon. A. E. Sisson and Frank R. Simmons.

CHAPTER XVI.—SUMMIT.

Erected in 1854.—Who the Early Settlers Were.—The Old French Road—The Railroad—The Mills, Churches and Schools—Noted Criminals.

The last of the townships of Erie county to be organized was Summit, which was created in 1854 out of the western part of Greene, the eastern part of McKean, and a small section from the north of Waterford. Summit is also the smallest of the townships, having an area of 13,143 acres. Its name would suggest that it has the highest land in the county, but this is not so, for there is a general slope upwards to the New York State line, the highest point in the county being in Venango or Greenfield. Summit township proper cannot claim early settlement—that is to say, during the beginnings of the Nineteenth century; but settlements on the land embraced in the township began at a very early date. The first settler was George W. Reed, a son of Col. Seth Reed. Col. Reed, as has been already related, did not long remain in Erie, removing to the Walnut creek valley in South Millcreek in 1796. His son George the same year took up land in Summit and moved onto it, but he remained only a few years, changing his residence to Waterford, where he died in 1847. A tract of land in Walnut creek valley was taken up by Thomas Rees in 1797, but he never occupied it. Oliver Dunn located in the western part of Summit in 1797, but afterwards removed to the Elk creek valley in McKean. In 1800 James and Ebenezer Graham came with their families from Centre county and settled in Summit at what has come to be known as the Graham neighborhood. They were followed soon by Eli Webster and Abijah Hull, who located in the same vicinity. Eli Rockwell went in 1801 and Daniel Lee in 1802. Among other early settlers were Thomas Rees, Jr., and John Way. P. S. Wooley located about 1823 and James Jackson in 1825. The original settlers were chiefly American Protestants. Soon after the erection of the township a large influx of Irish and German Catholics occurred, until at length fully a quarter of the population were of that faith.

The earliest church organization in the township was the Hamlin Methodist Episcopal, in 1837, and the building was erected in 1852. Emanuel Church of the Evangelical Association was formed in 1838, and its church was built in 1863. The United Presbyterian church at

Five Points was organized in 1842 with about twenty-five members, and at the time was called the Elk Creek church, and later the McKean church. It was originally connected with the church of the same denomination at Waterford, by having one-fourth of the time of the minister, Rev. John J. Findley. The church building was erected in 1848. Another congregation of the U. P. church was formed at Whiteford's Corners, where fortnightly services were held in the schoolhouse. St. Matthew's Catholic, near the Hamlin Methodist Episcopal church, was erected in 1867 on land deeded to the society by George Reynolds. At that time a congregation was organized, but it has since been connected with the "Beech Woods" church.

Summit township's roads include the oldest in this part of the State, the military thoroughfare constructed by the French in 1753, which extended the full length of the township. Portions of that road are still in use. The Waterford Turnpike, built in 1806-09, extends diagonally through the centre of Summit township from north to south. The construction of this road was the cause of the abandonment of the old French road as a through thoroughfare. Portions of that first road are occupied by both the Turnpike and the Waterford Plank road. The last named road is also largely within the boundaries of Summit, but it was not built until 1850-51. The eastern part of Summit township is traversed by the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad, from its northern boundary almost to its southern extremity, and there are three way stations on this section of the road—at Langdons, Jackson's and Sampson's.

There are railway stations in Summit, but no villages, and even postoffices are lacking. At one time and another there have been three, a postoffice having been established at Jackson Station soon after the road was opened in 1864, another at the White Church on the Waterford plank road and a third at Whiteford's Corners. All were abandoned, although after a time the last mentioned was revived under the name of Godard. That, however, was before the time of the R. F. D. service. Having no villages there have been no settled industries—or rather, putting it the other way round, and properly,—having had no permanent industries there were no villages. The township is deficient in streams of sufficient volume to furnish power. There are but two, and both are, within the confines of the township, nothing more than the headwaters of streams. Walnut creek crosses the northeast corner and on this in the early days there were four sawmills, but from failure of power as well as the exhaustion of the timber they were in time abandoned. In the eighties two other sawmills, using steam power, were operated, one near W. A. Bean's, and one at Sampson's, on the railroad. Soon the material upon which they depended was exhausted and they were moved away. The collection of houses that each attracted were abandoned when the mills were. At Whiteford's Corners there is a country store, a school house and a number of neat farm houses. The township being

devoted largely to dairying, two creameries have for years been successfully operated, the Excelsior, on the road from the Lake Pleasant road to the Waterford plank road, near the railway, and W. A. Bean's. The Reynolds stone quarry near the Catholic church, owned for years by John Lininger, has for a long time been profitably worked, and there is a smaller quarry, called the Liddell quarry, near the Turnpike. There has been drilling for oil in the township, but without satisfactory results.

The earliest school of which there is any record was that which occupied a deserted log dwelling in which Abijah Hull had lived. The teachers were William Graham in 1818 and a Mr. Huff in 1819. Eli Webster was a resident of the same locality, and his house, on a cross-road that intersected the French road, when vacated became a school in which Moses D. Morey taught during the winter of 1820-21. The next summer Miss Almira Drown taught in the same building. In the winter of 1821-22 Eli Webster taught in a house that had been vacated by John Highland, at Hull's Corners, and in the summer of 1822 Miss Drown taught school on Graham Hill. In 1822 there was a substantial building for school purposes, erected in the Graham neighborhood, and in this school Squire Webster taught as late as 1833, and the venerable gentleman continued to teach in various schools until 1842. With the public school law of the state in force schools multiplied until the township boasted of nine free schools.

Summit township has furnished but two county officers, both county auditors—Eli Webster and John L. Way. In 1821 James McKee was convicted of murdering a sailor man, near the little brewery that used to stand near the northern boundary line of the township, and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment at Philadelphia, but died a few months afterward and in 1872 John A. Hans, who had removed to Erie from Summit, was convicted of murdering Mrs. Catharine Hannan on December 26, 1874, and was sentenced to a term in the penitentiary at Allegheny. Soon after his discharge he died in Erie.

CHAPTER XVII.—UNION.

Earliest Settlers from Ireland—Building of Miles's Mills—Railroad and Oil Booms, Lumber and Woodworking Industries.

When the great forest covered the face of the earth in this part of the State of Pennsylvania, that region that was in the course of human events to be Union township, Erie county, was remote from the avenues of travel. There were no routes or roads leading to it, nor navigable streams by which it could be reached. The south branch of French creek flows through the township, but that branch was not the traveled one of the upper branches of old Venango river. There was some traffic up the other branch to Wattsburg but none along the south branch by any of the whites that came into this region. For this reason the permanent settlement of Union was not rapid during the first years of the county's history. As originally laid out Union township extended from the Crawford county line to the old state boundary line, including what was set off as Amity township, and in the same laying out, Wayne and Concord of today composed the one township of Brokenstraw. But so sparsely settled had this region been, that all the territory between the Crawford county and old state boundary lines, and from Le Bœuf and Waterford township to the Warren county line, embracing four townships at present, constituted but one election district, and this continued until 1821.

One reason for the tardiness in the settlement has just been given. Another is that in Union township there are no extensive tracts of level land, such as would tempt those who were selecting lands to be made into farms—and of course the great majority of the seekers for homes in a new country had in mind the farm. When Union township came to be cleared up, it was the lumberman who took the leading part, and after openings had been made in the forest and the green fields appeared, where agriculture was not feasible, that twin science, grazing or dairying, came in. So that in the process of time all that region became more prominent for its dairy products than for the grain produced. The butter and cheese of the Greenfield, Venango, Amity and Union belt took rank as equal to the best in any of the markets of the county. But all this is latter day wisdom with reference to a section this chapter has not yet obtained settlers for.

The first permanent settler in Union township was Hugh Wilson, who came from the north of Ireland, and took up land in 1797. He made a good start that year, for he came early. The next year he secured neighbors, Andrew Thompson with his wife and four children, Matthew Gray with his wife and son Francis B., and Robert Smith taking up land in the vicinity. Better than that, in 1798 John Wilson, his father came direct from Ireland with two daughters, sisters of Hugh, to make their home in America. Jacob Sheppard went in in 1798, but went out again immediately, returning in 1820, however, to become a permanent resident from that time on. Sheppard was from the Susquehanna valley and had not been weaned from the old home by his first visit into the northern and western wilderness. John Fagan was another who moved into Union in 1798 and then moved out again, but he changed to Millcreek, becoming one of the leading farmers on the East Lake road. William Miles moved from the Brokenstraw section into Union in 1800, and his brother-in-law, William Cook, followed from the same section in 1801. During the same year, it is recorded, Abel K. Thompson with five sons and two daughters, and Ferdinand Carroll and family, direct from Ireland, came into Union township. Union has, therefore, the credit of being the first section of Erie county to have immigrants direct from the old sod. So far as has been written down or as tradition preserves it, settlement paused in 1801. There were no new permanent acquisitions until 1816, in that year James Smiley with his wife and six children being added to the colony. Richard Shreve moved in from Crawford county in 1820; Levi Barnes and Abram Emerson came from central New York in 1821. Daniel Dunham became a resident in 1836, and that is the date when the settlement began that established most of the families of Union township of the present day.

The first name enrolled as a settler was a Wilson. The first death was of a Wilson, John, the father of Hugh, who died in 1799. The first child born was Martha, daughter of Hugh Wilson, in 1800. The first marriage (and it was the first in the southern part of the county) was Elizabeth Wilson, a sister of Hugh, to William Smith in 1799—and the second was that of Sarah Wilson, another sister, to Thomas King. Elizabeth Wilson Smith died in Wayne township August 6, 1875, at the age of 99 years—but three older women than she ever lived in Erie county. Hugh Wilson was one of the first justices of the peace in Erie county, having been commissioned by Governor McKean in 1803. Mr. Gray, who came in 1798, started the first tannery in Union township and Mr. Smiley, a settler in 1816, was for years in charge of the mills of Mr. Miles, at Miles's Mills.

The most prominent of the earlier settlers of the township, both in the history of Union and of the rest of the county, was William Miles. He was a native of Ireland and was brought to America when eight years

of age, his parents settling in Eastern Pennsylvania. When a mere youth he volunteered in the Revolutionary army, was taken prisoner when Freeland's fort in Northumberland county was captured, in 1778, by the Indians and British, and was sent to Quebec and kept in confinement for five years. His father was killed in the engagement. When released, after American independence had been acknowledged, Miles returned to the Susquehanna valley, was appointed to survey the Tenth Donation district in this county, decided to remain here, took up land, opened a trading station and boat-landing at Wattsburg, which place he surveyed and named in honor of his father-in-law, moved into Union, built mills on the south branch of French creek at what eventually became Union City, afterwards bought land in Girard township, opened roads, established postoffices, and was in fact, one of the most active, enterprising and useful men the county ever possessed. He died in Girard in 1846, aged eighty-seven years. He was the founder of Union City, which was at first called Miles's Mills. His brother-in-law, William Cook, who followed him into Union from Concord, was surgeon in the army of the Revolution.

The principal industries of Union township, and of the borough, have from the start been those dependant upon or connected with the forest. The cutting of the timber with which the hilly slopes were densely covered, began with the Nineteenth century—almost with the first settler. The first mill built by Mr. Miles was erected in 1800 and 1801—a sawmill and grist-mill combined. From that time to the present the sawing of lumber, and the allied industries of the furniture factories, the barrel factories, the planing mills and door factories, have been the chief industries of the place and flourish to a greater extent than anywhere else in this part of the state, Union City's chair factories and their product being known far and wide. At one time there were fifteen sawmills in the township.

The industries started by William Miles when he moved from Concord in 1800 were of the greatest importance to the people of the time, for the sawmill and the gristmill enabled them to take one step forward out of the hardships that distinguished the life of the pioneer. Quite a settlement in time collected about the mills, but it was more than half a century after the mills had been built and after they had been burned down and rebuilt, before the collection of houses began to assume the character of a real village. In 1855 H. L. Church, A. L. Summerton and D. M. McLeod moved in from Warren, and acquiring the mills, rebuilt them, started a store and sold some lots of the farm property they had secured. This proceeding started things at Miles's Mills. Much of the land in the neighborhood was owned by James Miles, a son of William, and under his direction David Wilson platted the Miles holdings into town lots. At about the same time that portion of the vicinity which later

came to be known as Summerton Hill, was surveyed into town lots. Now all this activity came about for the reason that something modern was coming that way. In 1852 James Miles had been elected a director of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad. The original survey of the line carried it eastward by way of Wattsburg. But Mr. Miles, as a director, worked for and succeeded in getting a change of plan by which the route was carried through Union and up the valley of the south fork. With the coming of the railroad the breath of life was imparted into what had theretofore been an unpromising mill village. The railroad was opened to Union in 1858, and it began already to be a town. In 1859 P. G. Stranahan moved in from the Moravian Flats and, purchasing some of the Miles property, opened a section south of the creek. In 1862 the Atlantic & Great Western Railroad was built through Union, and this furnished an additional impetus to the boom, greatly increasing the value of land on the south side.

In 1865 the village was incorporated as the borough of Union Mills. The same year James Sill, P. G. Stranahan and Joseph Sill bought the Black farm and laid it out in lots. In 1866 James Sill bought the Tourtellott farm on the north side, and in 1873 E. W. Hatch acquired the Smiley farm adjoining, both of which were laid out in lots, and considerable of the property sold. At about the same time T. B. Shreve laid out an addition south of the A. & G. W. Railroad.

The impulse given to the development of Union by the building of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad was followed by another and stronger, imparted by the discovery of petroleum in the vicinity of Titusville. This important new development found the region destitute of means of communication. Not only were there no railroads, in the oil region, but the wagon roads were few and wretched. Much of the oil produced was sent down the creek in barges. Much was teamed over the terrible highways to Union, which was the nearest railroad station. Three refineries were in operation in 1862, and a number of large cooper shops were driven to the limit of their capacity by the demand for barrels—for all the oil, crude and refined, was then shipped in barrels. But the people of Union had not been sufficiently far-sighted to anticipate events. If they had been they might have induced the Oil Creek Railroad to have made Union its northern terminus. There was no James Miles in the directorate of the Oil Creek road, so it went to Corry, and when at last the Union & Titusville Railroad was built, in 1871, it was forever too late, for the oil center had shifted, as it has so often done and the railroad enterprise was a losing venture. But Union was not asleep. The refineries were lost. In their stead, however, there was built at Union the largest manufactory of barrels on the continent. It was begun by Woods & Johnson in 1870, and was prosperous until developments in the oil business produced the pipe line and the tank car.

The experience that came out of the era of oil was not lost upon the people of Union. They took for a motto "circumspice." Manufacturing was the desideratum. About them was the raw material in what seemed to be inexhaustible abundance. Out of the forests upon the sloping hills and the valleys between they had found material to meet the demands of the cooperages in the days of oil. Out of these same forests other things might be manufactured. There was little delay. The planing mills sprang up and the shops in which furniture was made. They grew in dimensions and increased in numbers until Union City,—for its charter was amended in 1871, changing the name—became a centre for the manufacture of furniture and especially of chairs.

Union City's growth has been steady, and it has been symmetrical. The residential sections show thrift and culture and domestic taste. There are no sections of the town that can be said to be down at the heel. The residences are neat and attractive in the localities where wealth has not come; in the sections of the well-to-do they are handsome; in all parts of the town the buildings are well kept up and the grounds are well cared for. It is well provided with churches, liberally sustained.

The Presbyterian congregation, organized in 1811, worships in a church that was dedicated in 1874, replacing an older church that had been outgrown, and a fine chapel, the gift of Mrs. Jane Gray, the widow of Robert Gray, was added in 1879.

The Methodist Episcopal congregation was organized in 1817, its first church built in 1847, and a second one in 1862.

St. Teresa's Catholic church was organized in 1857, and under Rev. T. Lonnergan, of Corry, who took charge in 1860 a church building was erected. The parochial school was built in 1866 and enlarged in 1875. A new church was built in 1906 at a cost of $15,000, and is in charge of a resident pastor.

The Baptist church was formed in 1859 and in 1862 Rev. A. B. Bush became pastor and during his term of service a place of meeting was erected.

The United Brethren society, begun in 1872, in 1876 erected a church building.

Episcopal services were first held in 1866 in the old Town Hall. A building lot was bought in 1877; the corner stone of a church was laid in 1888, and the completed church dedicated September 21, 1893. On April 3, 1894 the mission became a regularly organized parish, connected with the diocese of Erie.

Evergreen Cemetery, the principal burial place of the county, owes its existence to David Wilson, who laid out the grounds and was the first president of the association. It was dedicated in 1865. The soldiers' monument in this cemetery was dedicated on May 30, 1884. The Catholic cemetery was consecrated in 1860.

Union City, like many another community has had to come through the fiery furnace of affliction to be brought into the sure and safe upward way. Of the furnace of affliction Union certainly has had its full measure of experience. The first of its trials by fire was the conflagration that has come to be known in local tradition as the Brooklyn fire. Brooklyn is the section south of the creek—across the river from the original town of Union, so by analogy the name was bestowed upon it. On the 26th of December, 1879, fire started in the Stranahan block on Main street and rapidly spread both ways, stopped at the north by the creek and at the south by the end of the built-up section. There were three blocks burned over, including twenty-seven buildings. The loss amounted to $75,000, and was the most serious in the history of the place. The fire, it was learned after careful investigation, had its origin in a box of waste that stood in the hallway in the centre of the block, ignited spontaneously. It was a severe loss to the town, though the buildings destroyed were wooden.

The energy of the citizens quickly turned the loss to profit. In the course of a few years the burned district was rebuilt, and the new structures were mostly of brick, and in nearly every instance a great improvement upon what had been. Near the centre of the burned district in 1884 the town hall was erected, a handsome brick building with accommodations for the town clerk and other officers, council meetings and public gatherings, as well as for the storage of fire apparatus. The Brooklyn fire besides opened a chapter of municipal development, that followed up by others has rounded out the record of the borough into a very respectable narrative. Before the fire the borough had the creek and a crude fire extinguisher. During the fire both had to keep their distance, so that both were saved to become a text for a lecture that the people took to heart.

Immediately steps were taken to perfect an organization for fighting fire. Two well-drilled hose companies and a hook and ladder company are the result, all of the volunteer order, but each paid an annual stipend by the borough council. The membership of the companies take pride in their work, and each has provided itself with comfortable club rooms, secured a large contributing membership and maintains a high efficiency in the working force. It was but a partial remedy to obtain the services of willing workers as firemen. More was needed. Water. In 1893 a waterworks system was established, a suitable location being selected where the water of a number of strong springs was impounded, a reservoir constructed and pipes for gravity service laid.

Experience demonstrated that emergencies were likely to arise in which the water service from the springs would not be adequate to the demand. There had been a disastrous fire in 1882 that began in Hineman & Cheney's chair factory and burned eight buildings, involving a loss of $50,000. In 1884 a row of business buildings on Main street

adjoining the Johnson House were burned, resulting in a $12,000 loss. In 1895, a fire that started on the second floor of the Cooper block caused a loss of $27,000. In 1906 the Standard chair factory was destroyed with a large loss, and in 1907 the Union City chair factory fire with a still larger loss. These all demonstrated an imperative need; for more water. This was provided by building a station and installing powerful pumping engines just east of the bridge in order that water from the creek might be pumped into the mains, supplementing the ordinary water supply, and now the community feels a tolerably high sense of security.

Public improvements did not end with providing a water supply. There were other things the progressive community demanded. Paving and a system of sewerage were soon regarded as necessary, and the beginnings came contemporaneously. In 1899 three of the principal streets were paved with vitrified brick, and in these very properly, sewers were laid. A general sewer system for the borough was not adopted at the time, however. That came later. In pursuance with the requirements of the State Board of Health a plan is maturing, the borough for the present being permitted to make use of the creek.

Along the lines of civic development, to meet the modern demands of business as well as of private life, the postoffice department has recognized the needs of this busy, thriving community, by establishing a letter carrier service. This was inaugurated December 1, 1903, under Postmaster D. A. Wright. The city's health, also, is now cared for by a sanitary board. Electric lighting came in 1901, and at the present the streets, as well as the residences and stores, are well lighted, the Union City Electric Light & Power Co. furnishing light for the borough under a five-year contract.

There have been two disastrous floods in the history of Union City, the first in 1882. Ten years later the worst ever known in that valley occurred. Bridges were swept away, the railroad tracks inundated, and in the borough the water flowed across Main street cutting great gullies in the roadway and working extensive damage.

Union City became an industrial centre when Miles's saw and grist-mills were built in 1800, and from that time to the present through a decade more than a century the place has been a centre of manufacturing in lines connected with wood-working. Many enterprises large in their day have vanished, some, as in the case of the oil barrel factories, having gone out through the necessities of the changing business situation. There still remain some industries that have continued, through changes of owners and something of change in the character of their product, for more than sixty years. An example is the mill of H. Clark & Son, on the South Branch of French creek at the eastern end of the borough. This industry was established in 1842 by Clark & Sherwood, who sawed

lumber. Originally, it was an ordinary country sawmill, but, passing successively through changes of ownership—J. B. Clark & Bro., then Haniel Clark, then Haniel Clark & Son, (the present firm name, although Haniel Clark has been dead for ten years)—enlargements and additions were frequently made, the product varied, "D" shovel handles and pork barrel staves and at length sash and doors and interior wood finish, until at the present its business of producing fine interior wood finish has become so extensive as to require a branch at Corry.

The history of the Caflisch Bros.' mill, still in operation, covers even a greater space of time. Started in the thirties by Peter Thompson and C. P. Rouse, Brunstetter and Bentley, W. Hunter, and others, it came into the possession of Caflisch Brothers twenty-four years ago. A planing mill was added seventeen years ago, and there have since been other additions and enlargements, the product being lumber of the order generally known as "bill stuff." Younger in years and of a different line are the two gristmills that continue to do a prosperous business to the present time. The Stranahan mill built in 1870 by a stock company, of which P. G. Stranahan was the organizer, was sold in 1880 to the Camp Milling Co. and greatly enlarged. It was operated as a flouring mill until 1907, when it became a feed mill, though the company continues to be merchants in flour. The Clark mill was built by Haniel Clark & Co. in 1887, engaging in the manufacture of flour and feed. Its capacity at the start was 100 barrels per day, but later it was enlarged to 200 barrels capacity. The product of this mill is sold and shipped over a territory of a radius of 150 miles.

The furniture business, however, is what distinguishes Union City, and several factories of gigantic proportions establish the right of Union City to the title of the principal furniture town of the State. Not a few of these enterprises have suffered from fire, but generally they have recovered and resumed on a larger scale than before. The Standard Chair Co., organized in 1898 and incorporated in 1900, was burned in 1903, but was rebuilt on a vastly larger scale at once, the product being wooden, upholstered and roll-seat chairs. The Shreve Chair Co., incorporated in 1903, manufacturers of wooden and cobbler-seat chairs and rockers, is established in mammoth buildings, near the Erie Railroad. The Novelty Wood Works Co., established in 1884 and incorporated in 1900, manufactures furniture, and has never known anything but prosperity, its history of a quarter of a century being one of constant enlargement. The Universal Chair Co., chartered in 1909, engaged in the manufacture of high-grade box-seat chairs, has for its officers B. W. Middleton, president; Willis Baker, vice-president and secretary, and E. B. Landsrath, treasurer. The Lewis P. Hanson Company for a number of years conducted a successful business in the manufacture of chairs. It was founded by Blanchard & Hanson, Mr. Hanson at length succeeding as sole owner. Upon the death of Mr. Hanson, his widow continued

the business. In 1907 the factory was destroyed by fire, but Mrs. Hanson at once proceeded to rebuild, a brick structure of three stories with cement floors and larger in area than the old replacing the loss. The most notable case of factory resurrection is that of the Union City Chair Co. Burned in 1907, the company proceeded at once to rebuild. The old factory was of wood. The new, completed in 1908, is of brick and cement. It is equipped throughout with the most modern machinery and appliances and, profiting by costly experience, had made provision against a recurrence of the disaster by establishing its own system of fire protection which consists of a reservoir of great capacity back on the hills, from which the water is conveyed to the pipes of the sprinkler system with which the building is provided. The Union City Chair Co. was incorporated in 1900.

There are other wood-working industries, connected in a way with the furniture factories. The J. F. Kamerer Company dates from 1901, but originated many years ago in the mill established by J. F. Kamerer, the company being formed upon his death. The product is lumber, wood novelties and chair stock. Of the same order is the Variety Turning works, established about 1894, and managed by Charles Eastman.

Union City's banking experience in the past was not altogether satisfactory. For many years, and during his lifetime Ezra Cooper conducted a banking business with something of success, but generally there was disappointment attending the business of banking, or resulting therefrom. More than one serious failure occurred, the most notable being that of the Union City National Bank early in the eighties. In financial matters as well as other lines of business, however, Union City learned its lesson well, and at length this important adjunct to general business came to be established upon a sound footing. The National Bank of Union City was chartered in 1898 with a capital of $50,000. It was not the successor of the Farmers' Co-operative Trust Co., a private banking concern that had been for a time engaged in business, and which it immediately supplanted, but establishing itself at once, rapidly acquired strength and prestige. In 1906 the capital was increased to $100,000, and in 1908 erected a handsome new banking house, built by Hoggan Brothers of New York, specialists in that line, who furnished it with complete modern equipment throughout. The Home National Bank was chartered in 1907, with a capital of $50,000 and opened for business September 23, of that year, in temporary quarters on Crooked street. Its officers were D. G. Smiley, president; Rulaf Fuller, vice-president; James M. Dunbar, cashier; F. D. Smiley, assistant, and D. G. Smiley, E. A. Shreve, L. D. Shreve, Rulaf Fuller, W. M. Rouse, F. J. Kamerer, Edwin P. Clark, George W. Brooks, W. E. Everson, W. M. Hawthorne, and J. M. Dunbar, directors. In July, 1908, a handsome new banking house was completed and occupied.

Union City can boast of one of the handsomest school buildings in the county. It is a brick structure, occupying a commanding position, and built to meet not only present requirements but the demands of the future. Work was begun upon it in July, 1906, and it was ready for occupancy at the close of the summer vacation in September, 1907.

Another important addition to the borough was made in 1901, when the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. erected the attractive brick station which the greatly increased business of the place demanded. It is modern in every respect and cost $10,000 or more.

On November 3, 1908, a charter was granted to the Union City Free Library Association upon the petition of a large number of the ladies of the town, representing the various societies or clubs of women then in existence. The first officers were Mrs. Ida B. Moore, president; Mrs. Emma Hubble, vice-president; Mrs. F. E. McLean, treasurer; Mrs. C. J. Mahoney, secretary, and Miss Hellen T. Slack, librarian. It is a provision of the charter that the income from voluntary contributions shall not exceed $10,000 per year, other than the income derived from real estate. The library and reading room that have been established are supported partly from donations and what the borough council has contributed, and partly through the efforts of the lady corporators, in the way of markets and such enterprises.

Union City and township have furnished the following public officers: Assembly, J. R. Mulkie; sheriff, F. E. Staples; county treasurer, W. O. Black, C. W. Keller; county commissioner, Robert Gray, William Putnam, A. O. Gillett, Clinton B. Smith; jury commissioner, P. G. Stranahan, James D. Phillips, G. G. Smith; county superintendent of schools, Charles Twining; director of the poor, Andrew Thompson, M. B. Chamberlain, Jefferson Triscuit; county surveyor, David Wilson; county auditor, Robert Gray, Thomas Woods; county detective, Dan. Mitchell; mercantile appraiser, John C. McLean.

CHAPTER XVIII.—VENANGO.

First Explored by William Miles in 1785.—Head of Navigation on French Creek.—Prominent Men of Early Times. —Borough of Wattsburg.

But two of the townships of Erie county, bear names of Indian derivation. One of these is Venango, which was the name given by the French to that branch of the Allegheny river now less appropriately designated French creek. According to all rules the right to bestow a name rests with the discoverer, and therefore, when the French, who first explored it, called the stream the Venango river, they not only exercised a just prerogative, but bestowed upon it a title fit and proper, derived as it was from the aborigines, and indeed by them bestowed upon the stream for reasons good and sufficient to themselves before the Frenchmen came. The real or proper orthography of the word is said to be Innungah, which form was altered by the French to accord with their interpretation of the Indian pronunciation The naming of the Venango river is attributed to the Senecas, who, when they drove the Eries out and took possession of the territory found rudely carved on a tree at the mouth of the stream, an indecent figure, probably intended as a cartoon to insult the conquerors. Venango was one of the original sixteen townships, but, located in the southeastern corner of the Triangle, had two of its boundary lines surveyed years before the county of Erie had an existence. The eastern line was established in 1788 by the commission which determined that the western boundary of New York State was on the meridian of the western extremity of Lake Ontario. The southern boundary line was surveyed by the joint commission of New York and Pennsylvania in 1787. The northeastern part of Venango township is said to be the most elevated land in the county.

There is no doubt that the first white man who visited Venango township was William Miles, who in 1785, came out into that particular section of the great forest along with David Watts as a surveyor. He became so enamored with the flats at the junction of the east and west branches of French creek, that when he had completed his report upon going east, he returned in 1795, and took up 1,400 acres of land including the site of Wattsburg. He was followed in 1796, by Adam Reed and his son James, who located 400 acres of land on the east branch of the

creek, and later built the first mill in the township. Thomas Smith settled at Lowville in the same year and was soon followed by Burrill and Zalmon Tracy. In 1797 John and David Phillips acquired 1,100 acres on which Phillipsville now stands, the name of course being derived from those pioneers. In 1798 William Allison and wife with their son James, from Northumberland county, settled near Lake Pleasant. In 1822 Samuel Low and his brother-in-law, Dr. Wright, both from Genesee county, N. Y., settled at Lowville. Timothy Butler and his father, from Onondaga county, N. Y., came to the township in 1816; John R. Smith, about 1826; David Bailey in 1828, and Dr. D. T. Bennett in 1829. William Blore, the Chapins, the Tituses and others took up their residence in Venango in 1830. The Norcrosses and Davisons, who had located on the high land close to Lake Pleasant, changed to Millcreek. John Warren, another of the early settlers, moved to Erie in 1810. During the period from 1810 to 1820 there was little increase, but about the latter year a new influx, mostly from New York State began, and their descendants generally remain. For many years the nearest stores were at Erie and Waterford and the nearest gristmills at North East and Union. Most of the earliest settlers were Scotch Presbyterians from the Susquehanna Valley. The first child born in the township was Robert, son of William Allison, in 1799. The first death was that of Adam Reed, in 1805. Samuel Henderson came from Carlisle in 1795 with William Miles, and the winter of that year he engaged in driving pack-horses to and from the mouth of French creek. He and his brother Stuart located 400 acres of land in the spring of 1798 and then went to Fayette county and married.

A complete list of the early settlers is afforded by the schedule of taxable citizens made in 1800, which has these names: William Allison, Hezekiah and Philo Barker; Henry Bontz; John Boyd; John, William and Thomas Carnahan; John Clark; Thomas Davison, Sr.; Francis, Robert, George, Arthur and Thomas Davison, Jr.; John and William Dickson; Bailey, John and James Donaldson; John Dickson, Jr.; Samuel and Stuart Henderson; Stephen Hazleton; James and John Hunter; Thomas Hinton, Jr.; Robert and Wilson Johnson; John B. Jones; Caleb Lyon; David McNair; Joseph McGahen; William Miles; Barnabas McCue; Andrew Norcross; John, James M., and David Phillips; Thomas Prentice; James Perry; James M., Thomas E. and Robert R. Reed; Ralph Spafford; Thomas, Samuel and John Smith; Benjamin Saxton; Zalmon and Burrill Tracy; Nathaniel Wilson; John Warren and John Yost.

Company E, of the 136th Regiment of Pennsylvania militia was mustered in Venango township for service in the war of 1812, with William Dickson as captain and Robert Davison as lieutenant. In April, 1813, Dickson moved from the county, when Lieut. Davison assumed command. The company was called out June, 1813, and guarded the

ship-yard at the mouth of Cascade creek, where Perry's ships were being built, and when the fleet sailed were ordered home, but were ordered out again when news came that the British had burned Buffalo.

There are no railroads in Venango, but the common roads are numerous and many of them among the first constructed in Erie county. The Wattsburg and North East road, through Greenfield dates back to 1798. The road from Waterford to North East, through Phillipsville and Colts station was laid out in 1804. The Erie and Wattsburg road, by way of Phillipsville was opened in 1809, but was changed in 1828 and improved in 1832. The Lake Pleasant road, from Erie to Wattsburg by way of the lake, was begun in 1821 and finished in 1827. The Erie and Wattsburg plank road was completed in 1853, but abandoned in 1865, when the indignant farmers had made a wreck of every toll gate on the route. Thereafter it became a public road. The other roads, namely, the Wattsburg and New York, to Clymer; the Union and Wattsburg, and the Wattsburg and Corry, have all been in use for more than a half century. For many years the North East and Wattsburg road was much in use for conveying goods between Lake Erie and the Allegheny river.

The earliest of the mills of the township was that of Adam Reed, built in the very beginning of last century in the vicinity of Wattsburg. The grist-mill at Lowville was built in 1822, has been remodeled, and frequently changed owners. At the same place saw and shingle mills long did a prosperous business. In later years the mills have been operated chiefly by steam, and include a saw-mill near Robison's Corners; one on the farm of William Henderson, one on John H. Bennett farm on the east branch, one owned by Henry Jenkins and the Jones shingle mill. Phillipsville maintained a creamery and cheese factory, and just below Wattsburg, over the line of Amity township, there is another creamery that depends chiefly upon Venango for its supply of milk.

The first church built in the county of Erie was the Middlebrook church, located in Venango about a mile and a half north of Lowville. It was erected in 1801 in a single day by all the young men of the township, who had formed a "bee" for the purpose. It was a cabin of logs, but served until 1802, when there was built a larger and better house, but of the same construction, except that the logs were hewed, and this served until the church was abandoned, and in 1829, what remained of the congregation was attached to the Presbyterian church at Wattsburg. The Lowville M. E. church was organized in 1875 and built its meeting house in 1876 at a cost of $2,500. Rev. J. A. Kummer was the first pastor. The M. E. church at Phillipsville was organized prior to 1848 and the church building was erected in 1862 on land deeded to it by Norman Chapin. Besides these a church organization of the M. E. denomination built a church at Macedonia in 1890. The United Brethren have two churches, one on the Lake Pleasant road near the head of the lake, built in 1872,

and the second, near Wick's Corners, erected in 1890. There is an Advent church at Lowville, built in 1893.

Two villages have taken root in Venango, of which the larger is Lowville, which owes its existence to Samuel Low, who moved in from New York State in 1822, and built a saw and grist mill. It is on the west branch of French creek, eighteen miles from Erie, and the Wattsburg plank road forms its main street. The town house of Venango is located at Lowville and was built in 1872. Although the enterprises of Mr Low proved unprofitable and he was compelled for that reason to pull up his stakes and abandon the field, the village continued, in time attaining to the importance of sustaining the church, a school, several stores, blacksmith and wagon shops, a creditable cemetery and at one time thirty houses or more. Col. Wareham Warner carried on a tannery for a number of years, but the business was discontinued about 1861. Phillipsville was founded by Gen. John Phillips of political fame, who, with his father and brothers, took up a tract of land in 1797. In 1810 he opened a tavern on the Waterford and North East road and conducted it for some years, and in the course of time considerable of a village grew up, containing a church and school, stores, a smithy and a creamery, besides a collection of dwellings.

John Phillips, above referred to, was paymaster general in the war of 1812, under Gen. Harrison. He received the money, to pay off the army, in silver at Pittsburg, and carried it through the wilderness to Fort Meigs on pack-horses. He served for years as the first representative of Erie county in the State Legislature, and was afterwards appointed Canal Commissioner of the State and served for a number of years as justice of the peace. The first postoffice at Phillipsville was established in 1829 with James Phillips as postmaster. At that time a post route was established between Jamestown and Erie, and the mail was carried on foot, the route from Phillipsville to Erie being through the forest, with nothing to mark the way but blazed trees. At the beginning, with no roads for wagons, oxen and sleds were used summer and winter to transport the produce of the farms and the household supplies. The chief products of the time were maple sugar and black salts or potash. The salts were sold at Colt's Station for $2.50 per hundredweight, half cash and half store pay, the cash part to pay taxes and buy leather for shoes. The school teacher was paid $12 dollars per month in maple sugar at six cents per pound. Then the forest abounded in bear, wolves and deer.

Besides Gen. John Phillips the citizens of Venango who have filled public office were: Wareham Warner, member of Assembly; Giles D. Price, prothonotary, clerk of county commissioners and deputy collector of customs at Erie; Charles L. Pierce, clerk of the courts; John Warren, county treasurer; John Phillips, Samuel Low, Jacob Fritts, Daniel W. Titus, and C. R. Gray, county commissioners. Col. J. S.,

M. Rush and Joseph Warner, well known Erie business men were born at Lowville. Venango men who served as officers in the Union army in the sixties were: J. S. Warner, a colonel; D. B. Foote, a captain, and Dr. S. F. Chapin, a surgeon.

Wattsburg was foreordained by William Miles, who, as early as 1785, had become enamored of the location, and in 1796, upon his return from the east, made the first clearing and built a store house as a depot of supplies for the surrounding country, and for the purchase of furs. It was the terminus of the first road built from the lake in North East, through Colt's Station to French creek, the Wattsburg end being opened in 1800. In 1809, through the joint persuasion of Mr. Miles and the Russells of Millcreek a road was opened from Erie to the Forks of French creek, the site of the embryo village, and in 1822 the County Commissioners were induced to build a bridge over the West Branch, that being the first permanent bridge in the county. During that year, 1822, he erected a grist and saw-mill and induced Lyman Robinson of North East, a surveyor, to move over and build a tavern. In 1828 Mr. Miles laid out Wattsburg, naming it after his father-in-law, David Watts of Carlisle. In February of the same year he had a postoffice established, a post route from Jamestown to Erie having been opened at that time.

Wattsburg was incorporated as a borough in 1833, and stands on the wide and fertile plain included in the angle formed by the east and west branches of French creek, in the southern edge of Venango township and is about eighteen miles from Erie by the most direct of three roads. It contains three churches. The M. E. congregation was organized in 1827 by Elder Knapp; the first church was built in 1831, and the present one in 1861 at a cost of $3,400. The Presbyterian congregation, organized in 1826, is the legitimate successor of the pioneer Middlebrook church; the first church was built about 1828; the second in 1855. For a time it was served jointly with the Middlebrook church by Rev. Absalom McCready, but in 1833 was recognized by the Presbytery as a separate congregation. The Baptist church at Wattsburg was organized in 1850 with twenty-two members, and erected a place of worship in 1851.

Wattsburg Lodge No. 533 of the Masonic order was instituted in March, 1875. The Knights of Honor lodge was organized in 1877; the Odd Fellows in 1889; the Grange in 1874; the post of the G. A. R. in 1882; the W. R. C. in 1882, and the branch of the State Police in 1877.

The Agricultural Society of Wattsburg has for many years been one of the most successful organizations of its kind in this part of the state, and its annual fairs have been deservedly popular. As a butter market Wattsburg has for forty years or more maintained an exalted place, Wattsburg butter taking rank with Chautauqua butter in the New York market, and commanding as good a price. Wattsburg has had its newspapers, the first venture in that field being the *Chronicle* begun in 1878

by W. A. Moore, but discontinued after a year. In 1881 the Wattsburg *Occasional* was started by R. P. Holliday, and published, as its name implies, with some irregularity until it was succeeded by the Wattsburg *Chronicle*, undertaken by Dr. S. F. Chapin in 1884 and continued by him until he took up his residence in Erie as surgeon of the Soldiers and Sailors Home.

The schools of Wattsburg date back to 1821, when a house was erected on the site that has ever since been occupied by the village temple of learning. The present school was erected in 1852, and graded schools began in 1878. The first county superintendent of public schools, William H. Armstrong, was from Wattsburg, his term beginning in 1854.

Of the public men of the county, Wattsburg furnished these: Lyman Robinson, Byron S. Hill, Samuel F. Chapin and A. W. Hayes, members of the Assembly; Lyman Robinson, county commissioner; Newton T. Hume, county treasurer; O. J. McAllister, director of the poor; D. N. Patterson, Robert Leslie and C. N. Smith, jury commissioners; James T. Ensworth and O. J. McAllister, mercantile appraisers; W. Barry Smith, poor directors' clerk.

Of prominent Erie citizens these were from Wattsburg: Joseph Williams, banker; P. G. Finn, Heman Janes, Amos C. Williams. Wattsburg citizens who became conspicuous elsewhere, were: Richard Blore of Colorado; H. T., William, Augustus and Artemas Clarke, and L. S. and H. F. Chapin of Nebraska; Hon. Mr. Walling of Ohio; L. C. Chapin, professor in Yale University for twelve years; Buchanan and Samuel Nelson of Chicago, David Preston of Detroit, the well known Town family, W. T. Everson of Union City, and Hector McLean of Rochester, N. Y.

CHAPTER XIX.—WASHINGTON.

THE SETTLEMENT AROUND THE LAKE.—THE BOROUGH OF EDINBORO.—THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.—THE EARLY MILLS AND LATER INDUSTRIES.

Washington township was one of the earliest settled sections of the county, and has the distinction of having been more than any other a subject of organized settlement. In 1796 Alexander Hamilton and William Culbertson came from Lycoming county, prospecting in the new territory that had been opened up for new settlers. They stopped by the shores of a beautiful lake, and, impressed by the promising aspect of the country round about, selected lands with the purpose in view of establishing a colony. They then returned to Lycoming to carry out their plan. Mr. Culbertson was one of the leading citizens of Lycoming, known throughout its entire bounds. The city of Williamsport obtained its name from him. When, therefore it became known that he had found a section of country that in his judgment was far better fitted for homes such as the pioneer people of the time were in search of than that consisting of narrow valleys and steep high hills it was not a very difficult matter to interest a considerable number of people. For the new location, it was pointed out, consisted of comparatively level country, the valleys wide, the hills low and the soil deep and rich. Such a country appealed to those who were desirous of securing farms.

In 1797 Messrs. Hamilton and Culbertson returned to Erie county, and were followed during the same year by Job Reeder, Samuel Galloway, Simeon Dunn, John and James Campbell, Matthias Sipps, John McWilliams, Phineas McLenathan, Matthew Hamilton, James, John, Andrew and Samuel Culbertson, Mrs. Jane Campbell (a widow) and two sons and a daughter named Hannah, and the wives of Alexander Hamilton and William Culbertson. These all came early in the spring; later others arrived so that during that year 1797, about fifty colonists had decided to make their homes in the vicinity of the little lake in the midst of the forest. The same fall Mrs. Campbell, well pleased with the prospect opened up in the new country, returned to the banks of the Susquehanna and in the spring brought her three other children to Erie county, and this family of seven—mother and six children—took up 1,000 acres of land, building a number of cabins, and occupying them (which was easily

possible) to comply with the conditions necessary to hold the land. James Culbertson located upon what in later days came to be known as the Hardman farm; John Culbertson took up a tract that in time was subdivided and became the Lick, Webster and Giles farms, and William Culbertson's original location was on what is now called the old Kinter farm.

William Culbertson, perhaps the most energetic and enterprising of the pioneers of Washington, changed his location and, settling on the stream at the outlet of the lake, took up a tract that embraced practically all of the present borough of Edinboro. When the region was first settled the lake was about a mile long and three-quarters of a mile wide. When William Culbertson changed his base he set about erecting a mill. It was built in 1801, and was the third mill to be erected in the county of Erie. It was located on the creek a short distance below the outlet of the lake, and a dam was constructed to obtain sufficient power. This dam greatly enlarged the area of the lake, and that mill-site being continuously occupied up to almost the present time, for a century Conneauttee Lake continued of its enlarged proportions. The enlargement of the lake had the unfortunate result that its eastern margin was during all that long period disfigured by the stumps of the trees that had been drowned out, and these stumps, most of them, remain to the present, although the recent carrying away of the dam has reduced the lake to its original proportions and left the stumps high and dry.

Mr. Culbertson built the first house in Edinboro—of course long before the village was incorporated—and the year after he built the grist-mill he added a sawmill, the latter a very desirable acquisition in the young colony. Most of the names in the list of first settlers, given above, will be recognized as among the leading names of the present time in Washington and Edinboro. The locality did not cease to attract when the initial colony had been settled. New families continued to move in. Other settlers who became prominent, and whose descendants took active part in the development of Washington township were Peter Kline, who came in 1798, James Graham in 1800, Daniel Sherod in 1802, John Tanner and Davis Pifer in 1805, Simeon Meacham in 1814, Judah Wells in 1816, John C. Reeder in 1817, Robert McLallen, James Port and Nathaniel Eldridge in 1818, Isaac Taylor and Nathaniel Gardner in 1819, Samuel Reeder in 1822, Moses Reeder in 1825, Jesse Lewis in 1826, Davis McLallen and Henry R. Terry in 1827, Jacob Lefevre in 1828, Charles McLallen in 1830, Sherman Greenfield and L. B. Goodell in 1832, George Sweet, Levi Twichell and Willard Wellman in 1833, J. J. Compton, Benjamin White, Jesse Tarbell, Wanton Slocum, the Hawkinses and M. M. McLaughrey in 1834, John White, the Proudfits and the Potters in 1835, the Shieldses in 1836. Generally the pioneers came from the eastern part of the state, but Mr. Sweet was from Cayuaga county, N. Y., and Mr. Compton from Delaware county, N. Y. Dr.

J. C. Wilson moved in in 1856. In the valley of Little Conneauttee creek the early settlers included these: Zopher Davis and John Sherwood, who came in 1819, William Palmer, Henry Drake, Russell Stancliff, Ralph D. Phelps and Theodore Phelps.

The first marriage in the Conneauttee settlement was that of Job Reeder to Nancy Campbell, on March 1, 1800, and the first death that of Mrs. William Culbertson in 1804. Jane Culbertson was the first female child born, in 1799, and John Augustus Culbertson the first male child, born in 1800.

Originally the township was named Conneauttee, but confusion resulted from the fact that another township, Conneaut, was so nearly similar in name. Accordingly the new designation of Washington was bestowed in 1834. When the county was first laid out this township was much larger than at present, but in 1844 a large tract from the western part was cut off to form a portion of Franklin township, and later a section from the east was added to Waterford. The first justice of the peace was William Culbertson, and he continued in office for forty years. His successor was Jacob Lefevre.

The first road laid out was the old Waterford road, established in 1802. Soon afterwards a road was cut through the forest from Cranesville to Waterford. There was also a road toward the south, but no direct communication with Erie was established until long afterwards. The route by way of Waterford and the French road to Erie was deemed quite sufficient, and besides, Waterford was considerable of a commercial centre in the early times. Another early road was the state highway from Lockport through McLane (originally it was Compton's Corners) to Waterford, and still another was the Sherrod Hill road from Edinboro to Cussewago, Crawford county. The plank roads began in 1850, and these opened up new routes. It was in that year that the Erie & Edinboro road, chartered by the state, was built, and in the same year the Edinboro & Meadville plank road company was organized. A third plank road that passed through Washington township was the Waterford & Drakes Mills into Crawford county. None of these plank roads proved profitable to the corporations that built them, and after a few years of losing business they were abandoned and became public roads. They all had the merit of being superior to the ordinary roads, being much better graded. The Erie & Edinboro road is now the route of the electric car line that gives Edinboro modern means of communication with the outside world. Not only is there means for convenient and rapid passenger travel afforded by the trolley cars, but an express service has been established, and freight cars from the railroad at Cambridge Springs are brought, laden with coal or other merchandise, to Edinboro, and the village is thus directly connected up with the rest of the country and enjoys fully the modern facilities the development of electrical science has made possible. From the road blazed through the forest to the road

upon which the vehicle was operated by the powerful but occult force that is a discovery of recent years, was in Washington township a span the measure of which was a full century, but in time Edinboro and Washington were with the rest, in the front rank.

In the northern part of the township where the State road running from Lockport to Waterford crosses the Erie & Edinboro road, a little hamlet sprang up in the early days, and was known as Compton's Corners. It attained to something of repute and in time became a postoffice, served from the star route between Erie and Edinboro. Just after the close of the war the name of the place was changed to McLane, in honor of the first colonel of the 83d Pennsylvania Regiment. McLane became something of a centre for local business and boasted of a good general store, for many years kept by Mr. Crandall, and now by the Crandall Co. McLane also became a religious center. In the winter of 1838-39 a Baptist church was organized, but until 1866, the services were held at South Hill and at Branchville. In the latter year a comfortable church was built and has ever since been occupied. In 1863 a Methodist church was organized and in 1867 a meeting house was built. At McLane there is one of the most beautiful rural cemeteries in the county, located upon a charming elevated spot, and well cared for. It has been the burial place for a wide area of country for many years. Close by McLane the Erie Transit Company located its power station, which was built in 1899. The fuel for this power plant is hauled over the trolley line in freight cars from the steam railroad at Cambridge Springs.

McLallen's Corners, situated in the southeast corner of the township, in the valley of Little Conneauttee Creek, at the crossing of the Drakes Mills & Waterford plank road and the road leading to Pollock's bridge in Le Bœuf township, was named after William McLallen, one of the earliest settlers in this neighborhood, but the date of the beginnings of the hamlet is not known. It is a place of no small importance in its way. Here a church of the Christian denomination was organized in the spring of 1828, and its services were held for years in the school house until a church was built, now more than fifty years ago. In 1893 the church was enlarged and practically rebuilt.

Draketown, on the Little Conneauttee Creek, a short distance south of the State road, has a church of the Christian denomination that was organized in 1877, and that built a meeting house the same year. There is also a Methodist church at Ash's corners, near by, that was erected in 1867. There is another Methodist church at Sherrod Hill, which is the southwestern part of the township. Not far from McLallen's Corners a religious body called "The Saints," erected a place of meeting in 1894, and began to hold services with regularity. The cemetery or burial ground at Draketown is one of the oldest and most notable in the township.

The first building for school purposes was erected on the knoll west of the outlet dam in 1815. It was not of the pattern of the original rural school, being made of planks on an old-fashioned solid frame and it was used for all sorts of gatherings as well as for a school. A little later a log school house was built near the residence of George Taylor, a mile and a half south-east of Edinboro. After a time schools began to multiply, and the term of instruction to be extended. School terms for a long time included three months in the winter and two months in the summer. In the sixties there were fourteen schools in the township and at present there are seventeen, but some schools have less than ten pupils.

Many of the small industries of Washington township have gone out of existence owing to the exhaustion of the supply of raw material. This is especially true of the saw-mills and the manufactories of shingles and lath. A few still remain, two a short distance south of Edinboro, and one at McLallen's Corners still finding occupation. There are a few creameries and cheese factories and mills for the production of cider and apple jelly.

The principal town of Washington township is the borough of Edinboro, which was incorporated in 1840, when William Kellison was elected the first burgess. At the time it was incorporated the population was 232. At present it has about 700 inhabitants. The area of the borough is about 500 acres, which includes a portion of the lake. Situated near the southern boundary of the township and of the county it is the centre of one of the finest agricultural sections of Erie county, a section that in the early days was settled by farming people. Many took up large tracts, the result being that the population at the start was widely scattered, although the community was in quite close touch with one another. In 1801 William Culbertson erected the first mill in that part of the county, and, having taken up the land upon which Edinboro now stands, built a residence near the mill. Gradually a village grew up around the mill, and Mr. Culbertson platted a large section of his farm into village lots. Having in 1802 added a saw-mill this proved an additional stimulus to the growth of the little town which grew, though not with rapidity, yet steadily. About fifty years ago the mill property fell into the hands of Isaac R. Taylor and James Reeder, who built new mills, but in the course of time timber became scarce and the saw-mill was discontinued, the business of the grist-mill, however, being maintained. It was the opening of these mills that created the village that in the course of time came to be known as Edinboro. Soon after the mills were started people began at intervals to build houses near them. With the mills and homes clustered at the foot of the lake there came the school, the church and the store, and when Mr. Culbertson had laid his property out in town lots there was already promise of great things.

It was an intelligent community that had settled in Washington and about the lake. They were of the Scotch-Irish; faithful in religion and devoted to learning. Early there were established two schools, one in the northern part of the borough, the other at the opposite end. They were small and provided education only in what is equivalent to the lower grades of today. The people were ambitious for something better, so in 1856 an organization was effected and an academy was built from funds subscribed, amounting to $3,200. The success of the school was immediate. Because of the large attendance, in 1858, two additional buildings were erected, known as the Assembly Hall and the Ladies Boarding Hall, the cost being $11,000, and during the winter of 1859-60 a fourth building, the Gentlemen's Boarding Hall, was erected at an expense of $10,000, the total of all being raised by subscriptions. When the Normal School act was passed in 1857 the Twelfth District was specified to include the counties of Lawrence, Mercer, Venango, Crawford and Erie, but the location of the school was not immediately effected because no place was ready to comply with the full requirements of the law. Edinboro was a candidate, offering the academy property to the state, but because an attendance of 100 in the model school could not be guaranteed there was delay. However, the defect was remedied by securing the passage of an act extending the limits of the Edinboro school district to include a section of the township adjacent to the borough. Then, by abandoning the public schools for the model school, and appropriating the school taxes to the support of the model school all the conditions were met.

In 1861 the proposal to transfer the academy property was accepted by the state and the Edinboro State Normal was established. In 1863 Prof. J. A. Cooper, who had been an assistant, was made principal, and the school rapidly forged to the front. Prof. Cooper was an industrious, painstaking and enthusiastic educator. Besides that, he was a most capable executive officer, and a careful manager, and, better than all else, earned the loyal friendship of the teachers under him and the pupils as well. For nearly thirty years he conducted the school with such signal ability that it took rank among the best in the State, and its graduates were in request in even the schools of the higher grades up to the high school. No teacher, probably, ever numbered more friends from among the ranks of his pupils than Prof. Cooper did, a testimonial of this friendship being the gift to him of the title deed to a beautiful home in the village in which he had so long labored. Prof. Cooper was displaced as principal on February 5, 1892, his successor being Prof. Martin G. Benedict.

The present principal of the State Normal School is Prof. John F. Bigler, and the past few years have witnessed extensive and valuable additions to the splendid property. The original buildings remain, but in many instances large additions have been made to them and some

have had new names bestowed upon them. The large addition to Normal Hall, erected in 1890, extends its facilities to accommodate the model school, library, chapel, general office and art and drawing rooms. The library contains 12,000 volumes. The power plant was remodeled and more than half rebuilt in 1903. Haven Hall, a girls' dormitory, was built in 1903-4; the gymnasium in 1904-05; Reeder Hall in 1907-9. There is a faculty of 25 teachers.

NORMAL HALL, EDINBORO.

Edinboro, occupying a position remote from the railroads, was not situated to become a manufacturing town. Nevertheless it had its industries. At one time there were a pump factory, a manufactory of handles for agricultural tools, and a cheese box factory. These prospered until in the course of time the timber upon which they depended for business became exhausted. Being the centre of a fine dairy section, the manufacture of cheese and butter was successfully carried on. The first cheese factory was opened by a Mr. Ruddick in 1868, who made cheese until, in 1882 or 1883, he added the necessary machinery to make butter as well. The factory was burned about 1902, and the owner moved away. In 1905 Oakes & Burger built a new creamery which is still operated. In 1888 J. S. Lavery, an extensive operator of creameries opened one about a half mile from Edinboro, which was sold recently to W. S. Alward. New conditions, however, are operating against the success of the creameries. The new trolley service makes it possible to ship the milk to Erie, which is being largely done, while the modern separators

and gasoline engines enable the dairy farmer to make butter himself, and many are doing so.

Edinboro has two banks at the present time. The Peoples' Bank was opened for business on September 2, 1892, but in August, 1904, was chartered as the First National Bank of Edinboro. The Edinboro Savings Bank began business in 1896. Both banks have offices in modern brick buildings of their own.

Edinboro has several times suffered severely from fire. That of 1902 destroyed five stores and two dwellings on Erie street, much of the property remaining to this day in the ruinous state in which the fire left it. In 1905 there was another disastrous fire which destroyed five stores and a dwelling on the east side of Meadville street, involving a loss of $12,000. Most of this has been rebuilt, handsome modern stores replacing the loss. In the summer of 1909 the handsome residence of Dr. King, the finest in the borough, was burned the loss being $6,500.

The Edinboro Presbyterian church of the present was organized in 1829. When the separation of the denomination into schools occurred there was a split, and the New School party built a church in 1854, the Old School erecting a building in 1855. When the two schools reunited in 1871 the New School church was selected and the other was sold to the Baptists. The latter church, organized in 1838, held services in the schoolhouse until 1871 when the Presbyterian church building was bought. The Methodist Episcopal church was formed in 1829, and the meeting house now in use was built in 1863. The Advent Christian church, organized in 1863, built in 1864.

The borough school building, erected in 1894, is a result of the Normal School trouble that occurred when Prof. Cooper was displaced. It is a handsome and commodious modern structure in which provisions have been made for instruction in every grade up to the high school, and pupils in the high school grade are received from the township on school certificates. It cost $12,000. The principal in 1909 is Prof. W. J. McQuiston, and the enrollment is 154.

Edinboro cemetery, beautifully located on a knoll overlooking the lake, was opened in 1892, but the original cemetery, a gift from William Culbertson, had been in use for eighty years.

The earliest newspapers of Edinboro, published in 1855, were the *Native American*, the *Gem* and the *Museum*. The first two ceased publication in 1856, and the *Museum* was moved to Waterford. The Edinboro *Independent* was started by the Cobb Brothers in 1880, was subsequently acquired by Charles Cooper, and is now published by Mr. Cooper and A. W. Proud. Mr. Cooper also fills the office of postmaster at Edinboro.

From 1883 to 1897 the Edinboro Agricultural Society successfully conducted an annual fair, but judging from the signs of the times that the agricultural fair was no longer held in the esteem it had been, de-

cided to discontinue the custom. When the trolley line was new, in 1904 an attempt to revive the fair was only partially successful. However, the fine race track that had been constructed was made available by J. S. Lavery who conducted a highly successful race meet in 1909, in connection with the Erie circuit.

Edinboro, in 1907, had a prospective summer hotel boom, when a syndicate was organized to buy the lake—or the mill privilege—together with a tract of adjacent land, and erect a fine hostelry. The preliminaries of the transaction were carried into effect by Messrs. McCullough, Culbertson and Mizener, but the panic of the end of that year brought the enterprise to an inglorious end. At present the only hotel accommodations are furnished by the Cutler House, the survivor of three hospices that have been entertaining travelers since 1868.

The public officers supplied by Edinboro have been Assembly, John W. Campbell, E. C. Twitchell, Chauncey P. Rogers, E. H. Wilcox; treasurer, Mortimer Phelps; prothonotary, C. P. Rogers, F. L. Hoskins; county commissioners, Russell Stancliff, William Campbell, Josiah J. Compton, N. T. McLallen; auditors, Russell Stancliff, James H. Campbell, Samuel Reeder, John W. Campbell, J. J. McWilliams; jury commissioner, and afterwards director of the poor, H. H. McLallen; sealer of weights and measures, Wm. P. Butterfield; county surveyor, Elmer Nesbit.

CHAPTER XX.—WATERFORD.

THE ANCIENT BOROUGH.—THE FRENCH OCCUPANCY AND WASHINGTON'S VISIT.—PONTIAC'S INDIANS.—THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT BY THE WHITES.

Waterford's story begins, not with the organization of the county, but nearly half a century earlier, coincident with that of Presque Isle, for Waterford was the southern terminus of the military road that was constructed in 1753 by the French under Marin, and the fort there built—Fort Le Bœuf—was occupied by a French garrison until 1759, when it was evacuated almost simultaneously with Fort Presque Isle. It was not a settlement to be sure, for under the French there was only military occupancy. And yet the presence of the French drew around the fort large numbers of Indians who formed considerable of a village. But, though the first possessors of Waterford did nothing in an intentional way for the permanent benefit of the place, and though on their departure they burned the fort behind them, they did leave much that was to be of benefit to those who were, thirty-five or forty years later, to come in with the purpose of winning homes out of the forest wilderness. They left the only road that was in existence in this part of the State, and at least the knowledge of a means of easy communication, by the water route, with earlier settled portions, even though that thoroughfare might not have been very extensively improved for traffic. No small part of the immigration into the county, and even to the town of Presque Isle, when the permanent settlement began, was over the French route. Waterford well deserves the name of The Ancient Borough, by which it has long been known.

There were events in the history of Waterford that ante-date Erie. In 1785 David Watts and William Miles came on under direction of the Commonwealth, to survey the Tenth Donation District, which begins about a mile east of the borough, and in 1790 Waterford was again the centre of State operations, when a commission was sent out to explore the route from the south and west to Erie, appropriations having been made for the improvement of the streams from Franklin to Le Bœuf, and the road from there to Erie. Again, in pursuance of an Act approved in April, 1794, William Irvine, Andrew Ellicott and Albert Gallatin, appointed to survey a road from Reading to Erie by way of Franklin

and Meadville, reached Waterford with a body of troops the same year, 1794, and, delayed there by the military who had set about building a fort, laid out the town and called it Waterford. Erie was not surveyed until the next year. During 1796, Ellicott located the State road from Curwensville, by way of Franklin and Meadville to Waterford.

All this activity had its effect upon the region in bringing to the locality, residents from other parts of the state. The earliest were, however, only transients; hunters and traders in furs with the Indians; but nevertheless useful in the respect that through them the new country came to be known. There is no record of those who, between 1785 and 1795, were temporary sojourners. The earliest of the permanent settlers located in 1795, among them being some who, upon the termination of their military service, decided to remain. Lieut. Martin, commander of the post, became a settler, and so did James Naylor, one of the commissioners for the sale of lands. That was in 1795. The same year Amos Judson, who had come up the lake from Buffalo with Col. Seth Reed, located in Waterford and became the first merchant of the place. Capt. Martin Strong came to Erie county from Connecticut in 1795 and selected Waterford, finally settling on the ridge north of Waterford that is still known as the Strong neighborhood.

Once settlement in Waterford was begun it increased with what, considering the times and the circumstances, might be called rapidity. In 1796, John Lytle, Robert Brotherton, John Lenox and Thomas Skinner came in and located. In 1797 John Vincent and Wilson Smith; in 1798, John T. Moore, Aaron Himrod and the Lattimores; in 1801-02, Capt. John Tracy, William Boyd and his son David, John and James Boyd and their three sisters and James Anderson; in 1804, James and William Benson. In 1799, or possibly earlier, George W. Reed came and Eliachim Cook, who had first settled in McKean, removed to Waterford in 1809. Then followed these; in 1812, John Henry and Levi Strong; in 1813, the McKays; in 1814, Simeon Hunt; in 1816, William Smith, William Vincent and John Hutchins; in 1822, I. M. White; in 1824, Seth and Timothy Judson; in 1826, Daniel Vincent. These were not all, by any means, who came into Waterford during the interval in time between 1795 and the close of the first quarter of the next century, but they are those the dates of whose arrival have been preserved, and they were all the founders of families who remained to build up the new community that was being established in the wilderness; all names that for a century were to figure in the affairs of the county.

Waterford took on urban airs at an early date, and for a time rivaled the town that had been settled on the shore of Lake Erie. At one time, indeed, it was a question whether Waterford, and not Erie, should have the honor of being the county seat. When at length Erie did win out and secure the sittings of the court, there still remained another question—that had to do with business and commercial suprem-

acy. Much that was required by the town on the lake came from the south, through Waterford, and a very large amount of the principal imports of the harbor of Erie also found its way to Waterford to be carried to the south and west by the only routes then available. New roads and a better route between Waterford and Erie to facilitate the transportation of the salt and flour, the bacon and whiskey, become necessary, were laid out. In Waterford, at its port on Water street, warehouses sprang up and boat landings were constructed, and as a port of entry Waterford was giving Erie a lively chase. The water route between Waterford and Pittsburg was thronged with flat boats and keel-boats and many another style of embarkation.

During the year 1813, Waterford, in common with Erie, had a prominent part to play in connection with the Second War for Independence. The ships of Perry's fleet were built and fitted out at Erie, but much of their armament and munitions and a very large part of the iron necessary for building the vessels, was furnished by Pittsburg. All of these necessary supplies were transported by the river route, and, landed at Waterford, were stored in readiness for use when the demand came, in an arsenal on the far side of Le Bœuf creek. Discretion prompted the storing at a safe place, until it should be required, all the ammunition, as well as the guns that had been made at Pittsburg, and the arsenal at Waterford was secure in case the British should attack and carry the town of Erie. In Waterford township, too, nearly a mile north of the borough, on the Lytle farm near where the Waterford station on the P. & E. Railroad is located, the camp grounds of a brigade of the Pennsylvania troops was established. Waterford, as well as Erie, was a centre of operations in the exciting period when the Second War with Great Britian was being waged.

The salt trade declined about 1819, and with the removal of that item from the commerce of the period, general traffic on the streams fell away. Then began the exodus that has, ever since, rendered Erie the debtor of Waterford. Then began the acquisition by Erie, on her tax lists, on the signs over store entrances, on the entries in the deed books of the county, in the columns of the newspapers, of such names as Vincent and Himrod, Strong and Tracy, Clemens, Farrar, Gray, Adams, Benson, King, Lytle, Skinner, McNair, Rees, Stancliff—all from Waterford and all among the boosters—prominent in manufacturing, among the leading merchants, taking high positions at the bar—in fact recognized as leading names for many years in the borough and in the city of Erie.

With the beginnings of things—the first laying-out of the county of Erie, the State had endowed an Academy at Waterford, just as had been done at Erie, by setting aside a tract of land for its use or benefit. As early as 1811 the citizens of Waterford, before the place was a borough, incorporated the Waterford Academy, and had an act passed

authorizing the sale of the 500-acre tract and the conversion of the proceeds into an investment that would yield an income to be employed for the payment of teachers. In 1822 Waterford Academy was built. It was constructed of blue stone, similar in appearance, size and style to the academy at Erie, and was opened in 1826. It soon became not only efficient but popular, and was patronized very largely by students from distant parts. In 1856 a large brick addition was erected to provide boarding accomodations, so extended was the patronage it received. The rise of the public schools had its effect upon the Academy. In the process of time it fell behind. In 1899 it was turned over to the school board and became the high school for Waterford borough and township. As a high school it has distinguished itself by paying special attention to agricultural science, in which it attained a reputation beyond the boundaries of the borough.

The church history of Waterford began with the organization of the First Presbyterian Society in 1809; its church was not erected until 1834. The United Presbyterian Congregation came into existence in 1812, and its first church was begun in 1835, but not completed until 1838. It was enlarged and altered at various times as necessities arose—in 1859 and 1868—and later it became necessary to add a chapel. Rev. P. W. Free's term as pastor, which exceeded a quarter of a century, was the most extended pastorate in the history of Waterford. St. Peter's Episcopal congregation was organized in 1827, and its church was consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk in 1832, and overhauled and improved in 1871. The beginnings of Methodism were in 1814, and the reorganization in 1835. The Methodist Episcopal church was built in 1854.

Waterford Cemetery was originally laid out for the borough by William Benson, in 1840, and then consisted of about an acre and a quarter. It soon became evident that it was not large enough, and in 1865 the land was deeded to the Waterford Cemetery Association, and became part of a burial tract of eleven acres. In this cemetery is buried Michael Hare, most notable because at his death he was 115 years, 8 months and 22 days old. He had been a soldier in Braddock's campaign against the French, fought through the Revolution, and as a soldier in St. Clair's expedition against the Indians was left for dead on a battle-field, scalped by the Indians, and yet survived to become one of the first settlers of Wayne township and in the end die the oldest person in the history of this county, and it is believed of the State.

An incident at Waterford, in 1753, precipitated the Seven Years War of history, in which France, England and Prussia were involved. The incident was the curt but soldierly reply made by St. Pierre, the commandant of Fort Le Bœuf, to Col. George Washington, the envoy of Gov. Dinwiddie. Waterford has also been distinguished in other wars—that of Pontiac when Ensign Price's force was so dreadfully outnumbered by the savages; and in the war of 1812, when it became the

arsenal for the lake navy and a camping ground for the army. In the war for the Union it was not less distinguished. There was no town in the county outside the city of Erie, that furnished more recruits in proportion to its population, or braver men. Waterford was represented in the Erie Three-months Regiment by a full company (Company E) and when in September, 1861, the Eighty-third Regiment marched to the front, again there was a full company from Waterford. Nor was that company of soldiers all that was contributed to the Union army from Waterford township and borough. There were perhaps as many more. For a time the office of the provost marshal of the district was in Waterford, and the second draft was made there.

But Waterford, founded in militarism, when the French named it Le Bœuf, and not lacking when called upon by duty, is nevertheless distinguished in the practice of all the arts of peace. It is the abode of domestic thrift and quiet industry. It has been for years prominent as a seat of learning; and the science of politics is far from being unknown in Waterford. Probably no district in Erie county has given more men to public service than Waterford. The list includes: Quartermaster General in 1812, Wilson Smith; presidential electors, John Boyd, Wilson Smith, Charles C. Boyd; State Senate, Wilson Smith; Assembly, John Lytle, Wilson Smith, Samuel Hutchins, David Himrod, O. S. Woodward; associate judges, John Vincent, Samuel Hutchins, William Benson; sheriffs, Wilson Smith, Thomas B. Vincent, John L. Hyner, H. C. Stafford, G. H. Barnett, P. S. Sedgwick; Prothonotary, E. L. Whittelsey; register and recorder, Reuben J. Sibley; treasurer, Judson Walker; coroner, M. S. Vincent; county commissioners, John Vincent, John Boyd, Henry Colt, William Vincent, Flavel Boyd, Charles C. Boyd; directors of the poor, James Benson, James Anderson, George Fritts; county surveyors, Wilson Smith, Wilson King, William Benson; county auditors, Charles Martin, John Lytle, Amos Judson, James M. McKay, Martin Strong, William Benson, Simeon Hunt, Flavel Boyd, Frank Shaw, George Taylor; jury commissioner, C. L. Townley; mercantile appraisers, S. B. Benson, J. P. Vincent, C. W. S. Anderson, H. R. Whittelsey, James R. Taylor. Nor are these all. Waterford men who had removed to Erie, and who were elected to public office as from the city were: Thomas Wilson, Congressman from 1813 to 1818; John P. Vincent, Additional Law Judge, and afterwards President Judge; James Skinner, State Senator and afterwards prothonotary; Alfred King, prothonotary, and mayor of Erie during the Railroad War; John A. Tracy, county treasurer; F. F. Farrar, mayor of Erie. John A. Tracy began a wonderfully successful career, as clerk for Reed & Sanford in 1816. He was father of John Frank Tracy the famous railroad man, and father-in-law of William L. Scott, equally famous in connection with railroading.

In the newspaper business Waterford for a time rivaled Erie. In 1851 Joseph S. M. Young started the Waterford *Dispatch* and made it

very popular, not only at home, but throughout the county. It became an especial favorite in Erie because of the ardor with which it supported the cause of the "Rippers" in the Railroad War, so that Mr. Young felt encouraged to remove his newspaper plant to Erie, and did so in 1856. B. F. H. Lynn, connected with his force in Waterford, came with him, became a partner, and at length sole owner, and in May, 1864, started the *Daily Dispatch*, which has been published regularly ever since. Soon after the removal of Mr. Young and the *Dispatch*, Mr. Lewis, who had been publishing the Edinboro *Museum*, transferred his plant to Waterford, and after a few months it fell into the hands of Amos Judson, who changed the name to the *Enquirer*. Later C. R. H. Lynn became the owner of the paper, but on the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion Lynn enlisted in the Union army and the paper was discontinued. In 1874 L. B. Thompson started the Waterford *Enterprise*, which in a year was removed to Union City, and three years later the *Astonisher* was started by Dr. D. P. Robbins. The name was objectionable to A. F. Moses, who bought the plant in December, 1878, and changed the name to the Waterford *Leader*, by which it has ever since been known.

Waterford has been a frequent sufferer from fires of large proportions, and at one time or another most of the business section of the town and some of its most important industries have fallen before the flames. The first occurred in March, 1865, and swept away all of the west side of High street from Second Alley to Judson's store. On the last of December, 1873, the Union Hotel was burned down. The Bryant & Hayes Tannery was twice destroyed. Extensive fires occurred in 1881 and 1883. In 1884 Wheeler & Dewey's extensive mill property was burned. On March 3, 1895, the whole square on the west side of High street from First to Second streets was destroyed involving a loss of $45,000.

The story of the township of Waterford is mostly that of the borough. There are a number of neighborhoods or localities that have been given names, but, save Waterford Station, or East Waterford, none can be designated a village. The station came with the opening of the P. & E. Railroad in the beginning of the sixties, and, by having country stores located there and a church built, it took on the airs of a rural village. The church is of the Catholic faith, and was built in 1878. It is served by priests from Union City and is known as St. Cyprian's parish. The other churches of the township are the Freewill Baptist Church at Newman's Bridge, started in 1832, reorganized in 1853, and provided with a meeting house in 1860; the Freewill Baptist Church of the northeastern part of the township, begun in the thirties and the church built in 1877; the Methodist Episcopal church at Sharp's Corners, organized in 1838, building erected in 1868; the Christian congregation at Oak Hill, formed in 1854, church built in 1861.

Very soon after the settlement began there were found, among the newcomers, some who had the energy, enterprise and knowledge to embark in enterprises that promised double results, profit to the promoter and benefit to the community at large. The pressing need of the farmer, isolated in the wilderness, was the mill, which was to furnish the lumber and shingles required to render his home comfortable; which was also to provide him with flour and meal. The first mill in Waterford was built by Robert Brotherton in 1797, the year after he came. It was located on Le Bœuf creek near what is now Waterford station. It was a sawmill only, until 1802, when a gristmill was built as part of the mill enterprise. Mr. Brotherton also kept tavern in the village—from 1815 to 1817. Another early tavern keeper was George Reed, whose caravansary was opened in 1810. Thomas King was an early Boniface, located at the corner of First and Walnut streets. Mr. King was ambitious. He began the erection of a stone hotel in 1826, and opened it in the winter of 1827. That was the Eagle Hotel. Up to this time the mills and the hospices, the warehouses and the boat-landings, and all there was in Waterford were of the township. It was so in the greatest event in the early history of the town, the visit of the ally of Washington in the Revolution, Gen. La Fayette, who came by the water route from Pittsburg in 1825, and remained in Waterford over night.

The charter that created the borough of Waterford bears date April 8, 1833. Since that time the character of borough and township has changed. There is now no inland commerce. The calls of the water men, and the shouts of the teamsters, who are guiding the long strings of plodding oxen or the more active equine teams, are no longer heard. The stir of the loading and unloading at the harbor, and the access of strangers for a few days or nights that contributed toward making the hostelries profitable, are gone. They were never of the borough. During those "lively" times fortunes were made in a brief space. In the salt trade John Vincent became a rich man. But if, as a borough, the liveliness of the old regime was departed, there was substituted a solidity that had never before characterized the place. The manufacturing that came was on a sounder foundation. The stores were of a higher order and became diversified as merchandising became specialized. Waterford township developed into an excellent farming and grazing section, and the borough became the centre, as the market for the produce, as the source from which necessary supplies were obtained—it was the heart of the township that kept the incoming and outgoing currents in healthy motion. Long ago all rivalry with Erie was abandoned, but Waterford, nestled among the low hills of the French Creek Valley, by the side of the lake whose name is an echo of the occupancy by the soldiers of Louis of France over a century and a half ago, is the abode of peace and comfort and content—and the multi-millionaires of the Twentieth Century cannot have more.

CHAPTER XXI.—WAYNE.

Formed in 1826.—Early Settlers.—Michael Hare, Oldest Man of Erie County.—Horace Greeley's Residence in Wayne. —The State Fish Hatchery.

Originally that portion of Erie county south of the Triangle that extends eastward of the meridian of the western boundary line of New York State, was one township under the name of Brokenstraw, which it obtained from the stream of that name, an affluent of the Allegheny River, that flows through a corner of that pan-handle. Through the influence of Wm. Miles the name was changed to Concord in 1821. Five years later, in 1826, the township was very nearly evenly divided, the southern portion retaining the name of Concord, and the northern part was called Wayne township in honor of Gen. Anthony Wayne, a hero of the Revolutionary war and of the Indian war shortly afterwards, who died in Erie county. Wayne township has twice been reduced in size, first in 1863 when the borough of Corry was organized, and again in 1866 when Corry was incorporated a city. Wayne has an average width of about six miles and a length of about eight miles. Its northern boundary which is the line between New York and Pennsylvania, was established by commissioners on the part of the two states in 1785, who completed their work in 1787, their work being confirmed by the Legislature in 1789. The eastern boundary of the township was laid down by the act of 1800 which established the counties of Erie and Warren.

From all accounts it appears that the earliest settlers in the territory that became Wayne township in 1826, were Messrs. Hare, Rihue and Call, but the year of their coming is not exactly known. It was previous to 1798. The first of these was Michael Hare, who with his wife Betty lived in a log cabin on the east side of Hare creek, about a mile north of Corry, and it was from him the stream obtained its name. Michael Hare achieved fame by living to be the oldest man the county of Erie—and perhaps the State of Pennsylvania—ever produced. He died at Waterford at the age of one hundred and fifteen years, eight months and twenty-two days, and is buried in the Waterford cemetery. Neither of the three first settlers remained long. All left before the country was cleared up, Hare locating finally in Waterford. Call's location was on the Amos Heath farm and Rihue's where the Stanford brick yard in Corry was

for years operated. During 1797 a man named Prosser went in, and during the same year Joseph Hall settled at Beaver Dam, but afterwards removed to Elgin. Settlers in 1798 were William and Samuel Smith and Daniel Findley; in 1800, William Carson and John Kincaide and his five sons, several of whom were grown; in 1806, William Gray, who afterwards changed to Waterford; in 1817, Joseph Grant, a native of New London, Conn., who late in life, moved to Wesleyville; from 1820 to 1824, Daniel Yeager and Messrs. Perkins, Childs and Doud. The Smith brothers were followed at an early day by two other brothers, James and Robert. Zaccheus Greeley took up land in the township in 1825, but his brothers, Benjamin and Leonard had moved into the neighborhood two years before. John Heath, father of Amos, purchased what afterwards came to be known as the G. W. Spencer place in 1827 or 1828 when Amos was a boy of four or five. A Mr. Miller had previously lived on the farm and built a saw mill on the run, farther up, which was the first saw mill in the township. Matthias Spencer moved to what is known as the Spencer place in March, 1831. He was born in East Haddam, Conn., and emigrated to Columbus, Warren county, and from there moved into Wayne. In 1865 he went to Erie to live with his son, Dr. H. A. Spencer, where he remained until his death. Isaac Kennedy settled in the township in 1834. Chauncey G. Rickerson, a native of Windham, Conn., came in in 1835. Robert Osborne from Beaver county, located in Wayne in 1839, and D. W. Howard came in 1840, Philander Miller settling about the same time. It was not until after 1830 that the township began to fill up. Joseph Grant began in the valley of Beaver Dam run, near the U. B. church, and it was on that farm, in a log cabin, that Benjamin Grant, afterwards one of Erie's leading lawyers, was born. The first white child born in the township was William Smith, born in 1800, son of John W. Smith. E. Perkins, who went into the wilderness about 1820, was a true pioneer, going in on foot with nothing but a pack and an axe.

There is no incorporated town in Wayne township, and although there are several hamlets or cross-roads settlements, but one of them attained to the dignity of a village. It was for many years, and even to the present, known as Beaver Dam, though its postoffice title has been different and changed more than once. Located in the extreme southwestern corner of the township, its site was determined by the intersection of the Erie and Warren and Wattsburg and Spartansburg roads, and is reputed to owe its origin to John Bunker, who started a store and ashery at that place, at an early day. This store was followed by another kept by Mr. Foot, and the town being on the regular stage line between Erie and Warren, grew quite rapidly so that by 1840, besides the stores and a smithy, there were two taverns, one kept by Mr. Crook and the other by Mr. Ellis, and a constantly increasing number of dwellings. The building of the P. & E. Railroad, however, and the growth

of Union City and Corry had the effect of drawing travel and trade away; soon one of the hotels closed, and then another, until at length there remained but one store, and, like Sweet Auburn, Beaver Dam became a deserted village. But it was in an excellent rural district, and in a measure recovered. In 1867 there was a Presbyterian church erected there at a cost of $3,000. There had been an Associate Reform (U. P.) congregation organized in 1820, that had built a small frame church in 1830, but after a time it was decided to unite with the regular Presbyterian congregation. Later, in 1859, the U. P. adherents again organized, and in 1872 built a church that cost $3,000, but neither of these has proved entirely successful, the membership and interest falling away.

The Methodist Episcopal church has proved the most stable of the religious organizations of Beaver Dam. It was organized in a class that met in Warren Palmer's log cabin in 1832, and numbered then eight members. In 1838 with twenty members, it took on a church form with Rev. William Patterson as pastor. In 1839, by voluntary contributions, $3,200 was raised and a meeting house built. A short distance north is located the Wayne Valley United Brethren church, which was organized and erected its church building in 1870.

In slavery days Beaver Dam was an important station on the Underground Railroad, and the place was long noted as a total abstinence town. A temperance society was organized in 1832, and except for a single year, in 1840, no drinking place was ever maintained in Wayne township, that exceptional year being due to one of the hotels securing a license.

For a time Carter Hill was a place of some importance. It obtained its name from Elijah Carter, who moved in when the country was unbroken forest. At one time it maintained a cheese factory, but that went out of business, and the postoffice was discontinued in 1883. The Methodist Episcopal church that had been in some sort of existence for about fifty years at length, in 1883, built a meeting house, and that, with a school house and some farm houses constituted the hamlet of Carter Hill. Hare Creek for a time gave promise of becoming a village, forging ahead considerably during the seventies and acquiring a Christian church, a school house, a Mutual Protective hall, a saw mill and a dozen dwelling houses. The church was built in 1880.

The principal establishment of the township is the State fish hatchery in the southern edge, about a mile west of Corry on the road leading to Elgin. It is known as the Western Hatchery. It was begun as a private enterprise in 1873 by Seth Weeks, who erected the necessary buildings and constructed the pools or tanks required for the propagation of fish artificially from the roe. Devoted largely to the hatching of trout and other species of fish that live in streams, this establishment at the very start demonstrated its great utility. It was wisely located, the

site being chosen because at that place an abundant supply of pure spring water was available. In 1875 Hon. W. W. Brown, of Corry, a representative in the State Legislature, convinced of the importance of the undertaking of Mr. Weeks, procured the passage of an act to establish the Western Fish Hatchery, and in 1876, the State acquired Mr. Weeks's property, and has ever since conducted it with success and great advantage to the commonwealth. For many years Mr. Weeks continued as superintendent, and was succeeded in 1885 by William Buller, who is still in charge.

The citizens of Wayne township who have been honored by county or state office are: John G. Kincaide, director of the poor; L. M. Childs, Melvin Smith, county commissioners; Samuel E. Kincaide, member of the State Legislature four years; O. W. Follett, W. E. Ewer, jury commissioners.

Four of the sons of Matthias Spencer became professional men—Dr. H. A. Spencer, of Erie, Dr. E. V. Spencer, of Mt. Vernon, Ind., John W. Spencer, an attorney of Rising Sun, Ind., and Elijah M. Spencer, an attorney of Mt. Vernon, Ind. Both of the latter were members of the Indiana Legislature and John W. was a judge at the time of his death.

The most prominent name associated with Wayne township is that of Horace Greeley, the great editor and politician. Zaccheus Greeley, his father, began life as a small farmer in Vermont. Becoming embarrassed, his farm was sold by the sheriff, and he worked for a time as a laborer in New Hampshire. In the year 1825, having saved a small sum of money, he started out to find a new home in the wilds of Pennsylvania, following his brothers, Benjamin and Leonard, who, two years before, had settled near the New York state line. He found his way into Wayne township, where he bought 200 acres of land, to which he afterwards added 150 acres more. Returning to the old home he brought his family on in 1826, the party consisting, besides Mr. and Mrs. Greeley, of Barnes, the oldest son, and the three daughters, Esther, Arminda and Marguerite. Horace had apprenticed himself to a printer in Poultney, Vt., and did not accompany the family although pressed to do so. During the ensuing four years he twice visited them in their wilderness home, walking most of the way, and remaining about a month at a time. The failure in business of his employer, threw him out of a position, and in 1830 he came again to the paternal roof, where he remained for a considerable time, doing some work on the farm but seeking employment in near-by towns. For a time he worked as a compositor on the Erie *Gazette*, and from there set out on foot for New York, going by way of Wayne township to see his parents. Years afterward, when he had made a reputation on the *New Yorker*, he again paid a visit to his parents, and it was during this visit that he wrote one of his best poems, "The Faded Stars." Zaccheus Greeley and his wife lived the rest of their

years on the Wayne township farm, and were buried close by, Mrs. Greeley's death occurring about 1854, and Mr. Greeley's in 1867. Barnes Greeley remained on the homestead farm; Esther, his sister married Orestes Cleveland, a partner of Horace in the New York *Tribune;* Arminda was married to her cousin Lovell, and Marguerite was wedded to a writing master named Bush, from whom she separated.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE CITY OF CORRY.

ORIGINATED IN A RAILROAD CROSSING.—CONSEQUENT UPON THE OIL BUSINESS.—A STORY OF REMARKABLY SWIFT GROWTH.—BECOMES A CHARTERED CITY IN FIVE YEARS.—DEVELOPS INTO A GREAT INDUSTRIAL CENTER.

The City of Corry was a railroad accident. In 1861 when the Atlantic & Great Western and the Sunbury & Erie railroads came together in a swamp in the southeastern corner of the county, that was the beginning of the second city in the shire of Erie. A more unpromising site for a city could not have been found than the swampy tract grown over with hemlocks and black ash in which those two railroads crossed one another. But the city of Corry was also a romance. When Aladdin, by the rubbing of his lamp, in a single night produced a magnificent palace, he did a thing not much more wonderful than was the result of the rubbing together of those two railroads; for there was that at hand, which, because of the contact, was to bring about the marvel of rearing a city in almost a night.

In 1861 Corry consisted of a single building, a ticket office of triangular form that stood at the junction point or crossing of the two railroads. In 1863 Corry was chartered as a borough. In 1866 Corry was incorporated as a city. Seven years later it seemed as though nothing could prevent Corry from being the shire town of a new county in the northwestern corner of Pennsylvania. In derision it was called the city of stumps by its envious rivals. Well might the stump have been adopted as the insignia for its coats of arms. As swiftly as the city emerged from the swamp, did the stump disappear from the landscape, and the Corryite might well employ it to decorate his armorial crest, with the motto, "In hoc signo vinces."

The name was derived from the owner of the land at the junction point of the railroads, Hiram Corry. The Atlantic & Great Western Railroad desired a piece of land there additional to its right of way, and the general manager of the road, Mr. Hill, was so pleased with the liberality of Mr. Corry that immediately the station was named after him. But at the time there was nothing there to invite people. Off to the

south some little distance there was a rise of the ground to a considerable height and somewhat abruptly. To the north also the ground sloped upward, but by an easier grade. Eastward and westward, however, there was nothing beneath the trees to be seen but the same wet, boggy soil; so that there was little apparent to invite people. But, after all, there was that upon the ground on which a city could be built—two parallel lines of iron crossing one another. It did not occur to the people who erected little shanties hard-by in the summer of 1861. It did not occur to them and to some others a bit later.

Petroleum was discovered in the vicinity of Titusville in 1859. The substance had been known for years, and had had its uses, but its real discovery was not made until 1859, and the discovery produced a sensational effect. Titusville was remote from everywhere. Fabulous wealth gushed from the rocks pierced by the drill, but, what could they who had got it do with it? It had to be refined; it had to be marketed. In 1861 Samuel Downer, a wealthy oil refiner of Boston, conceived the idea that by establishing a refinery at some point adjacent to the oil region where good shipping facilities might be obtained he would secure an immense advantage over his rivals in the business. He set out to find such a place. He found it at Corry. That year, 1861, he bought fifty acres of land from Mr. Corry and laid it out in town lots. By the fall of that year he had the land cleared and a frame building erected, which was the office of the Downer Oil Co. A postoffice was established with C. S. Harris as postmaster, and a small refinery was started. People began to turn their faces toward Corry. In the summer of 1862 the Downer and Kent refinery, one of the largest of the time, was built, and other factories sprang up as by magic. The Boston Hotel and the Gilson House were ready for guests. Stores appeared on the scene and dwellings multiplied. Then people began to flock toward Corry. Money became plenty and enterprise ruled. In 1862 a third railroad was constructed to Corry—from Titusville and the oil field thereaway. Real estate boomed as the town grew and many became wealthy from the land.

Nor was it a tedious process. Business moved with alacrity in Corry, so that in the space of two years it became desirable to have some form of organized community. It stood astraddle the boundary line between Concord and Wayne townships and only a stone's-throw from the Warren county line. It was decided to incorporate a borough and a requisition for an equal amount of land from each of the townships was made. As a borough its growth continued. Industries multiplied; business increased. As a matter of fact there was no place better situated for business, with two lines of railroad to the east and west and the road into the oil region. During the decade of the sixties Titusville was the heart of the oil region, and Corry, being almost its nearest neighbor, was, besides, at the gateway which led into the world without. It was at Corry that communication was made with the east

and west, and, though Corry was just outside the boundaries of the oil region, Corry was an oil town. During the whole of the period during which the original oil region flourished, Corry prospered.

For all the oil shipped by rail out of the oil region came by way of Corry, and this continued for a number of years. At that time the gauge of the Atlantic & Great Western Railroad was six feet. When the Oil Creek railroad was built in 1862 its gauge was made to agree with that of the A. & G. W. Later a third rail was laid, so that for a period of time the rolling stock of both the Pennsylvania and the Erie systems could be accommodated on the road that led into the heart of the oil region. It was not a common practice, even under the circumstances that existed in the early days of oil, to have a road of two different gauges; but it illustrated the spirit that dominated the time and place when the Oil Creek road, to secure business and also to save the expense of buying its own rolling stock, adopted the two-gauge expedient.

The site originally purchased for a town by Mr. Smith, and laid out in lots, was fifty acres in area. Mr. Smith represented the Downer interests, and the first purpose in view in the purchase was to provide place for the refining plant. What was left of the purchase was in the market for those who wished to locate. Before the end of the year far more than the original purchase had been disposed of. Two years afterwards, when the first election for borough officers was held, the area was ten times as great. When it became a city, in 1866, it had made a proportionate growth, and before the end of the decade it measured three miles in greatest length by two and a half miles in width. In 1870 its population was more than 6,800. It then had a fourth railroad—the Cross-cut from Brockton, built in 1867.

The first mayor of Corry was W. H. L. Smith, elected in 1866, and his successors have been: S. A. Bennett, 1867; R. A. Palmer, 1868; F. S. Barney, 1869; Manley Crosby, 1870; F. A. Philips, 1872; A. F. Kent, 1873; B. Ellsworth, 1874; T. A. Allen, 1875; F. Stanford, 1879; J. D. Bentley, 1881; T. A. Allen, 1882; Isaac Colegrove, 1884; J. L. Hatch, 1886; W. C. Shields, 1887; W. E. Marsh, 1888; A. F. Bole, 1889; Eli Barlow, 1890; J. M. Lambing, 1891; A. B. Osborne, 1893; R. N. Seaver, 1895; Byron H. Phelps, 1896.

A new city charter went into effect at this time being the State provision for the government of cities. Under its provisions the term of the mayor is three years. Nathaniel Stone, elected in 1897, was the first mayor under the new regime, and his successors have been: Richard P. Dawson, 1900; Frank L. Bliss, 1903; Guy D. Heath 1906; Cassius L. Alexander, the present mayor, elected in 1909.

It was the thought of an industry that breathed the breath of life into Corry. When Mr. Downer found the railroad crossing in the swamp, where Amity and Concord townships touched the Warren county line,

and knew it was within easy reach of the centre of oil, and there decided to erect a refinery, it was the fiat that gave Corry birth. The refinery turned out to be a large concern. It occupied when at its best estate the space bounded by the railroad and Washington street, and by Centre street and First Avenue. With the kindred industries that sprang up, Corry knew itself to be an industrial centre, and its citizens recognized the fact that its future lay in manufacturing. It therefore became the ruling spirit of its people to secure industries, and if possible to obtain varied industries. It was commendable, but unhappily was once carried too far.

In 1868 there had been established at Corry a manufactory of the Climax mowers and reapers, under the leadership of G. W. N. Yost. After struggling along for four years it came to be understood by the progressive people of Corry that the trouble with the reaper works was insufficient capital. A movement was begun to provide the money necessary, and the movement assumed a political form, the proposition that the city issue manufacturing bonds being made an issue at the spring election of 1873, and winning out by a large majority. On the first of April, 1873, the city issued bonds to the total amount of $106,000, the issue bearing 8 per cent interest and running ten years. That year the great panic occurred. It may be that the stringency of business was the cause, or it may be that there were other reasons (it has been suggested by one who had experience that there were better reapers and mowers built); at any rate the business continued to be unprofitable. The firm of Gibbs & Sterrett which was the principal (probably the only) beneficiary from the bond issue, began to build engines and other machinery, and at length, in 1882, sold its property to R. S. Battles of Girard, who introduced revolutionary methods and set things in motion in the right direction.

Meanwhile the city's manufacturing bonds came due. On April 1, 1883, they were to be paid. The city had no money with which to pay. As a matter of fact default had been made in the payment of interest. Legal advice was taken. It was represented that the issue was illegal, and on the strength of this legal opinion the debt was repudiated by the city council. The majority of the bonds were held by a Mr. Kerr of Titusville, and in his interest suit was brought against the city. It came up before Judge Galbraith at Erie, and the decision of the court was that the issue was contrary to law and therefore the bond holders could not recover. That was not the end of the matter. The Corry bond case became a *cause celebre*. It went up to the supreme court, and after a bitter fight the court of common pleas of Erie county was reversed, on the ground that the holders of the bonds were innocent parties and that therefore they were entitled to recover. The city accepted the decision with as good grace as was possible under the circumstances. Hon. J. L. Hatch was mayor at the time (1886), and he succeeded in effecting a compromise with the Kerr interests, which became the basis of settle-

ment. Part of the claims was paid in cash and refunding bonds bearing 4 per cent interest, were issued for the balance.

At the present time there remains of the indebtedness on account of the refunded manufacturing bonds, a balance of $67,200. At the last annual meeting of the municipality the total indebtedness of Corry was shown to be $88,600, the $21,400 additional to the refunding bonds being for city improvements, and bearing interest at 3½ per cent. Since that meeting $3,500 has been added for general city improvements.

Corry had been making gigantic strides up to the time of the Jay Cooke panic of 1873, and had reached a population of more than 7,000. That panic however, checked the advance, and soon afterward, the shifting of the centre of oil production to the Bradford field, increased the trouble. The great Downer oil industry practically closed in 1882, and in the course of a few years from the date of the high water mark the population dwindled to 5,000 or even less. But, with the splendid facilities, with which Corry was endowed, the city quickly recovered. It was too good a location for manufacturing to remain undiscovered by men of enterprise. By the beginning of the nineties business was again advancing, and the city began to take on new vigor and establish itself on a firm foundation as a modern municipality. A system of sewers was adopted, and the work prosecuted upon a well digested plan, so that in the year 1909 the city had sewers of the total length of more than twelve miles that had cost $135,663. Street paving was begun in 1895, when Centre street, Washington street and Main street were paved with vitrified brick, and the extension of this improvement is steadily progressing. Electric lighting came in 1890, when a contract for lighting the streets was made with the Corry Light Co. Natural gas came to Corry in 1886, when the Pennsylvania Gas Company, constructing its pipe line from the McKean and Elk county fields, passed through the north end of Corry, rendering the service available as to a station by the way.

Corry is supplied with water by a private corporation, that began business in September, 1886. At the first the water was pumped from Hare creek and forced into a reservoir south of the city, but soon a change was made by which the supply was drawn from artesian wells, fourteen of which were drilled north of the city. From these the water is forced directly into the city mains and across to a reservoir on the hills to the south, which has a storage capacity of 5,000,000 gallons. In 1895 opposition developed to the private water company, and on a political issue being made it was carried that the city erect its own water works. In pursuance of the plan, on March 25 of that year the city council let a contract for a civic water plant, to cost $80,000. Immediately the matter was carried into the courts, the water company, which had invested its money in a costly plant, resisting the proceeding which would result in its undoing. The contest was sharp and de-

cidedly animated, and the result was that on August 13, 1895, the court granted a permanent injunction restraining the councils from carrying out the project, and the contractor from prosecuting the contract. The water furnished is absolutely pure, drawn from the rocks, and the available supply is said by the company to be sufficient for a city of twice the population.

By reason of the character of the water works plant Corry enjoys a remarkably efficient system of fire protection. The fire department consisted in the early days of the red-shirted volunteers of the period, who operated the hand fire-engine or dragged the big two-wheeled reel. This was the character of the first company organized in 1871. There were steady but gradual modifications, through several succeeding re-organizations—the Crosby, the Allen, and the Osborne companies. The perfecting of the water system, however, imparted a new force, and observation and experience developed new plans, until at length the fire department was organized to consist of but one hose company of about fifty volunteer members, under a chief of the department, and two fully paid men, who are drivers. The equipment consists of a chemical engine and a combination hose wagon. The pressure from the city mains at Centre and Main streets is 125 pounds to the square inch, rendering fire engines unnecessary, and the well drilled force of men with sufficient hose an ample protection in case of fire. The department is besides equipped with the Gamewell system of fire alarms, the calls being rung up on a 2,600 pound bell at headquarters. Two rival telephone companies render additional assistance in the matter of alarms.

Corry was prompt in recognizing the necessity that existed for a fully equipped hospital. In October, 1894, the Corry Hospital Association was organized with Hon. I. B. Brown, president; F. T. Babbitt, secretary and Manley Crosby, treasurer. On December 11, 1895, a ladies auxiliary society was organized, the officers of which were, Mrs. J. C. Wilson, president; Mrs. C. P. Rogers, secretary, and Mrs. A. H. Burlingame, treasurer. The Association erected an attractive hospital building on North Centre street, and equipped it so that it could do efficient work, and established a training school for nurses. Subsequently (in 1904) a nurses' home was built adjacent to the hospital, and in 1908 the hospital was enlarged and greatly improved at a cost of $15,000, so that, besides its modern operating rooms, and its various offices and departments, it has a capacity of fifty beds. It is supported in part by its earnings, to an extent by state appropriations, and in no small degree by voluntary contributions.

It is many years since W. H. L. Smith donated to the city of Corry a piece of ground about five acres in extent for park purposes. Planted to trees, it soon attracted seekers of homes, and at length the streets bordering upon it became one of the choice residential sections of the city. Corry was not one of the towns that sent numbers of its citizens

into the war for the Union. Corry was not in existence at that time. But many of the veterans of that war came into Corry to live when the war was over, and in the course of time a strong post of the Grand Army of the Republic was organized. Through the efforts of the Grand Army veterans a handsome monument to the soldiers of the sixties was erected in the park, and was dedicated in June, 1901. It consists of a lofty pedestal of granite supporting a bronze statue of a soldier and cost $2,115.

One of the first things to happen in Corry when it had been discovered by the world outside that two railroads crossed on Mr. Corry's farm, was the creation of a postoffice and the appointment of a postmaster. That occurred toward the end of 1861. Caleb S. Harris was the first postmaster and his appointment was on December 3, 1861. His successors have been James Foreman, appointed in 1862; J. G. Foreman, 1867; O. E. Gleason, 1877; F. H. Button, 1885; Maxwell Cameron, 1888; F. H. Button (a second term) 1891; J. B. Patterson, 1895, and J. F. Austin, the present incumbent, in 1899. There are 32 mails received and 28 dispatched daily, and the office is open for business day and night.

Corry's progress has been along every line. The carriers of mail made their appearance in Corry for the first time in September, 1889. At present there are six city carriers and eleven on the rural free delivery routes out of Corry. Electric railway facilities were introduced in December, 1904, when the Corry & Columbus street railway was opened for business. At present it extends to Columbus, Warren county, but surveys have been made for extensions, on the one hand to Asheville on Chautauqua Lake, and on the other to Union City. Corry also has a police department of three patrolmen and a chief. For many years Corry maintained a successful Agricultural Fair Association, and its annual fairs were liberally patronized. For a few years interest apparently ceased, for the fairs were discontinued, but in 1905 there was a revival of interest and the Corry Fair & Driving Park Association was chartered. This association is now a member of the Lake Erie Circuit, and has its regular race meets in the summer schedule of the circuit.

In the matter of amusements, Corry has had its experiences. The earliest theatre was Wright's, which was burned a good many years ago. To supply the need in the seventies the second and third floors of the Ajax building on Centre street were transformed into a handsome little theatre and called the Harmon Opera House. This was needed for other purposes in time, when the Corry Opera House took it place for a short while, until the Weeks Theatre, a thoroughly modern and complete playhouse was erected. This was buried in 1898. The city was then without any theatre facilities worthy the name until 1908, when the old Armory building was taken by Harry Parker and rebuilt into an admirable

theatre, with a well equipped stage and seating capacity for 700. It is heated by steam, lighted by electricity, is well furnished, handsomely decorated, and is provided with eleven dressing rooms.

Corry's most notable public building—aside from the schools,—is the Armory of the National Guard. It was erected by the state at a cost of $30,000 and was opened in December, 1907. There is a Federal building in prospect, Congress having voted $18,000 for the purchase of a site upon which a $50,000 structure is to be erected.

Corry depends upon the Elks, the Knights of Columbus, and the Order of Eagles for its club facilities. The Knights of Columbus were instituted in Corry in 1899; the Elks in 1902. The Maccabees also flourish.

Corry's school history began when Corry began. In 1863 the town was incorporated as a borough. In the winter of that year the new borough government acquired the new school building on Concord street that had been built the previous year by Concord township, and John L. Hatch was the first principal. For a time the school sufficed. In 1865, however, the population had increased to such a degree that more school facilities were imperative. An acre of ground was bought at the corner of Essex and Washington streets and a contract was entered into with Henry Drake for a new school building to cost $8,000. It was finished in 1866, and was designed as a Union school. Vincent Moses, a young theological student, of Clymer, N. Y., was engaged as the first principal.

Corry became a city in 1866. Both the schools were filled to overflowing, and a rented parish school on Pleasant street was filled besides, before the city was two years old. In 1869 the Fairview school building was erected at a cost of $14,580, and the next year, 1870, so rapidly was the school population increasing, a fourth school was begun. It was named the Hatch school, in honor of John L. Hatch, Corry's first teacher, and was finished in 1871 at a cost of $30,000. At the beginning, and until 1869, the schools of the town were of the ungraded order, teaching the three Rs in the old-fashioned hit and miss way. In that year J. H. Manley, president of the school board, compiled and arranged a graded course of study for the schools, which was published and regularly introduced. Upon the completion of the Hatch school in 1871, the high school course was introduced, and the high school found accommodations in that building for eighteen years. In 1884 the Concord school, the oldest of the school properties of the town, was replaced by a handsome brick four-room building.

Corry received a severe check in the early part of the seventies, as has already been recorded. It affected the schools in common with every other interest. When again the city took its place in the march of progress the advance became at once effective in the schools, so that ere long the capacity of the buildings became seriously taxed. To meet the

necessities of the situation, in 1899 the splendid high school building on South and Spring streets was erected. Its cost, including the land, was more than $50,000, and it is a worthy monument to the intelligence and progressive spirit of the community.

In educational matters Corry is abreast of the times. Its high school takes high rank. But the progressive board of education decided upon one step farther. A public library was deemed a necessity, and in 1902, the state law which provides that a school board may es-

CORRY HIGH SCHOOL.

tablish a library as a part of the educational establishment was taken advantage of, and the Corry Public Library was created. It was equipped and is supported from the school funds. A room in the northeast corner of the high school building was appropriated for the purpose. Here a library of 3,700 volumes, exclusive of public documents, has been installed, and, during the school year is open to the public on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and in the evenings, while during the summer it is open two evenings in the week. It is in the care of Miss Susan M. Williams, a capable librarian.

The earliest Methodist Episcopal class in Wayne township was formed in 1845 or thereabout, and in 1860 a church was built about a mile and a half north of Corry. There was a reorganization in 1870, when the church was transferred to Pike street and became known as the North Corry M. E. church

The Corry M. E. Church was organized in 1862. Its first meeting house was dedicated October 27, 1865, and served until 1891, when a handsome new edifice of light-colored brick was begun. Its architect and builder was A. P. Mount, of Corry, and the minister in charge, Rev. J. W. Campbell. The church, which cost $28,000 was dedicated September 6, 1903.

A congregation of the Baptist denomination was organized in 1862, and in April, 1865, a church building was dedicated. This was taken down in 1894 to give place to a handsome brick structure.

The First Presbyterian congregation was organized January 18, 1864, and erected a frame church during the winter of 1865-6, which was replaced by a fine new brick church in 1884, the old church being sold to the Hebrew congregation.

Emanuel Episcopal church was formed in July, 1864, and for a time held services in a private hall. In September, 1865, the cornerstone of a church was laid, and the building was completed the next summer. In 1894 the church was rebuilt.

The United Brethren effected an organization in 1864, and built a church in 1865, changing its location, however, in 1866. The church was burned in 1872, and a new building erected immediately.

The First Congregational Society was organized in 1864 and in 1878 purchased of the Christian church the building that had been erected on Pleasant street. It was enlarged and remodeled in 1882.

Two Lutheran church organizations flourished. The German church was dedicated June 3, 1877, and the Danish church, established by Rev. A. L. Benze, of Erie, in 1890, worshipped in the German church.

The Hebrew congregation was formed in 1875, and in 1883 bought the building that had been used by the First Presbyterian church.

A Universalist congregation was organized on March 7, 1877.

St. Thomas's Catholic church was organized in 1860 by Rev. Father Lonnergan, and a frame church was dedicated in September, 1862. In 1872, the corner stone of new brick church was laid, but the building was not ready for occupancy until 1884. The church property was steadily added to, including shortly, a large parochial school and St. Thomas's Academy, the latter in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph.

St. Elizabeth's Catholic church (German) was organized in 1875, and completed the church, which was begun at once, in 1876. Its consecration occurred in September of that year.

But Corry's chief dependence has from the beginning been upon its manufactories. While the city owes its existence to the somewhat accidental circumstance of two railroads crossing at that point, its real start was in the locating of Downer Oil Works there in 1861. It is now long since the city ceased to depend upon petroleum, and the smell of oil is no longer distinguishable upon its garments. Instead there have sprung up industries by the score along diversified lines. Some of the earliest undertakings fell through. This is true not alone of the great refinery which distinguished it in its early days, but the harvester works that was famous for a time, and other enterprises, went down under pressure of changing conditions. The first typewriter that was invented—the Caligraph—was made in Corry, and the tradition is that a prominent stockholder in the enterprise was Samuel L. Clemens, the "Mark Twain" of the literary world. There are those who are impressed with the belief that it was an unfortunate thing for Corry when the city lost the Yost interest, and the typewriter industry, the outcome of the Caligraph machine, with which Mr. Yost was connected. But there have been other shops and mills and factories to take the places of those that departed, or fell by the way in the battle for success.

One of Corry's largest industries is the plant of the J. W. & A. P. Howard Tanning Company, located just east of the city limits. It was established in 1867, and acquired in 1899 by J. J. Desmond and F. A. Loveland upon the death of Mr. Howard. The product is sole leather of the highest grade, and the daily capacity fifty hides. It is the boast of Corry that the best sole leather made on the continent is the product of the Howard Tannery, as numerous awards of medals bear testimony.

The Climax works was started in 1868, at first building agricultural implements and machinery, and later engines and oil well tools. It was bought in 1882 by R. S. Battles, who extended its scope, at length being devoted chiefly to building geared locomotives for use in lumber camps principally. The company was incorporated in 1904 and sends its product all over the world.

The Ajax Iron Works was established in 1877 in a shop 50x120 feet in area on the corner of Center street and the railroad. In 1892 the company was incorporated under the same name, and the plant enlarged. Expansion has continued until modern buildings, equipped with modern appliances extend through to Washington street, covering 65,000 square feet of floor space. The product is the Ajax drilling and pumping engine.

The Corry Chair Company, incorporated in 1891, manufactures dining room chairs and rockers.

The Raymond Manufacturing Co., its product high grade wire springs, was incorporated in 1898.

C. A. Mahle & Son became a corporation in 1899. The product of this concern is bored and shaped brush blocks for brushes and brooms.

The Corry Couch Company was incorporated in 1899, and makes patent spring leather and plush upholstered couches.

The United States Radiator Co. established its Corry branch in 1895. It is a large corporation of Pittsburg and West Newton, Pa., and in Corry succeeds, or has absorbed the Corry Radiator Co., which was chartered in 1893, for the manufacture of radiators and boilers.

The McInnes Steel Co., established its extensive plant at Corry in 1901. It originated at Emporium in 1895, but selected Corry because of its advantageous position as a shipping point. Its product is tool steel.

The Rex Manufacturing Co. was incorporated in 1902, and its product is a patent telephone and desk writing tablet, wire springs and metal novelties.

The Tuft Manufacturing Co., incorporated in 1904, makes cotton tufts for mattress manufacturers.

The Corry Condensed Milk Co. makes thirty brands of condensed milk. It has been a corporation since 1900.

The Corry Upholstering Co., chartered in 1906, manufactures the Leader cotton felt mattresses.

The Kurtz Brass Bedstead Co., incorporated in 1905, makes high grade brass beds.

The Oregon Indian Medicine Co. makes a number of proprietary remedies and was incorporated in 1884.

C. A. Auer's tannery business started in 1862, and has been successfully conducted ever since, the specialty being leather for hydraulic purposes.

There are many other industries that have not become incorporated, not a few of them very extensive. The K. P. L. Furniture Co., manufacturers of dressers, wash stands, chiffoniers, etc.; the U. S. Chair Co., high grade chairs and rockers; H. Clark & Son, an extensive Corry branch of a Union City enterprise; the Trill Indicator Co., steam engine indicators and appliances; the Corry Boiler Works; the Corry Chemical Co.; the Love Manufacturing Co., natural gas burners and castings; Bonnell & Lambing, bed springs; Rhodes & Carey, telephone arms; the Corry Pail Co. and D. & F. E. Westley, pails for butter, candy and other purposes; the Losee Wrench Works, wrenches and saw clamps; H. E. Whittelsey & Sons, valve cups, axle washers, etc.; the Acme Milling Co., flour—all these, and others, contribute to the industries of Corry.

Nor is the word "finis" yet written to the history of manufacturing of Erie county's second city. The most recent are among the most prominent. The Corry Brick and Tile Co. was incorporated in 1908 with a capital of $100,000 and began business immediately in extensive yards in the west side of the city. The product is shale vitrified bricks for paving and building purposes, and tile for flooring. The sales during

the first half of 1909 amounted to 5,000,000 bricks, that were shipped to Boston, New York, Baltimore, Buffalo and fifty other cities. The general manager is D. Warren De Rosay.

The Waclark Titanite Explosive Co. was incorporated March 17, 1909, secured a site of twenty acres of ground, erected buildings, and before midsummer were shipping their new explosive. It is more powerful than any other explosive known, but can be handled with immunity in its ordinary form. It burns slowly upon the application of fire, is absolutely passive under the most violent impact, and is not affected by electricity, but when the cap, harmless in itself, is used to ignite it, the resulting explosion is terrific. The manufacture is by a secret process, which was purchased for the United States by U. S. Senator W. A. Clark, and, after correspondence, Corry was selected as the location of the works. Three grades of explosives are made, the first for metal mining; the second for quarrying, and the third for coal mining. W. L. Brotherton is the general manager.

The United States Brake Shoe Co. was incorporated in 1909, and is the successor of the Eagle Iron Works. The product is brake shoes for steam and street railway use, and sleigh shoes.

Corry newspapers have been numerous, and most of them very short-lived. The first venture in journalism was made in 1863, when the *Petroleum Telegraph* appeared, published by Baldwin & Day, and, shortly afterwards the Corry City *News*, by Stebbins & Larkins. Both of these eventually came under the control of Joseph A. Pain, who established a wonderfully complete printing plant. The *Itemizer*, started in 1868, also fell into Mr. Pain's hands and had its name changed to the *Blade*, but publication was suspended when the hard times came in the seventies. The *Telegraph* was a name that stuck in Corry and this Mr. Pain continued to print weekly for many years. In 1885 he ventured into the daily field again, starting the *Leader*, which is still published, a son of Mr. Pain identified with its publication. The same year Wm. C. Plumb started the *Flyer*, which no man took seriously, perhaps not even Plumb himself, and it died young. The *Saturday Democrat* was started in 1890 as a weekly—which its name indicates. The *Journal*, an excellent evening paper, has been published by D. M. Colegrove successfully for ten years or more, and is still prosperous.

The Corry Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1895, became at once very serviceable to the growing city, and that effort was supplemented by the work, in 1908, of the Business Men's Exchange, which opening an office on Centre street, near the railroad and engaging James P. Drown as secretary, began a vigorous campaign in behalf of a larger city and more business. The executive committee of the exchange includes F. L. Weeks, president; W. H. Duffy, A. L. Bush, E. C. Crapser, Glenn R. Davis, O. A. Swetland, Rush Miller, W. W. Blair, D. Warren De Rosay, N. Stone and C. M. Ream.

Another business organization is the Manufacturers Association of Corry, formed in December, 1908, with these officers: F. E. Whittelsey, president; J. B. Patterson, M. M. Raymond and John King, vice-presidents; Arthur J. Lyons, secretary-treasurer, with James P. Drown as assistant secretary.

Citizens of Corry who have held public office were: associate judge, Hollis King; delegate to the Constitutional convention of 1873, C. O. Bowman; members of Assembly, C. O. Bowman, W. W. Brown, Isaac B. Brown, J. D. Bentley; district attorney, C. L. Baker; sheriff, T. H. Coggswell; county commissioners, W. T. Brown, W. C. Shields; directors of the poor, G. Sid. Beavis, S. A. Beavis; jury commissioners, D. L. Bracken, H. L. Spiesman, Henry McCray; mercantile appraisers, L. E. Guignon, W. T. Brown, John W. Leech; oil inspector, A. J. Hubbard; deputy state factory inspector, M. N. Baker.

An interesting personage in Corry at the present time is Alderman Albert Truesdell, who is the oldest justice of the peace, in point of years of service, of any man now living in Erie county, and few at any time have exceeded his record. Mr. Truesdell was born at Lawsville, Susquehanna county, in August, 1831. He received a common school and academic education and began the study of law in his native county. Susquehanna was the county of Galusha A. Grow, and Truesdell became an enthusiastic disciple of that political leader, and was made chairman of the Republican County Committee in 1860, and a delegate the same year to the state convention that nominated Andrew G. Curtin, the War Governor of Pennsylvania. He was postmaster of Lawsville Centre from July, 1861 to September, 1863, and then was commissioned by Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, as United States assessor, and held the office four years. Mr. Truesdell came to Corry in 1871. He was commissioned alderman in 1879, and has held the office continuously to this time, his present commission expiring May 3, 1914. During his thirty years as alderman he has married over 150 couples. He has been admitted to practice law in the courts of Susquehanna, Erie, and other counties of western Pennsylvania.

PART THREE
THE CITY

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER I.—THE SITE OF THE TOWN.

Its Location in the Original Forest.—Character of the Land.—The Streams and Swamps and Ravines.

Behold a vast area of primeval forest, stretching along a bluff shore, and extending away back, across one bench after another, and away over the hills as far as the eye can reach, and seemingly limitless to the traveler, who, day after day, pursuing a southern course is only repeating what has been his experience with scarcely the atom of a change, as each day is added to the period of his travel. It is a forest that is the work of centuries of vegetation, growing in a thick mould, the product of a millenium of disintegration that has been working with the debris of the woods and the ruins of arboreal giants of their time, fallen when their noble career was at an end. A grand old forest, it is, here composed of hemlock spruces that tower a hundred feet or more above the slippery carpet of fallen needles embellished with the red-berried Mitchella at their feet, and in the perpetual twilight shade of which the pink moccasin flower loves to grow; there a grove of sugar maples with an occasional liriodendron spreading its myriad gleaming hands nearly fifty yards in the air, in the warm June sun a miracle of tulip-bloom; again it is given over to the beech, tender in the spring-time in its tints of pale, delicate green its graceful spray and soft foliage permitting the sunlight to sift through upon the beds of springbeauties and trilliums and early phloxes, while standing with its feet in the bosky margins of the pools, or haunting the forest rills is seen that ghostly giant, the sycamore, white-robed as if it were a sylvan priest that had stretched wide its arms in benediction; sturdy oaks and hickories and the American linden—a fountain of fragrance and vocal with the hum of bees when the warm June sun is bathing the pregnant earth; and the ash trees and chestnuts, the graceful elm, the birches and a score of other forest forms—all these unite to form that widely extended shade that stretches illimitable.

Out of this grand forest select a limited tract; a tract with a boundary; that boundary, on its northern edge, an expanse of shining water reflecting the blue of the summer sky. East or west, there is no invidious line, but by choice it is located where a beautiful bay begins, the bay of Presque Isle as the voyageurs, the earliest of the white race to come that way, named it. This tract is for our consideration at the present time, and for the purpose of study it will be examined a trifle in detail.

First we look upon it from the surface of the water, as the red man may have as he paddled his bark canoe along the shore, and we notice here and there a break in the line of the bluff that forms the border of the lake, and these breaks occur at tolerably regular intervals. They mark the courses of streams that in the space of countless ages have been formed by the action of the waters, that, draining the plateau above, or finding their way from the hills beyond, have poured their libation at the feet of old Erie, an offering to the prime source of their supply. Within the space that has been marked out there are better than a half dozen of these—seven by actual count—that break the regularity of that portion of the wooded coast that frames the watery mirror of Lake Erie.

Let us look these ravines over as the red hunter might when he traversed that tract in search of his daily sustenance. Each extends backward into the interior, some for a half mile or so; one for many miles. They are as a rule narrow, with steep sides, and they are filled with the remains of the fallen timber, or, where the slight break in the forest has permitted, grown rankly with alders and sumachs and a multitude of shrubs of humbler growth, a tangled wilderness that is the delight of the summer birds that love to haunt such situations. It is a toilsome journey, that three miles or so that parallels the shore.

But it is to be the site of a city!

For ages this wilderness had slumbered in peace, no sound more terrifying than the occasional cry of the Indian, unless, perchance, the rare scream of the giant felidae that once roamed these forests. But at length there occurred the beginning of the great change that was to come upon that region. One day in early spring there landed at the mouth of the largest of these streams a company of pale-faced men. They were soldiers. At once with axes they attacked the forest. Soon the splendid chestnuts and oaks gave way, and there was an opening, and before the summer was gone, up on the height to the west of the stream there was a clearing enclosed with a rough stockade, and, within, buildings that were to serve as places of protection, and shelter. It was the first break in the wilderness, a break that, before the work of destruction ceased, was to sweep the country well-nigh bare; a break that was the beginning of a future city. It required years to effect a material change, but in the course of time the axe of the pioneer and his successors had wiped off the covering of trees, and those yawning water courses stood revealed to view.

Then began the changes that were in the course of time to obliterate them; that were to so transform that tract that even the traces of those difficult obstacles to free progress were to be utterly lost. This result is not yet quite accomplished. Not all of the gorges and ravines have altogether been wiped out; but some have, and in what has been done there is a prophecy of what will yet be.

Generally speaking, it was a broad plateau extending back for a mile or more, but yet there was considerable diversity when the surface came to be studied. For example: At the margin of the plateau, where there was a sudden descent to the water of the lake and bay, there were at pretty regular intervals ravines that marked the location of the streams that drained the country back a short distance. Mill creek and Cascade creek over a mile and a half apart were large streams having their rise back of the ridge. Between the two principal streams there were three others. One, that seems never to have had a name, emptied into the bay a little more than half a mile west of Mill creek; another, Lee's run, was about 385 yards farther west; the third, Little Cascade run, was 930 yards farther west and about 500 yards east of Cascade creek. Of these streams Little Cascade had two branches, and Mill creek had an affluent within the boundaries of the borough as originally surveyed. We will consider some of these streams more in detail presently.

When the settlement spread as far west as to the first gully or gorge, growth was for a time arrested, principally because of the advantages that gorge offered, not because it was an especial obstacle. It debouched upon the shore of the bay just at the foot of French street, as laid out by Irvine and Ellicott, and thus afforded, by the expenditure of a little labor, an excellent means of communication with the harbor below. This was the reason why the growth of the settlement was halted at French street. Population gradually extended up French street and by the year 1810 all the business of the village was transacted on that street.

But all the rest of the borough was still woods, with openings here and there in the present First ward where the settlers had cleared up their possessions. Even French street, in 1806, was a street only in name, for among the first recorded acts of the borough council in that year was the passage of measures calling for the removal of stumps from French street.

But we are now to take a wider view of the topography of the embryo city. Therefore let us first follow upward the stream or ravine that ended at the foot of French street. In doing so we proceed in a course nearly parallel with State and French across Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth streets. At Fifth there is a turn toward the west and we proceed under the east end of the old Brown's Hotel property (now a vacant lot) and the western part of the three-story block that stands west of the Reed House. The course bends by something of a curve across a corner of the East Park, crosses State street near the Soldier's monument, cuts the West Park diagonally, passes under the City hall and across Peach, through the Babbit property, where traces are yet to be seen, back of the Hotel Kimberly, through the Walker property, south of Seventh and past the Y. W. C. A. building where a remnant is still visible; it reached Eighth street at about where Dr. Stranahan's residence now stands,

crossed Eighth, and cutting the square south of Eighth diagonally, involved Sassafras and had its rise in the neighborhood of the old Erie & Pittsburg round house, where there is to this day a vigorous spring. It may thus be seen there was, in nature, a deep diagonal scar across the face of the territory that was in the process of time to become a populous part of a city.

And now let us look at another somewhat similar feature that involves the present business centre of the city. It is a branch of Mill creek, and emptied into that stream between Eighth and Ninth streets. Following it back it would seem to cross Ninth street and French at the corner where the Lafayette now stands. It proceeded back through the square west of French and south of Ninth until it crossed State street at about where the Palace hardware store stands and then could be followed backward through the southern end of the Academy lot to the level tract of land east of the high school. North of this stream the land was high, and there are still traces of this elevated tract—visible on French street between Eighth and Ninth, where some of the buildings have had basements transformed into first stories and where there are still back yards several feet higher than the level of the sidewalk or street. The northern part of the Academy grounds is one end of this former ridge while the yard behind contains among its trees some relics of the original timber that covered that tract of land.

The next to pass from view was probably Lee's run, although that had a distinguished career before it forever disappeared. At the time of the war of 1812 the space between the French street ravine and that of Lee's run was only partly cleared, a portion overlooking the latter having been made a camping place for the soldiers who had been mobilized here for the defense of the city. It was contiguous to the navy yard on the beach below, and therefore a desirable location for a camp. But it was in the outskirts of the village, though on the maps it was a part of the present city. There the growth of the borough was again halted, and it remained, practically, the limits of the settlement until the beginning of the decade of the forties, when Lee's run underwent a remarkable transformation. It became the route of the Erie extension canal. From 1844, when the first boats arrived from Pittsburg, until the canal was closed in 1871 the valley of Lee's run was a centre of business activity that was inspiring, and the town quickly spread beyond.

The closing of the canal brought a transformation almost as swift as its beginning, and far more radical. In the space of a few years not a trace of the old waterway was to be seen above Fifth street. A large main sewer was constructed in the bed of the extinct canal. From one place and another—from how many places no one can ever tell—material was brought to fill up the depression. Locks, bridges, docks, and even the big gas works disappeared. Streets that had been interrupted were opened through. Fine residences sprang up. Today there is not

a vestige remaining of either the canal or the numerous industries that bordered it—nothing save only the Constable establishment, and that a very different affair from that which canal days knew, and not at all suggestive of the past, except to those who knew it in the olden time.

In this final transformation how great the change from what it was in nature's hands! And yet it covers only a little more than 60 years. A few people still living in Erie can remember Lee's run in its pristine condition, or when but slightly altered from what it was when the red man ranged the virgin wilderness. Therefore the change, from first to last, was all effected during the period of a single life—in the memory of one it had passed from the forest to the modern city.

During the same period as that which marked the final passage of Lee's run occurred two other notable changes in the natural aspect of the city; the obliteration of two other prominent features of topography of old-time Erie. At one time there was a stream of considerable size, known as Ichabod run, that, rising in the extreme western edge of the city, above Eighteenth street, flowed directly east, emptying into Mill creek not far from Sixteenth street. It was a favorite haunt of bare-foot boys who could enjoy the sport of fishing for chubs, for it was well stocked with this species of fish. It flowed through what was a tract of open country in a gentle vale, bounded on the south by the slope toward Federal hill and the Ridge road and on the north by Turkey ridge. The summit of the latter was, when Ichabod run was at its best, where Sixteenth street is now located—then it was called Court street—and in aid of the industries of the time the water of the creek was impounded, forming a mill pond from which power was derived for a fine flouring mill and a woolen factory.

But Ichabod run has disappeared. What is left of it as a stream flows through the Seventeenth street sewer, and all that remains visible on the surface is to be found in the celery beds of black muck that still border Eighteenth street. No longer is the vernal season proclaimed by the piping of a million batrachians, as was the case before the building up of the western end of the city brought about the transformation; now the sounds in evidence in the spring evenings are those of a section of town populous with children, and of the rasping noise of the trolley car.

Almost contemporaneous with the disappearance of Ichabod run was the change that abolished the left, or west, branch of Garrison run. That stream had its origin up beyond Marvintown and in its winding way passed down, but was eventually turned into the Parade street sewer. It is not so many years—less than 40—since it occupied the east side of Parade street for a considerable distance where there are now modern mercantile blocks. It used to mark the eastern boundary of the settled part of Erie. Beyond there were only widely extended fields with here and there a house. Now it is one of the most populous

sections of the city, with pavements and sewers and many handsome houses.

Another natural feature that might be classed as a serious obstacle in the way of building a city, but which was in time to vanish before the footsteps of progress was the great hemlock swamp. This extended quite across the city, as the city exists today, though it was located mainly just south of the borough boundary line. West of State street it was very much narrowed; to the east it became very wide, extending as far north as Tenth street. It was a tract of thin soil with a sub-stratum of hard-pan above shale, and in a state of nature was covered with a heavy growth of hemlock timber. It was not an inviting territory, for the farmer could make no use of it, and only the lumber-man could find interest in it. Home-seekers avoided it, and it was not until the city began to be populous that thoroughfares were opened through it, and even to this day the clayey soil in some sort of hazy fashion tells to the modern citizen a small part of the story of what was when nature here held sway. Through this region at great expense of patient toil Sieur Marin's soldiers constructed a road of corduroy, the remains of which endured until, many years afterwards the wilderness road became transformed into a city street.

The Chestnut Orchard was another feature of nature that the transforming hand of civic art was in time to level in accord with the notions of what was proper or desirable in connection with human occupancy. It extended from Millcreek to Garrison run, from Fifth street north, and was made up of numerous swampy ravines separated by rather high ridges; as unpromising a bit of ground as could well be imagined. It was, in fact, chiefly the eastern slope of Millcreek Valley, and only in degree more rough and uneven than the opposite side. Now not even a trace remains of the ravines, and it is many years since the last remnant of the splendid woods that gave it its name, utterly disappeared.

Thus has been sketched the site of the city, as it was when nature still held it. How it became transformed the story of the city's development may make clear. But it was not done except by the toilsome and painful process that must attend every great and important work.

CHAPTER II.—THE TOWN OF ERIE.

Plan Upon Which it Was Laid Out.—First Steps Cityward.—Earliest Buildings.—The Street Problem.

Erie is a splendid example of municipal foreordination. Erie was a town, and even a great city, years before the first settler found his way into this part of the forest wilderness—that is to say, its location was known, and its area, the character of its lay-out, the width of its streets and the size of its squares. As a matter of fact Erie came into existence just about a month after the triangular addition, in which it is located, was made to the state of Pennsylvania, for it was in April, 1792, that the legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed an act reserving the necessary land for the purpose and in April, 1795, that the act providing specifications for the future city was passed. There is nothing so very remarkable in all this when a student of local history comes to take into account what had been happening. As has been already stated, there were interests in Philadelphia that early in the history of the new American republic had judged it important for the state, and especially for that city, that Pennsylvania should possess a lake harbor. General William Irvine had been sent into this region upon an exploring expedition and had submitted his report, and from this report it had been learned that an excellent natural harbor existed here. It was this report that established the belief of the people of the eastern counties that Pennsylvania needed a lake harbor, and the harbor ready-made was exactly the harbor that was needed. Happily, it was also ascertained that the land, of which that coast was a part, was "in the market," and at once proceedings were entered upon that led to the purchase of the Triangle.

No sooner was this accomplished than steps were taken to make use of the newly acquired possession, and the first thing done was to adopt a law providing for the survey of the Triangle, that first law setting apart a section that was intended to be the site of the future city. Because there were other matters yet to be settled in connection with the Triangle, not the least being the Indian troubles, the matter then rested. But they were in earnest regarding the future of Erie, those people of the eastern end of the state. Therefore the act of the legislature that was specific. So much of these two acts—that of 1792 and that of 1795—

as are necessary to duly enlighten the reader are quoted below; but please note that in this earliest act relating to this county the name of the stream that empties into the eastern end of the bay was appropriately Harbor Creek, and note also that the contention of the late Capt. Willard Russell with reference to the erroneous names bestowed upon two of the townships of the county, is thus sustained. The following paragraphs are sections of the law providing for laying out the town of Erie, the first paragraph being an extract from the act of 1792 and the other three taken from the act of 1795:

That the following tracts of land shall be reserved for the use of the Commonwealth, that is to say, at Presque Isle, formed by Lake Erie, the island or peninsula which forms the harbor, and a tract extending eight miles along the shore of the lake, and three miles in breadth, so as to include the tract already surveyed by virtue of a resolution of the General Assembly, and the whole of the harbor formed by the said Presque Isle, at the mouth of Harbor Creek, which empties into the Lake Erie, and along the shore of the lake, on both sides of said creek, two thousand acres."

In order to facilitate and promote the progress of settlement within this Commonwealth, and to afford additional security to the frontiers thereof by the establishment of towns within the several tracts of land heretofore reserved for public uses:

Be it enacted, etc. That the Governor may and shall appoint two commissioners to survey or cause to be surveyed one thousand and six hundred acres of land for town lots, and three thousand and four hundred acres of land adjoining thereto for out-lots, at or near to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, within the tract heretofore reserved for public use in and by said act entitled, "An Act for the sale of Vacant lands within this Commonwealth," passed on the third day of April, 1792; and the said lands so surveyed shall be laid out into town lots and out lots, in such manner, and with such streets, not more than one hundred nor less than sixty feet wide, and such lanes, alleys and reservations for public uses as the said Commonwealth shall direct, but no town lots shall contain more than one-third of an acre, no out lot shall contain more than five acres, nor shall the reservations for public uses exceed in the whole twenty acres; and the town hereby directed to be laid out shall be called Erie, and all the streets, lanes and alleys thereof and of the out lots thereto adjoining, shall be and forever remain common highways.

That the said commissioners shall with all convenient despatch file a draft, return and report of the survey and proceedings made and executed by virtue of this act in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and thereupon it shall be lawful for the governor at such time and times, in such manner and on such terms as to him shall appear most advantageous to the Commonwealth, to sell or cause to be sold at public auction, and by letters patent under the seal of the state to grant and convey to the highest and best bidders respectively, one third part of the town lots and one third part of the out lots surveyed and laid out as aforesaid upon the condition hereinafter specified.

It will thus appear that there was a plan ready prepared for the surveyors, up to which they could work. And yet there was latitude. There was no delay after the approval of this act (of 1795). By the end of June, 1795, the surveyors were on the ground with a force of state troops to guard them from possible interference by the Indians. Nor had the state authorities failed to exercise careful discrimination in selecting the surveyors. The chief was Andrew Ellicott, who had laid out the city of Washington for the United States Government. His associate was General William Irvine. In the minds of the people of the present day it will readily be apparent how it came about that so admirable a plan for the city was provided, the details of it having been committed to him who had the laying out of the national capital.

Let us consider in the first place that this survey for a city of the future was made in 1795, and then, that the survey covered the entire shore from east of "Harbor creek" (Mill creek we call it today) to about Massassauga Point, the head of the bay. It was a generous reservation for the future—the future still in this year of grace, 1909, so far as the most of that original survey is concerned. The specifications called for streets not more than 100 feet wide nor less than 60 feet, and squares not more than five acres each in extent. Mr. Ellicott elected to adhere to the maximum limit. His starting point was Parade street. He gave it that name because it had been a French military road, and he laid it out to be of the maximum width of 100 feet. It was the eastern boundary of the survey of the town. West of Parade street he laid the land out so that at regular intervals, all the way as far as the survey of the town extended, there were streets 100 feet in width, and half way to the line of the southern boundary of the town lots there was another street 100 feet in width running east and west crossing the other streets already referred to at right angles; and wherever the 100-foot streets crossed he laid out public squares, the "reservations for public uses" provided for in the act. Then, for purposes of symmetry, he planned it so that the streets running north and south, next the 100-foot streets, on each side, should be but half as far distant from the main thoroughfare as the other parallel streets were from each other. Now 660 feet make exactly an eighth of a mile, and in order that the squares should not exceed the limit specified the streets running east and west were surveyed 330 feet apart, or a sixteenth of a mile, the large squares being thus five acres in extent. The lay-out of the city was therefore on the plan reduced to its lowest terms, of six long squares interposed between the reservations or public squares (we have called them parks); the north and south streets of 100 feet in width bisecting these public squares or parks, and the central main street, running east and west (Sixth street), being divided at each of the public squares and passing on each side. The survey of town lots for the proposed town of Erie laid out the plan in three sections, the centre of each being a public square and the dividing

line of the sections being the street midway between the public squares. Chestnut street thus became the division between the first and second sections and Cranberry street the division between the second and third. Beyond Cranberry street there was laid out a section exactly similar to the other two, and the principal street running north and south was called Republican street, and the intended streets west of Cranberry were named Cedar, Mulberry, Magnolia, Republican, Gooseberry, Willow, Hazel and West. Farther west the survey consisted of out lots.

It was a splendid lay-out for a great city, and there can be no doubt that Andrew Ellicott had a prophetic eye when he formulated the plan he did. Part of it, however, came to naught, for later an ambition seized the people of Erie and the plan for a splendid city in the future was as nothing to the then present prospects. However, it must not be lost sight of that at the time Erie was but a modest village, by no means fully occupying the first section of Erie, and therefore with no resources beyond what the state had granted to meet the requirements of a crisis. In 1833 it became a settled fact that a canal would be built to Erie. It was necessary that there should be an adequate harbor constructed. For this money was required. The question, How can this be procured? was answered: By selling the third section. This was brought about by securing the passage by the Legislature of an act authorizing it to be done and the employment of the proceeds to construct the canal basin in the harbor of Erie, reserving, however, out of the lands of the third section, one hundred acres for a county poor farm. Thus was Erie's westward progress halted at the western boundary of the second section.

When Andrew Ellicott began the survey of the town of Erie he established a starting point. It was located upon the grounds of what had been the French fort, and with reference to present day conditions was the southeast corner of Parade and Front streets. There he set up a stone monument or landmark upon which he had inscribed:

Erie, 1795
Lat. 42° 8′ 14″
N. Var. 43 E.

It was a stone of the shaly state that crops out on the shore, a piece of a thick stratum of the rock that underlies the city. How long it remained where the surveyor had planted it cannot be accurately told, but someone indifferent to the law and scripture, willfully or otherwise overturned and displaced it, and for a time it became as might be said a rolling stone, for it drifted about until rescued by the late Col. John H. Bliss, who, knowing no better way to ensure its preservation, took it into his possession and kept it until, after the Public Library had been opened and the museum department established, deposited it there, where it remains, safe from harm, but not performing the duty it was designed to do.

The settlement of Erie had its beginning near that stone land mark—that is to say, the first structure known in what was to be Erie. That structure was the French fort. The first structure of the permanent settlement of Erie was however at the next corner south. That structure was the hotel of Rufus S. Reed. His father, Col. Seth Reed, had built a house down in the valley, nearer the stream, but when he decided to move into the interior and shortly did, taking up land at Walnut creek, at what is now known as the hamlet of Kearsarge, Rufus S. elected to get on the higher level ground, and there built a much more commodious house. It stood at the corner of Second and Parade streets. While the stone at the corner of Parade and Front streets was the starting point of the city on paper—the survey made by Mr. Ellicott, the real starting point of the town was the tavern of Rufus S. Reed. Second street was the first thoroughfare of Erie to be laid out and built upon.

Second street was opened by Major McNair in 1802, and the opening consisted in chopping an avenue through the forest. The work of opening the street was not done all at once. There was no great need of it, for the population was sparse. Mrs. Nancy Hoskinson, writing in 1884, from information she derived from people living in Erie at the time of the opening—original settlers—states that in 1806 there was not much clearing done in the street, and it was not until 1811 that the street was cleared of trees and stumps as far west as French street. There had, however, been clearings made here and there in other localities in that quarter (which is now the northwest corner of the First ward). French street had made considerable progress, and by 1811 had a number of buildings, the most notable being the house of George Buehler, on the corner of Third street, that in time became more famous than even the Reed hotel, for the Buehler house was also a hotel, and it was in the Buehler house that the first court ever held in Erie convened. At the beginning of the Nineteenth century, however, the heart of the town was in the vicinity of Parade and Second streets. The eastern end of Second street was more thickly settled than farther west, because all the industries of the time were on or near the creek, and the principal store was that of Rufus S. Reed, in the Reed building at the corner of Parade street. The industries of the time were two saw-mills,—one built by the government at the time Capt. Bissell erected the American forts, and the other by Col. Thomas Forster on the east bank of the creek where the Fairmount Mill now stands—a tannery on Holland and Fifth streets owned by Mr. Deming, and a brick yard in the valley of the creek, started by Thomas Hughes, Sr.

Capt. John Cummins had built a house on the southwest corner of French and Second streets, and in his reminiscences of the ancient days, he informed Mrs. Hoskinson that when Second street had been opened through to French, and had been worked into passable condition it was the custom upon occasions to use it as a race course. Trotting was not

then in vogue, nor were blooded race horses known, any old scrub would serve until its equine standing as a runner was established. The starting point was Rufus S. Reed's store at Parade street, and the finish at Capt. Cummins's, and the citizens of those early days contrived to get as much sport out of these speed contests as the modern patrons of the race track obtain from the much more pretentious meets.

The first court held in Erie met at the Buehler house in 1803. From the court sprang a necessity. That necessity was a jail, and the jail that was built was the most elaborate building of its time. It was made of hemlock logs. Judah Colt owned a lot on the southeast corner of Second and Holland streets and it was on the Colt lot that the jail was built. The timber for the building was cut on the lots which now belong to St. Joseph's orphan asylum. The logs were brought by hand to the site of the building, for the ground was so low and swampy that oxen and horses could not get a foothold. The timber was hewn a foot square and was erected into a house by Robert Irvine, carpenter and Mr. Graves, mason. It was built in 1804, and at first was intended for a residence, but Mr. Colt sold it to the county commissioners, who desired to procure a jail, and when it became county property, important alterations were decided upon. The wooden floor was removed and there was substituted a floor of stone two feet thick, laid in mortar. It was ceiled throughout with oak plank two inches thick, held together by cleats crosswise. It was two stories in height and had four rooms, two in each story. The windows were very small, placed high and secured by iron gratings, part of which remained until the jail was taken down in 1830 or 1832. The jailer's family lived in the east rooms and the other part was devoted to the prisoners. The criminals were roomed below and the debtors above. There was about eighty feet of an inclosure which was of stout hemlock pickets about fifteen feet high.

Robert Irvine, the carpenter who built the jail, was the first jailor. He came to Erie in 1802, and next year built a dwelling place for himself on Seventh street not far from French, which he left to take the position of jailor but he held that post only a year. Mr Irvine was the leading carpenter of his time and it was he who built the first court house in Erie in 1808. He was a native of Ireland and came to America in 1774, living for a short time at Philadelphia when, with Gen. Wayne's family he moved to Carlisle, and a strong friendship grew up between him and the Waynes. When Isaac Wayne came to Erie in 1807, to obtain the remains of the General, his father, he presented Mr. Irvine with Gen. Wayne's effects, and later the General's chair was presented Mrs. David Wasson, mother of Mrs. Bernard Hubley, who ever afterward cherished the relic as the most valuable article of furniture of which she was possessed.

John Gray succeeded Mr. Irvine as keeper of the jail and held the position until it was abandoned when the new jail on Sixth street (where

the present court house stands) was built in 1811. The first prisoner confined in the original jail was a colored servant girl belonging in the family of Wm. F. Codd, and she was charged with the murder of a child of her employers. The little child was found drowned in the creek, and after the negro girl had been in prison for three months she was discharged as no evidence to connect her with the drowning could be obtained. Meanwhile the terror of her situation had driven her violently insane so that it became necessary to chain her.

Soon after she was released her master, Mr. Codd, became insolvent and, fearing that he would be imprisoned for debt, absconded. Perhaps the first prisoner for debt was Thomas Wilson, one of the founders of the town, an army contractor, a ship owner and a leading merchant who failed in business. After he had been a prisoner for some time, Rufus S. Reed and Robert Knox, postmaster, became bondsmen to Jailor Gray for Mr. Wilson, and he was permitted to become a member of the jailor's family. In 1813-14 Mr. Wilson represented the Erie district in Congress. Mr. Gray was himself considerable of a character in early Erie. While filling the office of jailor he also from time to time served as sheriff, postmaster and justice of the peace.

It was in the year 1805 that the first step out of the woods towards its goal as a great city was taken by Erie, when it became incorporated as a borough. Nor was the act niggardly in its appropriation of territory, for the act erected into a borough the first section of the town of Erie as surveyed by Mr. Ellicott, its boundaries being Parade street on the east, Chestnut street on the west, Twelfth street on the south and the lake, or bay on the north, the territory being nearly a mile square, and the proportion of it actually settled, and sparsely at that, being as one to ten. Allowing, therefore, that the portion settled had been cleared, though as a matter of fact it was not, there was nine times as much unbroken forest as there was of clearing at the time Erie was erected into a borough. And this is a liberal allowance, for as has already been stated in this chapter, there was scarcely any clearing in Second street, the thoroughfare first opened, in 1806, and when the jail was built (about the same time) the land south of Second between Holland and Millcreek Valley was a hemlock forest.

So the legislators were liberal in that they assigned the new borough plenty of land in which to grow. The population at the time the borough was created was probably between 200 and 300, for by the census of 1820, —fifteen years later—the borough contained only 635 inhabitants. But, if the law makers at Lancaster, which was then the state capital, were liberal in respect to the territory assigned, their successors at Harrisburg were disposed to lean the other way for by an act passed in April, 1833, it was provided:

That the first section of the town of Erie, in the county of Erie, shall still continue and forever remain a borough under the name and title of "The Borough of Erie," and the east side of Parade street, the south side of Twelfth street, the west side of Chestnut street and the north side of the water lots, in the Bay of Presque Isle, shall continue to be the boundaries thereof.

Thus it will be seen that by fiat of the Pennsylvania law makers Erie was forever to remain a borough, and it was a good many years after the edict went forth before the people of the little hamlet by the side of the inland sea troubled themselves respecting the character of the corporation of which they each formed a part. They were in no special haste. There were no boomers in those days. They were content to move along at a slow pace, indeed there seemed to be no especial stimulus of ambition to put spurs in their sides, and after a time the place came popularly to be known as "The Sleepy Borough." From the year of its incorporation up to 1811 the principal work devolving upon the authorities was to open the roads that still were filled with the trees of the original forest—that and the erection of a jail. But progress was made. By the year 1811 French street had become quite a popular, if not populous, thoroughfare. It had then become the heart of the town, because Erie had grown sufficiently to be recognized by the government at Washington to the extent that it had been created a postoffice town, and the postoffice was that year built on French street. The first postmaster was Jailor John Gray. He was appointed April 1, 1811. But he served only a little more than two months. On June 13, 1811, Robert Knox was appointed, and he filled the position for seventeen years—the longest term on record as postmaster of Erie.

Mr. Knox's first act was to build a postoffice. It was erected at the corner of Third and French streets (where public school No. 1 now stands). It was built of logs with a small frame addition and was oddly constructed. Mrs. Hoskinson describes it. The large front room was used for the postoffice and store; back of this was the sitting room, a small three-cornered apartment which opened into a bedroom with folding doors; from the kitchen to the upper story there was a very large stairway; underneath this was the servants bedroom, which had double doors but no windows; the parlor and bedrooms were on the second story. In the rear there was a garden, the ground sloping to the ravine, near the edge of which there was a spring of clear cold water. In the summer the garden presented a beautiful appearance, the vegetable beds being bordered with flowers.

Mr. Knox, who was a native of County Down, Ireland, and who settled in Erie in 1803, was genial, witty and original, and was a general favorite. The postoffice was a sort of clubroom. In the evening there was always a coterie of gentlemen there, and if there was not room inside there was a large "block" outside which in pleasant weather would be seated full. Here were often seen Major and Dr. Wallace, Capt. D.

Dobbins, Col. Thomas Forster, Dr. P. Christie of the U. S. Navy, Capt. Richardson, Lieut. Tewksbury of the Navy, Capt. Connor, Capt. George Budd, commander of the naval station; Major and Capt. Maurice, topographical engineers, and others of the prominent people of the place and time. Then, as now, gatherings of that sort were given over to story telling, and it came in time that the block obtained the sobriquet of the "Lying Block." In May, 1824, some wag, or party of waggish spirits perpetrated the practical joke of stealing the block, and the result was that Mr. Knox perpetrated a poem, entitled: "Knox's Lament for his Lying Block," which resulted in his election to the ranks of the Erie immortals.

The borough government began early in its modest way to occupy the land, and to bring about improvement. And what was the process by which the town of Erie was dragged out of the woods and its streets made available? It was a councilmanic process somewhat after the order of present day proceedings, except that there was then no ward problem to disturb and also that there was but little money to spend.

It is proper first to introduce the new government of the borough. It was incorporated by an act of the Legislature passed March 26, 1805, but the first election was held on May 5, 1806, more than a year later, when these officers were chosen: Burgess, John C. Wallace; council, Judah Colt, Rufus S. Reed, George Buehler, Robert Hays, George Shontz; constable, Robert Irwin. The election over, no time was wasted. The very next day, May 7, 1806, there was a meeting to complete the organization, when these appointments were made: Town clerk, James E. Heron; street commissioners, Thomas Forster, William Wallace, James Baird; treasurer, William Bell. The people of the infant borough, it will be observed selected the best material obtainable. All were men of standing in the community, leaders in business, and educated. In the selection of street commissioners they put Thomas Forster first. He was a Princeton man, educated to be a civil engineer, and his fitness for the position is therefore apparent. William Wallace, another commissioner, was the first lawyer to take up his abode in Erie. He represented the Pennsylvania Population Co., and built and lived in the frame house on East Sixth street, still standing, and known as the old Sill homestead. Of the officers elected the burgess was Dr. John C. Wallace, Erie's earliest physician, and he was to become distinguished in later years by serving as Justice of the Peace, County Commissioner, a colonel commanding a regiment during the war of 1812, and the assistant of Dr. Usher Parsons in taking care of the wounded in the battle of Lake Erie who were brought to Erie for treatment. Judah Colt was the agent of the Pennsylvania Population Co.; Rufus S. Reed was the leading merchant and business man; George Buehler kept the principal public house; Robert Hays was a man of substance. William Bell, the treasurer, was Associate Judge, and James E.

Heron, the first town clerk, was a brother-in-law of Dr. Wallace. It is thus evident that the people put their best foot forward when they set out upon their journey as a corporate community.

There was a meeting of the Council on May 9, 1806—the first meeting for borough business, when their initial act was to issue "Instructions to Thomas Forster, James Baird and William Wallace, Regulators for the Borough of Erie," the instructions being as follows:

Gentlemen: You will please proceed as soon as convenient to examine and regulate Second street from the west side of Parade street to the east side of French street, and French street, from the south side of Front street to the north side of Sixth street, marking by post or otherwise each corner where streets intersect the same, and also marking from the edges of the lots twelve feet for the purpose of footways. You will also procure implements for the purpose of regulating the streets of the borough, and when said business is finished you will make report to the burgess, who is hereby authorized to draw his warrant on the treasurer of said borough for the amount of moneys due for said service, allowing each regulator one dollar per day while necessarily engaged in said business, as also the moneys expended in the purchase of the aforesaid implements.

By order of the Burgess and Town Council.

JAMES E. HERON, Town Clerk.

The regulators went promptly to work, and were ready to make their report on May 17, eight days after the instructions were issued. But first the council felt the duty incumbent upon them of providing a revenue, and to this end it was voted that a "tax of fifty one-hundredths of a dollar be levied on the valuation of property for the year 1806." Then the council voted "That the Burgess is authorized to receive proposals for taking the stumps out of French street from the south side of Front street to the north side of Sixth street, viz: between the lines made by the street commissioners for foot-ways." James Savage came forward with an offer "to take the stumps and roots out from the front side of the Burgess's house to the front side of Judge Bell's house" for $37, and he got the job. Then Rufus S. Reed was authorized to contract on the best terms he could for hauling away the stumps and leveling French street, and for leveling Second street from the Gaol to French street. The stumps in the foot-ways were to be dug out by owners of property, and an ordinance to that effect, imposing a penalty for neglect was passed.

It was not until September that the other streets of the borough claimed attention, and it was at a meeting on the 5th of that month that State street, eventually to become the principal street of the town, came forward to receive attention. Here is a resolution adopted at that date which is interesting and instructive as indicating the economy that had then to be practiced:

Resolved That $25 be appropriated in repairing Second street and that Mr. Rufus S. Reed be authorized to lay out the money to the best advantage.

That $5 be laid out in improving Third street and Mr. Buehler be requested to lay out the money.

That $10 be laid out on Fourth street and that Judah Colt be instructed to lay out the money.

That $11 be laid out on State street and that Robert Hays be instructed to lay out the same.

How was this for a lay-out? What could the councilmen of today do with $51 toward the repair and improvement of four streets? There are no details to convey an idea of the amount of work done, but the manner of the appropriation seems to suggest that the expenditures voted were munificent, for the leading men of the town were called upon to look after the business. But note the deference paid to Mr. Buehler. Unlike the others, his first name is not used, and then he is not directed, instructed or even authorized to do the work; he is requested to do it. Mr. Buehler was proprietor of the village inn, and the meetings of the council were held at Mr. Buehler's.

It was at this period that the new road from the south was being constructed to Erie, the road ever since known as the Waterford Turnpike, and the borough council was moved to do its share toward bringing the road into Erie. In furtherance of this the following resolution was adopted May 16, 1807:

Resolved That $150 be specially appropriated for turnpiking State street from Ninth to the south side of Twelfth street and that John Hay be authorized to make the contract.

Resolved That the street regulators be instructed by the high constable to ascertain and mark without delay the centre of State street and make report to the council at next meeting, the expense to be paid out of the above appropriation.

Now it is not to be understood that there was at the time a passable road between the points named in the above resolution which directs turnpiking to be done, though that might be inferred. As a matter of fact there was no road more than a mere wagon trail. On May 26, 1807, 10 days after council ordered the turnpiking done, this resolution was adopted:

Resolved That the balance of this year's tax (after deducting $30 for incidental expenses and $5, to be laid out as hereinafter mentioned) be laid out in improving State street northwardly from the south side of Twelfth in manner following, to wit: All the timber, etc., within the same to be cut within one foot of the ground and be burned, the timber

(stumps?), etc., to be grubbed out eighteen feet on each side of the centre, and to be turnpiked 32 feet wide with a ditch two feet wide on each side thereof, turnpike to be raised 18 inches in the middle; and that John Hay and Thomas Forster be authorized to contract for making the same and to draw on the treasurer for the amount thereof.

The little town was in a corner of the woods. All of the space west of French street, including the parks, was the primeval forest. The authorities had taken steps to reach out into the world in a southerly direction, but at home the pioneer life still prevailed and the crude methods, one of which found rebuke by the passage of the following ordinance on Aug. 4, 1807:

An ordinance prohibiting persons from throwing stumps, etc., in the water course that passes through the borough.

Be it ordained and enacted by the town council of the borough of Erie, That from and after the 12th day of January next, any person who shall throw stumps, logs, or any other substance subject to decay into the gully or water course that passes through the borough where the streets cross the same, or in the public square, shall pay a fine of $5 for the use of the borough, with costs of prosecution and the same shall be removed at the expense of the person throwing them in.

Here you have in an official enactment the story of the ravine that passed through the park, and somehow that ordinance to me contains hints of the scent of hemlock spruce and sweet fern that would hover about that gully in the park, and in imagination I can hear the rippling of the water down below the rustic bridge and the trill of the wood thrush overhead. It was in the park, that then was not so formal as our park today, but was more charming.

It was not until 1810 that attention was directed to the lower part of State street. That became the subject of importance at a meeting held at Mr. Buehler's July 30, of that year, with these councilmen present, William Wallace, Conrad Brown, Arch. McSparren, Samuel Hays and Thomas Forster and this resolution was passed:

Resolved that the burgess be authorized to draw a warrant on the treasury of the borough of Erie in favor of any person or persons for the sum of $14, payable in county warrants, who shall clear State street from the north side of Front street to the centre of the public square of all brush, logs, and wood of every description, lying or being in said street, to be approved by a majority of the council when the same shall be said to be completed.

Resolved that Samuel Hays and Arch. McSparren be a committee to contract for taking out the stumps for 20 feet on each side of the centre of State street and filling in the holes from the south side of the public square to the north end of the bridge between Ninth and Tenth streets.

Slowly but steadily the borough was making progress. On May 6, 1807, a resolution was passed. "That the inhabitants of the borough are at liberty to plant trees on the streets." The first market ordinance was passed May 26, 1807, but it proved abortive, and others to take its place were passed in 1814 and 1815. On September 15, 1815 it was voted to appropriate $350 to buy a fire engine, and next year a second-hand one was procured, and then the inquiry was set afoot, "what will it cost to get it in repair?" On September 9, 1815, the County Commissioners reported that they had completed the filling of the ravine in the public square as far as they intended to and asked the borough officers to take hold now and do the rest. This improvement was in front of the new courthouse that had been built in 1808, and it indicated how the march of progress had set in toward the south, even at that early day.

CHAPTER III.—THE BOROUGH CHARTERED.

EARLY TROUBLES.—TOWN FINANCES.—WATER SUPPLY.—THE CANAL.—WAR OF 1812.—VISITS OF NOTABLES.

The borough, having become incorporated and organized, and having bravely set out upon the road to become great, hewing its way out of the forest in the construction of that road, it is interesting to note how the founders of Erie set about the work before them and how they met the various problems that were constantly arising to confront them. There were no guide books available in those days to point out the way or direct the Burgess and Council what to do or how to do it; nothing but the pressing problem of the time, that continued to arise, though always in some new form or aspect. It was not much more than an opening in the woods for many years, but that opening was being gradually extended, and in an orderly fashion, for there was a plan to work up to, and development was along lines so laid down that they could not be varied.

This plan was with reference to the streets, and it has been already stated, by what means the laying out and improvement of the town's highways was prosecuted. Then, as now, funds were required with which to pay for the work done. To levy a tax and collect it was of course the approved method of procuring the needful, and accordingly a levy of half a mill was imposed. They were economical; extremely so. But it cost money to grub out stumps and turnpike the streets, and the adventitious aid that was afforded by sentencing the town drunkards to dig out the proper number of stumps that the offence against public good order called for, besides the Saturday afternoon grubbing bees of the good citizens, was not enough to enable the town government to do all that was required by the slow but yet steady growth of the little town. So it became necessary to look about for another source of revenue. This was found in the water lots, which the act of 1805 permitted the Burgess and Town Council to sell, and devote the proceeds to public improvement. At the beginning there was not much demand for these water lots, for the commerce of the port was not extensive, and anything of greater tonnage than a batteau, or at best a small sloop, was halted at the harbor entrance, and the public landing on the sand beach, with the warehouse erected there, afforded ample facilities for Erie's import and export trade. It was not until the business in salt developed that Erie's com-

merce became entitled to the name. So the proceeds of the sale of the water lots were not available as a dependable prop upon which to lean at the time the borough was begun. But soon this source came into practical use.

Then arose another problem. The lots when sold were not paid for in full, in cash. There was a hand payment and two or more deferred payments. There seemed to be no Erie banker then who was ready to discount the notes received from the purchasers of the lots. Years afterwards Rufus S. Reed, and, succeeding him, his son, Charles M. Reed, could always be depended upon for such accommodations. But then it was different. Consequently it became necessary to resort to an expedient, for money was wanted, and at once. The problem was solved by the adoption by the borough council, on August 3, 1816, of the following resolution:

"That the Burgess and Town Council do issue small bills or notes (bearing interest) to an amount equal to four-fifths of the purchase money arising from the late sale of water lots; that said bills or notes be redeemable out of said purchase money, and that the Borough be authorized to send to Pittsburg and obtain a quantity of suitable paper for said bills."

This resolution was carried out as appears by the action of Council taken on November 4, the same year, when the Burgess was directed to issue 24 bills of the denomination of 75 cents; 48 of 50 cents; 72 of 37½ cents; 192 of 25 cents, and 240 of 12½ cents. The currency issue of the borough, it will therefore appear, amounted to the sum of $147, all of which was to be devoted to the work of public improvement (about enough at the present time to pay for a street intersection). Money went farther in those days. But, look over the schedule again and note the deference paid to the shilling, which was then and for nearly three-quarters of a century afterwards the standard unit of monetary computation.

For a long time the Borough was bothered by the financial bugaboo —indeed the city has troubles of much the same sort even at the present time. It was not a steady practice to issue currency in the name of the corporation, but instead, warrants were issued that became current, and these it appears were from time to time turning up, along with the regular Borough scrip, not all of which had been redeemed with promptness, for it was directed by a resolution adopted on July 7, 1827, "That the treasurer of the Borough receive for all debts now due the Borough, for water lots and otherwise, Borough money issued by the Burgess, and receipt for the same as if paid in specie. The fruit of this resolution is apparent in similar action taken on May 3, 1828, when it was voted

"That the uncurrent money in the Borough treasury, amounting to twelve dollars (in paper), is not worth preserving, and that it be burnt and the treasurer credit himself with the same." Then came an act of repudiation. It is sad to record it of those who were striving to build up in this wilderness a community that was destined to become a great city, but that is what it amounted to, as the following extract from the record of the date of July 15, 1829, will show: "Resolved That the treasurer of the Borough and the collector be required not to receive small bills purporting to be bills drawn by the burgess and treasurer of said Borough, on account of taxes and debts due the Borough." It is barely possible the paper referred to in the last quoted act was spurious, though that is not stated. However that may be, the ghost of the Borough currency had not been laid, for as late as April 12, 1832, it again made its appearance. Apparently it had been forced upon the attention of the council and came up out of a disputed claim, for the resolution adopted was "That the Treasurer receive from Anson Jewett small bills or Borough warrants issued by the Burgess and Treasurer in 1816, in payment of his market house rent and due by him, year 1828."

It thus appears that for sixteen years the Borough of Erie was oppressed with the incubus of a currency debt that at the start appeared to be so harmless. And it amounted to only $147! But it was not the last experiment in Borough currency. On July 23, 1847, the period of the flush times soon after the canal was opened, there occurred another financial strait which was bridged by the following resolution:

That the Clerk be, and he is hereby instructed, to order of Messrs. Danthforth, Spencer & Hufty of New York, two plates in the similitude of bank notes for this borough, and to print therefrom bills to the amount of $6,000, $4,000 of which sum shall be of the denomination of one dollar and the balance of the denomination of two dollars.

In the year 1816 the Borough authorities for the first time had the subject of a general water supply brought to their attention. It does not appear that the wells had run dry or that there had been any calamity or conflagration to urge it upon their attention, for the resolution is without preamble. At any rate Thomas Laird, Robert Brown and Samuel Hays were appointed to confer with Rufus S. Reed and Major David McNair respecting the privilege of bringing water from Ichabod's run into the borough. Ichabod run was a stream that had its rise in the southwestern corner of the present city, and that was fed by springs from the gravelly ridge south. Its course was east from about Twentieth and Cranberry streets to Millcreek at Sixteenth or Seventeenth street, and it is now taken care of by the Seventeenth street sewer. It does not appear that any report was made by that committee. At any rate the water works matter slumbered until 1822, when, on May 6, the Council

in a general way laid the matter before the public in such form as to invite and encourage private enterprise, the declaration being that any one who may wish to do so "has every permission and privilege the Council can give, to bring water in pipes underground through any of the streets of the Borough." The only conditions prescribed were that no damage be done to streets, sidewalks or property, and that water be furnished in case of fire.

No one was ready to take advantage of the liberal offer made, and again the subject hibernated, this time for a period of sixteen years. But when again it awoke from its lethargy it gave evidence of having developed strength. On May 14, 1838, a resolution called for an examination of Ichabod's run and the spring on Reed's farm with the view of testing their capability of supplying the Borough with water. On the 25th of the same month there was a favorable report on the capacity and altitude, and, after considering the matter, on June 29 of the same year it was voted to advertise in Philadelphia for a loan of $40,000 for waterworks. It was a big project. But it failed. The spring on Reed's farm referred to was located between Holland and German streets at about Twentieth street, and supplies the water for the artificial product of the Consumers Ice Co.

There were no results from the advertising, but meanwhile there had been an occurrence which put spurs in the sides of the town officials and set things in motion. The Mansion House, Erie's leading hotel, was burned down on January 24, 1840, and it set the people to considering. After a year of thought, on April 16, 1841, a petition was presented asking that immediate steps be taken to supply the town with water as a means of safety against fire, and on June 11 following it was voted to advertise for proposals for carrying water into town in logs. The advertising failed in results, and a committee was appointed on June 25 (R. S. Reed and T. G. Colt) empowered to contract for bringing water into Erie in wooden pipes and to provide ways and means therefor. The result was that the pump-log water works was constructed at a total cost of $442.28. Again it may be remarked that money went farther in the good old days than it does now. But then; consider what that water works amounted to.

They had their scares in the olden times, and plagues and pestilences were as great a menace as they have been known to be later. In 1831 Dr. Vosburg and Dr. Kellogg reported that a family named Martin, infected with small-pox, were quartered in one of the buildings in the old navy yard. The navy yard, established in 1813, while Perry's fleet was being built, was abandoned by the Government in 1826, but there were buildings remaining. The action of Council on the report of the doctors was to order the family removed to the old block house on the peninsula.

The next year there came the cholera scare. Happily Erie was not visited, though many other places were, including some on the shores of Lake Erie. Here prompt action was taken. The town was quarantined. Steamboats were kept at a distance and travelers forbidden admission. It was ordered that the town should be thoroughly purified; that the houses should be cleaned; that drunkards and vagrants were to be locked up, and all tippling places and groceries were to be proceeded against. Perhaps Erie's immunity at the time that plague was so troublesome elsewhere was due to the vigorous action taken, but whether it was due to the precautions or escaping exposure, the dread disease found no foothold here.

For a time there seemed to be nothing more serious to disturb the peace, good order and safety of the little community than fast driving and the vagrant cattle, swine, sheep and geese, all of which the Council felt called upon to take notice of by pretty regularly recurring public declarations with now and then a protest against rubbish in the streets and stumps in the ravines. However, in 1847 the confidence and feeling of security received a gentle shock that prompted the Council to take up the subject of a hospital and declare that one should be built. But it was not. Instead the matter dragged along for a year, when the matter was indefinitely postponed. But there were happenings, and in 1849 Councils passed a resolution (legislation was then principally by resolution) to build a hospital, and the records show that one was built, but how, or where, or what manner of building it was, what it cost, and what its scope are left to the conjecture of those of future generations who scan the pages of the minute books.

After it had become a settled thing, by the passage of favorable legislation, that the Pennsylvania Canal was to be extended from Pittsburg to Erie, there was an immediate and notable awakening of interest in Erie, from outside as well as at home. In the year 1836 it developed into a boom. In that year the Erie branch of the United States bank at Philadelphia was built, being by far the most costly and pretentious building—or collection of buildings, for there were three in the group—that Erie could boast of. It is one of Erie's most noteworthy buildings of the present day, now going by the name of the old Custom House. Real estate quickly took on sensational values, and the sales were enormous. The extent to which the boom attained may be estimated from the fact that during a single week in March, 1836, the sale of lots in the little borough of Erie amounted to $1,500,000. The boom in real estate continued into 1837, when there was a bursting of the bubble, far more sudden than the inflation had been, and hundreds who had believed themselves rich in a day found themselves in poverty and even in distress. It was a picturesque, thuogh brief epoch in the history of the town.

Then there came on the epoch of the town pump. Now the town pump was more of an institution in Erie than the mention of it will

suggest. To be sure it served as a place where the thirsty citizen could supply his pressing need and country cousin could water his team, for each of the wells was provided with its watering trough. But it was more. It was the main reliance of the populace in time of fire. There was a fire department in Erie—a fire department after its kind. It was organized in 1813, when hooks, ladders and leather buckets were procured and these served until an engine was bought in 1815 and put in commission after repairs, in 1816, when a fire engine company was organized. But it was one of the earliest design, and the town pump was a necessary adjunct, with its watering trough, for the water was lifted from the trough in pails and emptied into the engine to be pumped from that into the hose, while the supply in the trough was kept up by persistent work at the pump handle. This being the modus operandi it can readily be guessed that the town pump had to be multiplied. At that time 300 feet of hose was regarded as an abundant supply. Therefore the town pump was distributed through the town, and with discriminating care. In the year 1839 there were seven, located as follows: One at Capt. Dobbins's, Third and State; at the American Hotel, where the Erie Trust Company's building now stands; on lower French street, not definitely stated; on Fifth street; on the Public Square; at Sixth and French streets, and on Fifth and State streets. They were located in the highway, and bills for repairs, to keep them always in serviceable condition, were frequently coming before the meetings of council.

The construction of the pump-log water works to some extent supplanted the town pump, and at the same time resulted in modernizing the engine equipment. It is not to be understood that the town was equipped with fire hydrants or that the engines were operated by steam, for both of these later day civic necessities were then still many years in the future. But, the best they could then do the council did. Reservoirs of considerable capacity were constructed, one at the intersection of Fifth and French and another at State and Seventh streets. These were supplied with water from the wooden pipes of the water works and out of them the water was drawn by the new engines through a suction hose.

It will be observed that all the time Erie was making progress upwards. The next important step was recorded in the minutes as follows: "Council convened July 30, 1845, in pursuance of the order of the Burgess to take into consideration a petition from citizens, praying council to purchase a town clock. Said petition contained the signatures of Smith Jackson and 97 others." The story of the town clock as gleaned from the musty old records is not without something of interest. It appears that H. T. Dewey had a clock to sell and the petition was in consequence of that circumstance. Council at once took action. A committee was appointed to negotiate with Mr. Dewey and buy the clock, provided its cost was not more than $400, and another was appointed to examine the different cupolas of the town and select the one most proper to re-

ceive the clock. On the 8th of August a committee was appointed "to provide ways and means, upon the faith of the corporation, for the payment of the in-hand installment due Mr. Dewey for the town clock bought of him."

Then ensued the usual clock troubles. In July, 1847, a committee was appointed "to examine the condition of the town clock"; in December of the same year a committee was named to make a contract for winding the town clock, and in May, 1848, came Moses Koch and asked Council to pay the notes held by him, given by Council for the town clock, whereupon a committee was appointed to examine the clock and report. Then came the end. It appeared that the cupola selected when the clock was bought was that of the First Presbyterian Church. In August, 1848, the officers of the church served notice that they were about to repair the building and asked that the clock be removed, as it was in the way. From all that appears of record that was the last of the town clock. It does not appear that Mr. Koch was paid for the notes he held.

During nearly the whole history of the borough of Erie the principal attention paid to the streets was to get the stumps out and to turnpike them sufficiently to permit the water to find the ditches on the side. The grading was far from perfect, and when the ground was comparatively level the method adopted to render the highway serviceable was not by the employment of a civil engineer to carefully lay out and grade the roadway, but to depend upon the assistance rendered by nature—very much the same method that is pursued on most of the country roads at the present time. After a section of road had been "made," the authorities left it to itself and patiently awaited the next shower. If the rain was heavy enough it indicated where more filling was necessary, and the places where pools of water collected were marked, so as to receive more filling. It was not until 1850 that a regular borough surveyor was appointed in the person of Samuel Low.

Nor were sewers a source of trouble to the citizens of the borough. The first mention of a sewer at a meeting of Council was on May 23, 1845, when R. O. Hulbert appeared and petitioned the council for a sewer in French street to furnish drainage for the cellars of citizens. There is no record that any action was taken on the petition. The first work entitled to the name of sewer was probably the covered drain that extended through the ravine passing diagonally across State street and a portion of the east and west park, under the City Hall and Park Church, on the south, and Brown's Hotel and the Gallagher building on the north. Another drain of a similar character was found some years ago in Eleventh street from French street to Millcreek. Neither of these, however, existed by the authority of an act of the borough council, and the date of their construction cannot be given. Public sewers came years after the incorporation of the city.

Much the greater part of the work of the borough council was occupied with the harbor and docks, but this subject will have attention by itself being incorporated in the chapter that has to do with the port of Erie.

It was on January 21, 1842, that official notice was taken of the fact that the Michigan was to be built here, which was by a resolution introduced in Council by Thomas G. Colt:

Whereas it hath come to the knowledge of the Burgess and Town Council that the citizens of Erie and northwestern Pennsylvania are deeply indebted to the exertions of Hon. Wm. W. Irwin, member of Congress from the city of Pittsburg, and to our fellow townsman Wm. M. Watts, Esq., for the selection of the harbor of Erie as the point for building the proposed Government steamship for the lakes;

Resolved, That the Burgess and Town Council, in behalf of their constituents, thank the Hon. Wm. W. Irwin and Wm. M. Watts, Esq., for their able and very efficient services in procuring the government steamship for the lakes to be built at the harbor of Erie.

There was an attempt made in behalf of Buffalo to have the Michigan removed to that port from Erie, which elicited a warm protest, formally drawn up and passed at a special meeting of Council, Sept. 11, 1850. From the first Erie felt a proprietary interest in the Michigan (now the Wolverine), and at first took the liberty of naming the new ship the Erie.

There were stirring episodes in the early history of Erie—"times that tried men's souls," and occasions quite the reverse. But it is in vain—almost—to search in the records of the borough for reference to these. There was, for example, the period of the War of 1812, when this little community was shaken to its very foundations; when terror possessed not a few, to the extent that some fled to Waterford to be safe from the apprehended invasion of the British and their Indian allies, while others, among them the family of Gen. Kelso took up their quarters at Duncan's tavern (in more recent times the Farmer's Hotel, at the corner of French and Fifth streets) to be out of danger from the bombardment it was believed was constantly impending. There was all manner of stir in the town. Perry's fleet was being built. Soldiers were being recruited for the army. Troops were arriving for the protection of the town, and departing to perform duties of a similar character elsewhere. There were sleepless nights, and days of anxiety during which nearly every eye was searching in the offing for the appearance of the dreaded sail of the enemy. But nothing of all this appears in the precise and concise record of the proceedings of the borough council—that is to say, in what is written, there is no mention of the war, nor of the naval preparations or army movements.

But, between the lines there is a moving story of the conditions; evidence that the official as well as his constituents, that high as well as low in the society of the time, were engrossed in the occurrences of the period. The meetings of Council had failed, and it was not until the second of July, 1813, that it had been possible to get enough together for business. The date is significant, in view of the state of affairs at the navy yards. All of the ships had been launched but the Niagara and she was completed and ready to be put into the water. Doubtless, there was a brief period of relief from the anxiety that had prevailed. So there was a meeting. But after all, little was done, except to pass the following:

Resolved that any member or members, including the Burgess, who does not attend at any meeting of the Council (on having due notice, or being present at adjournment) within fifteen minutes after the time mentioned for said meeting, shall pay a fine of one dollar and fifty cents—unless he or they can give a satisfactory reason.

"Adjourned to 13 July next."

It was a determined effort that was made in this resolution to correct a dereliction; to remind the officials that there were duties to perform; that one of these duties was to attend the meetings appointed to be held by the Council, and a day was set when they were next to meet or pay a fine. July 13 was that day. But Council did not meet until October 28. That was after the great battle had been fought and won; after the victorious fleet had returned; after the celebration had taken place; after all the excitement attendant upon the important event had subsided. There is surely a story of what did happen in what the Council did not say in that resolution or in the report of proceedings.

Another occurrence of importance was that of the visit of La Fayette in 1825. There is reference to that, but it consists in a refusal to pay a claim of Basil Hoskinson, the town bellman, for announcing the approach of the cortege.

It was a great occasion for Erie, and to this day his visit here is set down as one of the most important events in our local records. In those days Erie held a most important position. It was believed to be the gateway to the internal commerce of the nation. The route by which trade from the eastern states to the great west of the interior was expected to proceed was through Erie to Waterford, whence, by way of French creek, the Allegheny and the Ohio, all of the vast western country was to be reached. These natural waterways were then looked upon as a provision of Providence, which could never be surpassed or superseded for the development of that boundless region, and, coinciding in the judgment of the French who had selected Erie as the most available point from which to start into the interior, the pioneers of the Anglo-Saxon race looked upon this place as the most important upon the

shores of these inland seas. It was to Erie, then, that La Fayette came from Pittsburg, traversing the route the French had originally adopted.

His journey by water brought him to Waterford which was the northern terminus of the boating stage, and there he arrived on June 2, 1825. He spent the night in Waterford. There he was met by the reception committee sent from Erie, and early on June 3 he set out for this place. The route, however, was not over the French road, but by way of what is still known as the Waterford pike. It comes from Waterford through the Strong settlement and leads in a very nearly direct line to a point a short distance south of the hamlet now known as Kearsarge, at which point it is joined by the road from Edinboro. Along this route the procession passed, through Kearsarge, down Nicholson's hill, as we now know it, to Eagle village or Federal Hill. This point is at the corner of Peach and Twenty-sixth streets, and was for many years a considerable place, a point to halt at in old staging days, for it marked the junction of two leading thoroughfares, the great route of travel toward the west and the roads that led to the south.

At Eagle Village there was in waiting a military escort, sent there to accompany the distinguished French general the rest of the way to Erie. The little borough might have been distinguishable in the distance, but for the forests that intervened, but it was yet a considerable march before Erie could be reached. Down the turnpike the procession wended its way, continuing until it halted at the foot of State street. Then, from the navy yard at the mouth of Lee's run (the gas works occupy the site at present) a national salute to the guest of the American people was fired. This ceremony concluded, General La Fayette was presented to the United States naval officers and the prominent citizens of the little village of Erie.

In those days there stood on the northeast corner of State and Third streets, the residence of Captain Daniel Dobbins. It was one of the most pretentious of the time. To this Gen. La Fayette was escorted and it became his place of abode while in Erie.

But the general was not given much time to rest. He was formally welcomed in a set speech by John C. Wallace, burgess of Erie, and when the ceremony had been concluded he was escorted to the residence of Thomas G. Colt to be introduced to the ladies of Erie. Tradition has it that the gallant old soldier and his interesting son, who accompanied him, made themselves very popular with the ladies of that early time.

The most notable feature, however, was yet to come. This was a public dinner, and, probably for lack of a room of sufficient dimensions, the bridge that spanned the ravine, on Second street, between State and French, was utilized for the purpose. The arrangements for the dinner were put in charge of John Dickson, who kept the large tavern at the southeast corner of Second and French streets, which still stands very much the same in appearance as then, now more than eighty years ago. Dickson had been a sailor in his youth, a British tar, and had served

under Lord Nelson. He was therefore able, with the bridge as a basis of operations, to improvise a banqueting hall worthy the occasion, for he had ample material at hand. Employing the sails of the British vessels captured by Perry, which were stored at the navy yard, a canopy was constructed which covered the whole bridge. Flags and ship's bunting were requisitioned and with a sailor's skill employed to ornament the place, and the accounts that have come down to us of that grand occasion describe it as a scene of splendor such as Erie people had never before dreamed of.

Under the decorated canopy on the bridge the tables were spread, and there was a great gathering at this public dinner, the first of its kind in the history of Erie. The population of Erie at that time probably did not reach a thousand souls. Five years earlier, according to the census, the population was 635; in 1830, five years after the visit of La Fayette, there were 1,329 inhabitants. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume that the village did not number more than a thousand people of all ages. The stories the oldest people,—of other days now,—used to tell of that banquet to La Fayette would lead one with any reasonable amount of imagination in his mental make-up to believe that everyone of that thousand was a partaker of the feast.

It passed off with eclat. Not a hitch occurred to mar the proceedings, nor an untoward break of any kind. At the conclusion of the feast there was the usual "flow of soul," and the toast proposed by La Fayette has been preserved, a sentiment that it is needless to say was heartily appreciated. He proposed:

"Erie: a name that has great share in American glory; may this town ever enjoy a proportionate share in American prosperity and happiness."

Gen. La Fayette spent the night at the Dobbins house, occupying the room on the second floor front in the northwestern corner of the building, and the next day took his departure, escorted to the mouth of Chautauqua creek, below Westfield, where he took boat for Buffalo. The room the great Frenchman occupied during his stay in Erie was long a place of interest and everything connected with it became valued as a relic.

Subsequent visits by notable men were not so slighted by the borough council. The visit of Henry Clay on July 8, 1849, was deemed of sufficient importance to receive official notice in the public record. But, so far as action taken is concerned, the most important of all was the visit to Erie of President Taylor and Governor Johnston in August, 1849. It required the action of several meetings to conclude a plan and at a special session, held August 21, 1849, Thomas H. Sill, John Galbraith, Samuel Hays, George A. Elliot, Charles M. Reed, James Thompson, C. W. Kelso and Wm. Kelly were appointed a committee of reception; Miles W. Caughey was commissioned to carry to Pittsburg the message of the Burgess inviting the President and the Governor to Erie; M. W. Caughey and

John W. McLane were appointed marshals, and James Skinner, James D. Dunlap, J. C. Reed and John Pinckney were named as the committee of arrangements. The procession was to include the officers and members of the fire department, the officers and crew of the U. S. S. Michigan, the officers and crew of the U. S. Revenue Schooner Ingham, and the military company.

The committee of reception was to proceed from the Reed House in carriages to Cochran's farm house to await the arrival of the distinguished guests, and were to escort them to the city, where the carriages were to be so maneuvered that in arriving at the Reed House the President and the Burgess were to be brought opposite and facing. Thereupon the Burgess was to arise and in a set address welcome the guests. Upon the response by the President being completed, the company was to enter the hotel and be provided with entertainment. It was a program of old fashioned ceremonious courtesy, but unfortunately, circumstances prevented. He probably never saw the Reed House at all, being halted at Eighth street.

The President was making (for those days) an extensive tour of the country and came by the usual route which led him through Waterford. At that place he was taken ill, but he continued upon his journey. When he reached Erie he was too sick to proceed further and for a time his life was despaired of. He was quartered at the home of Dr. W. M. Woods, surgeon in the U. S. navy and he lay there ill for ten days. During his illness, and while it was feared he could not recover, word was sent to Vice President Fillmore at Buffalo, and he came on to Erie to visit the president and remained here until the crisis of the disease had passed.

When it came time for his departure a demonstration was organized, and upon the sailing of the boat for Buffalo a salute was fired on the Michigan. During the firing a gun burst and seven men were killed. Two of the victims of this accident, boatswain's mates, are buried on the high ground of the southern part of Erie cemetery. The house in which President Taylor stayed while in Erie stood on Eighth street at about where the office of the Hotel Bismarck now is. The president recovered, but it was deemed unwise to proceed further, and he therefore returned to Washington where he died next year. Thus it may be observed that Erie was the seat of government, according to old-fashioned rules, for more than a week.

It is no easy matter to classify the remnant of old Erie. There can be no grouping into blocks or squares, for that would be too arbitrary, and as a matter of fact there is no block or square that has not been made to feel the touch of modern ideas or of—modern progress. This is manifest either in the changed appearance of part of the old buildings or the substitution of new for old ones long ago torn down or swept away by fire. Neither is it advisable to attempt a classification as to age. That

quality may be introduced incidentally. It may be allowable, however, to follow the plan of taking them up by streets.

Adopting that system French street should demand attention at the start. On the lower portion of that street little remains of what was in the olden time and very little as it was at first. The old frame hotel at the corner of Second street is the most noteworthy of all the buildings in that neighborhood and has endured to the present very little changed from what it was originally. It dates back almost—and perhaps quite—to Perry's time. In its day it was one of the most pretentious of Erie's public houses. It was built for John Dickson, if my informant is reliable, and was in especial favor at the time of the visit of Gen. La Fayette to Erie in 1826. It was Dickson, landlord of the hostelry, who furnished forth the grand feast that was served under canvas on the Second street bridge in honor of Washington's great lieutenant. Dickson was in his time a notable character. He had been a sailor under Admiral Lord Nelson and bore his share in the great battle on Aboukir Bay that made Nelson famous forever. Coming to Erie Dickson became popular as a landlord, and for many years—until his death—conducted the hotel that remains to this day, though in later times shorn of its importance. After Dickson's death this hotel was known as the Steamboat hotel, and was kept by a Mr. Hulbert, descendants of whom still live in Erie.

In those early times the centre of Erie was very close to that corner, for then, more than now, the harbor of Erie was of importance to the embryo city. The water route was the principal thoroughfare for travel and practically the only avenue for commerce. And it developed, with steamboating, into still greater importance. The landing for the boats was first at the foot of French street, that point being naturally selected because the ravine that ended on the bay shore was available for a roadway. Opposite the Dickson house, on French street, there stood another great public house, the United States hotel, years ago leveled, and both of these hospices thrived on the business that came to Erie by the steamboats. Farther down French street on the west side was the Himrod property, most of the buildings fallen into decay, but some still remaining. These, with the Dickson hotel, compose the vestiges of ancient Erie now to be found where the pulse of Erie once beat strongest.

You will have to pass up the street three squares before another remnant of the olden times is to be found, and you will pass by the sites of many places that were famous in their time—past where the log house that served as a postoffice stood; past the location of the Buehler public house, afterwards known as the McConkey house, headquarters of Com. Perry; past the hospitable mansion of Thomas G. Colt, first mayor of Erie; past all that once was the mercantile centre of the place. For the landmark that remains, that I am next to look into, is the old Farmers' Hotel. At first it was known as Duncan's Tavern; afterwards it was called the Banner Hotel, and though not as pretentious as the Mansion

House or the Reed House of later and partially contemporaneous period, was a very successful candidate for public favor and at various times was kept by men who subsequently became known as prominent among the citizens of Erie. It was especially popular as the scene of social functions at a time when there were not so many places available for the accommodation of dancing parties as there are today, and at least upon one occasion it was used for a very different purpose. That was in the early days of Methodism, when even the name of the denomination was strange and unknown. One of the first of the itinerants in these parts, Rev. Ira Eddy, came to Erie, and, choosing the humbler tavern as a place of temporary abode, on the score of economy, broached to the landlord the subject of holding religious service. The landlord, true to the traditions concerning good landlords, told Mr. Eddy that he was ready to accommodate provided the bar-room was acceptable. It was. Therefore the public were invited and on Sunday a goodly number attended, Mr. Eddy preaching from a table that his host had furnished for him to stand upon. The landlord took up the collection, presented it to Mr. Eddy, and, declining to take anything for his board and lodging, sent him on his way rejoicing. It is some time since the Farmers' Hotel ceased to be a public house; if memory serves the last landlord was John Boyle.

Opposite the Farmers' Hotel on the east side of French street, where Dr. Bryce's livery stable now stands the leading dry goods store of Erie was once located. It was a fine large brick building and Moses Koch was the owner. Later that store was occupied by Morrison & Dinsmore, and eventually it was destroyed by fire, along with adjacent property. The large block that now stands next to Dr. Bryce's and that has for many years been occupied by Johnston & Brevillier and their successor F. Brevillier, is more modern. It was built in 1860. South of that, however, and up to the Becker block, the buildings are old timers, some of them modernized. Through the decade of the fifties, and for five or six years more this was perhaps the principal retail center. It was known as Cheapside. Of the buildings that stand yet the oldest are the Conrad Brown and Tracy buildings, but these, one altered into French, with a mansard roof, and the other given a Tudoresque style by modern process, do not look as though they had been originally built in the thirties. Farther down the street the buildings are twenty years younger and yet are old. In one of these the Sterrett grocery was for a long time conducted and Jacob Hanson was also known in business on the same row. In the Brown building the Crouches for many years sold flour and mill products and French & McKnight, in their time leading grocers, occupied the other store. Tracy & Courtright for a period did business in the Tracy building but later the southern half was taken by Sherbourne Smith ("Shube" was the almost universal cognomen of this gentleman, who was among the most popular of his age, and was for a time mayor

of Erie). The northern store was kept by J. C. Selden, a leading hardware dealer.

There were a few who dared to venture beyond the boundaries prescribed by the business of the early time. They had the gift of prophecy, and they were undoubtedly far-seeing who, forsaking French street, not only selected State, but went as far south as beyond the park. There was, very early in the century, a large tavern built on the corner of South Park and State street. It was built of stone, the blue stone that until recently was quite extensively quarried hereabout. It is a stratum of the shale formation and is a good material for building, but it is not plentiful. The stone tavern was called the American hotel, and it may have been in existence as early as 1825. In the course of time it figured prominently in business and became as well a sort of social centre, for it was the scene of many a function such as balls and banquets. The corner was occupied by one of the principal banks of the early time—that of Nailer & Warren. But it had to stand aside when the march of progress passed that way and the Erie Trust Co. building of today replaced it.

Next to the old stone tavern in the year 1835 August Jarecki erected a business block, one of the finest blocks of the town at that period, and thus manifested the possession of foresight, for he was the pioneer who blazed the way toward the future development of the city and by breaking away from the traditions of the time that confined the business to French street or park row, manifested his courage. That building stands to the present, and is probably the oldest building on State street.

This is not certain, for the three-story structure on the west side of State street a few yards away from the motor company's depot may be some years older. That was built as a residence for Gen. Reed. It was always a lofty building, and the people of the time when it was new used to speak of it as the shot-tower, for besides being tall with a narrow front, it stood apart, and was a commanding figure in the landscape. It was occupied by Gen. Reed until about 1845, when he moved into the fine mansion at the corner of Sixth and Peach streets. The old building stands today much the same in appearance as of old, except that the basement has been remodeled for business purposes and now has a plate glass front.

Passing up State street no other building below Fourth remains to be classified as worthy of note because of its age or historical association. There was a notable building that stood for many years at the corner of Third street. It was the Dobbins house, where Gen. La Fayette was quartered. But it is not now there. It was moved around the corner, and, now standing on Third street, has been modernized. The glamour of its ancient honor does not cling to it as it used to, but it is well to remember still that it once sheltered one of the great men of this earth.

On the corner of Fourth street stands a brick building erected in 1846. It is now used and occupied by Christian Kessler. For many years it was the property of Fred Schneider, one of the earliest and most progressive of the Germans who settled in Erie. During the first Lincoln campaign Mr. Schneider lived there and it fell to his lot to entertain Hon. Carl Schurz, who was one of the leading supporters of Abraham Lincoln in that famous political contest. Next to the Kessler building stands a brick structure considerably changed from its original plan. It was built somewhere in the thirties by John Riddle, then a leading Erie lawyer, and for a considerable time was a sort of naval headquarters, being the place of residence of the officers.

The next building is not only the most striking and handsome in Erie today, but is one of the most noteworthy in the United States. It is one of only seven examples in the country of pure Doric architecture. That building was erected in 1836 as a branch of the United States bank. The architect was William Kelly, of Philadelphia. The United States bank at Erie was a notable enterprise and extensive as well, for besides the banking house there was built a residence for the cashier, Peter Benson, which stands immediately south and is now owned and occupied by Mrs. Woodruff. Soon after this building was completed the United States banking act was vetoed by President Jackson, but by an act of the state legislature it became a state institution and was operated under the old name, Philadelphia capital being employed in the business. At length it failed and the bank building was bought by the government and became the custom house, the postoffice occupying a part for several years. It remained in use as the custom house until the completion of the new federal building. The basement is still used as a bonded warehouse, while the main floor has been devoted to the use of the G. A. R., who took possession early in 1909.

Just above the old property of the United States bank is the double block now occupied by the P. Minnig Company and the Ashby Printing Company. This block was erected in 1840-41, and its principal facade remains but little changed after the lapse of more than 60 years. It was in its day an important business block.

Harlan's block occupies the corner. It is a triple building and presents a handsome modern appearance, for it has been rebuilt to a great extent. It is, however, one of the oldest blocks in Erie and was the center of affairs in Erie for a long time. It was erected in 1838-39. Some say that Mr. Fleming, a prominent dry goods merchant of his time, built it. From another source it is stated that a Mr. Bonnell built it. Mr. Bonnell and his brother were dry goods merchants and for a time had the leading dry goods store in Erie. They decided to move away, however, and established themselves in Milwaukee. When it was sold this block became the property of Chas. B. Wright. While he occupied the building he was a member of the mercantile firm of Williams &

Wright, and for many years, up to quite a recent date, the building was known as Wright's block. In that block, for many years the city council met. It was there that interest largely centered during the troublesome times of the railroad war, for the councilmanic doings had immense weight in determining the course to be taken by the citizens. It was a hive of business. Not the least important historical fact connected with Wright's block is that it was the birth place of the Daily *Dispatch* in 1864. It was upon the third floor of that building that B. F. H. Lynn had his office and launched the first successful daily paper in Erie. Later, in the sixties, Wright's block contained the general offices of the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad, where they remained until the headquarters were removed to Williamsport.

On the southeast corner the Empire block stood as it stands today from the time it was built in 1848-49. It was a mercantile building, and the firm that now does business there continues into the third generation, uninterrupted, the business that began at that early day. Perhaps there are not more than two other mercantile houses in Erie that have so long endured. Isaac Baker & Son perpetuate the business begun over a half century ago by B. Baker. The building is not without interest in the history of the town. It was provided with a roomy hall available for public meetings, and it was in request. It was in Empire hall that Capt. Graham drilled the Home Guards in war time when there was danger of Rebel attack from the lake, and that was but one use to which the place was patriotically devoted in time of need.

Brown's hotel once occupied the vacant place at the corner, having been built in 1851-52. It was removed to give place to a finer modern hospice, but death intervened and a public spirited purpose was never realized.

On the opposite side of the street the buildings erected were chiefly for business purposes. The Rindernecht block on the corner was built in 1858, and the Beckman block in 1859. The latter was built by John Moore, and in its time it was one of the finest buildings in town. It used to be known as the Marble Front and accommodated what became the leading dry goods store in Erie. Mr. Moore was interested in the dry goods business; later William Bell became connected with it, and still later the firm was Bell & Warner. Finally the Warner Brothers succeeded, and moved up town, first to the Olds block and then to the Scott block.

Adjoining the Beckman block is the Elliott block, built in 1847 by Dr. O. L. Elliott. This building contained the leading society hall of the city for a time, Presque Isle lodge of Odd Fellows being the lessees, and for a time the Masons' lodge met in the same place. On the second floor for many years Louis B. Chevalier, the artist, had his studio. The Newberger block, next south, was built in 1847, and the Rosenzweig block, extending to the corner and around on Park row, was built in the

same year. In the early days the Rosenzweig block was one of the principal office buildings of the city. It was there that the first telegraph office was located, and there began the general insurance agency business of J. F. Downing which has now attained to such vast proportions.

The buildings on North Park row have scarcely changed in half a century. It is a splendid business row, even at this late day. The first of the permanent buildings was the Beatty block, erected in 1841. Here Mr. Beatty conducted his business as a tinner and hardware dealer, and for 16 years his was the only pretentious structure on the thoroughfare. East of him there were low frame buildings; west of him a lumber yard. In 1857 there came a boom. That year Rosenzweig at the corner, Murphy next door, and Capt. Austin half way to Peach street, put up fine buildings and in 1859 Dr. Carter and Gray & Farrar filled in the gaps. The Carter building contained the handsomest store in town—it is handsome even according to modern ideas. In the Gray & Farrar building, with its imposing front, there was built a convenient little theatre, Farrar hall, a notable advance for Erie. It was the predecessor of Park Opera House, built in 1873. The Levi block and the Mission building on the corner of Peach were built in 1861-62, the latter for a number of years containing the offices of the Erie & Pittsburg railroad.

On the other side from State street, the Reed House, often visited by fire and therefore as often changed in appearance as it was rebuilt, has been the principal feature since 1839-40. The Reed-Gallagher-Gunnison buildings that filled the space between the Reed House and Brown's Hotel were built in 1861-62.

On the south side of the park the only old-timer that remains is the Allen & Rosenzweig building, built in 1835. Its neighbor adjoining, that had been the Erie bank, and had served as a store and a hotel and finally as a newspaper office, was torn down to provide space for the Federal building.

Now a brief glance at State street southward from the park, and that only to include what is old in the architecture. At the northwest corner of Seventh street are the buildings of Dr. Peter Hall and John Gensheimer. These were erected in 1854. Dr. Hall's had a lodge-room in the upper story which was used by the Sons of Malta in the elucidation of their mysteries, and later it was as well known as the meeting place of the Know-Nothings. Mr. Gensheimer's building also had a public hall on the top floor, but its most distinguished service was in accommodating branches of the Women's Relief Association in war time, when the ladies gathered to make clothing and comforts for the soldiers in the field.

The Hughes building in the square above Seventh was built in 1837-38; the Engelhart and Rees building in 1855; the Perry block, opposite, in 1837 and the Moore building, now boasting a modern front of light colored brick, in 1856. Above Eighth the Suerken building was erected in 1855, and the Schaaf and Knoll block and the Schlaudecker building on

the corner of Ninth, now owned by Mr. Liebel, in 1860. The Perry block in the olden time was occupied in the north half by Mr. Tuttle, a merchant, while the south store accommodated the dry goods business of Pressly Arbuckle. The block itself for a long time was a hotel.

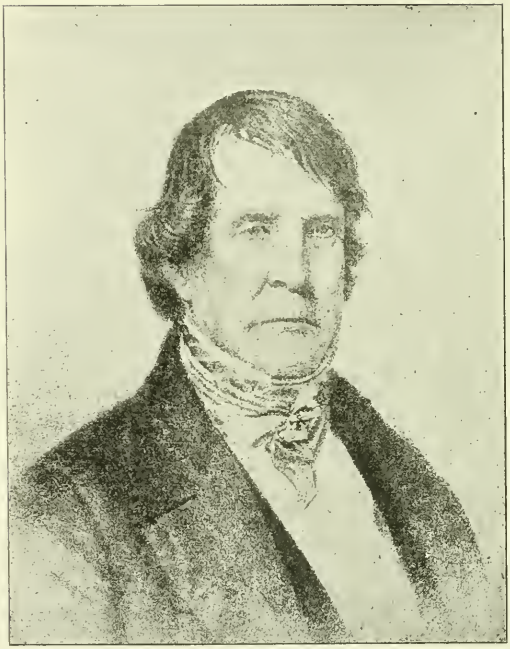
CHAPTER IV.—BECOMES A CITY.

Takes Interest in the World Without.—Improvements Within.—Lighting, Paving, Sewers, Water.—How the City Grew.

The transition of Erie from a borough into a chartered city occurred in 1851, and it was effected without even the slightest suggestion of friction. The last burgess of Erie was the first mayor of the new city, and it required only that Thomas G. Colt subscribe to the oath of office in order to acquire the greater dignity of mayor of a city. The organization of the city government occurred on May 16, 1851, when Mr. Colt was inaugurated, and Messrs. C. McSparren, Wm. M. Gallagher, F. Schneider, John Zimmerly, A. W. Brewster, and S. M. Carpenter were sworn in as members of the city council. The charter had been drawn by Elijah Babbitt, Esq., and had received the approval of the commonwealth officials; the reading of the charter and its acceptance was a feature of that first meeting. Ten days later, at a meeting called for the purpose—May 26, 1851—the mayor announced the death of Alexander W. Brewster, one of the first councilmen, and suitable action was taken.

The first meeting of the city council occurred on May 17, 1851, the day after the inauguration, at 9 o'clock, and the first business transacted was to formulate an invitation to the President of the United States to visit Erie on his northern tour. In the early days it was customary as a manifestation of the good old-fashioned hospitality that prevailed, to formally invite people of distinction to pay a visit to the city. Not long afterward the same compliment was extended to Louis Kossuth, the famous Polish patriot.

During the early years of the city's history the local government was active in forwarding enterprises that seemed to promise advantages to Erie. This was in evidence when, to encourage the building of plank roads between Waterford, Wattsburg and Edinboro and the city of Erie, the council, for the city, subscribed for stock in these enterprises. The subscriptions were paid for in city bonds, this exchange of securities being satisfactory to all parties—until the question of the payment of interest came to the fore, when there occurred a trifle of friction. It was a commendable idea to provide that all roads should lead to Erie, but the investment in plank road stock did



THOS. G. COLT, FIRST MAYOR OF ERIE.

not turn out to be as profitable as was expected, for these roads never made any money, and there was no result that justified the faith put in them.

It was different, however, in the enterprise that next engaged the principal attention of the city government, which was the Sunbury & Erie Railroad. This, from the very start was enthusiastically backed up by the people of Erie, manifested not only by the action of the city council, but by the proceedings taken in public meetings. There was a formal invitation to the directors of the railroad company and others concerned, and, when there had been an exposition of the plans and purposes of the new railroad corporation, a public meeting was held, in which the mayor and councils took, part and it was voted to subscribe in the name of the city for $300,000 of Sunbury & Erie stock. From what appears in the correspondence recorded, this was the most important boost the railroad enterprise had received. Philadelphia, which was the ultimate seaboard terminus of the proposed road, had been tardy. Great things had been expected of the great city, but Philadelphia had not come forward, and it was important to Erie that the city on the Delaware should be a part of the enterprise. That subscription of $300,000 proved the key to unlock the doors of the city in the east. Soon afterwards it was announced that a committee from the councils of Philadelphia, along with other citizens, would visit Erie to learn about the prospects of the new railroad that was to traverse the extreme length of the state, and which was the largest railroad undertaking of the time. The result of it all was that Philadelphia became a subscriber, and in the course of a short time the enterprise had received subscriptions aggregating a million and a half from the two termini; Erie city taking $300,000 of the stock; Erie county $200,000, and Philadelphia $1,000,000. Besides the subscription to the stock, the Erie councils voted to the Sunbury & Erie Railroad all the water lots between German and Parade streets at the nominal price of five dollars per lot, and later voted to exonerate the property from taxation.

Now all of this was an afterclap of the Railroad War trouble, for that difficulty came upon the city in 1853. The particulars of that contention will be found in earlier chapters of this history, and though there were always different opinions on the subject and still are, the statement, made a little above, that councils and people exerted themselves for the advancement of Erie will not need modification because of what occurred when the attempt to make railroad gauges uniform was stubbornly resisted by the people.

When the borough was incorporated its boundaries were confined within the limits of the first section of the town of Erie, that is to say, included Parade, Twelfth and Chestnut streets; but in 1848 the boundaries were extended to Ash, Buffalo (Eighteenth) and Liberty, and this was the area of Erie when it became a city, which remained un-

changed until 1870. Very soon after the city government was organized the first action toward opening or establishing new highways was taken when Buffalo street was opened westward from Peach street. There were, however, already more streets than could be well taken care of, and the evolution of an orderly town out of what was but crude material when the city government took hold, was slow indeed. There were sections isolated and toward many of these the roadways became almost dissolving views in many of the streets. There was Cloughsburg, for example. Rufus Clough, a blacksmith, had established himself at Sixth and Parade streets. He owned most of the land and besides his smithy had a grocery store. There was a traveled highway on Sixth street across the ravine, with a bridge spanning Mill Creek, but from Cloughsburg north, Parade street petered out into nothing, and Seventh street was open only a few yards east from Holland and just as few yards west from Parade. A large colony of Germans had settled in that section which was in olden times called Beyond the Rhine, that is, east of Mill creek. The German territory was from Eighth to about Twelfth, and not farther east than Parade street. There was a bridge on Eighth street and one at Eleventh, but for many years none of the other streets crossed the stream except by fords and then only if the banks upon either side were not too high and abrupt. The canal operated to isolate a big section of the present Fourth ward in the same manner that Mill creek did the east side, only that it was impossible to cross the canal without bridges, unless a pedestrian was steady enough of head and sure enough of foot to employ the running-boards of the locks—and was permitted to do so. That part of the city west of the canal came to be called Jerusalem, given this name originally by William Himrod who owned land there, and platted it into building lots. There were three bridges over the canal—at Fourth, Sixth and Eighth streets. Fourth street led to Jerusalem, and Eighth street was the road to Jericho. All of the other streets ended in commons or rubbish heaps as they approached the canal. All the streets were simply "dirt roads," and until the second or third year of the city government were without sidewalks. Ordinances for sidewalks of brick did not effect many changes on the side streets until after the period of the Railroad War.

It was after the city had been chartered before the numbered streets west of State or the public square began to be built up, but when they did it was with a superior class of buildings, generally of brick. Sixth street was the principal street to be affected in this manner. The Bliss house at the corner of Sassafras, the Hearn house, next to the Court House; the Spencer and Hoskinson houses opposite, the Clemens and Gray and Wilson King houses between Sassafras and Myrtle on the south side and the Hill and Galbraith houses opposite were among the earliest, and most of these have long since acquired

other names, and many of them are still in use, thoroughly modernized within though outwardly much as they were a half century or more ago. When Dr. Hall built on West Ninth street it was in the midst of corn fields and he was joked by his friends for building so far away in the country. Up to the close of the Rebellion there was nothing west of Chestnut and south of Sixth, and Parade street was the boundary of civilization and population on the east, except the hamlet of Kingtown north of Sixth street and half a mile distant from the city.

The subject of lighting the streets first came before the council in 1852, when the Erie Gas Company, then recently organized, presented a proposition to that end. It was a proposal so new and a project so entirely untried that the city government seemed to be at a loss how to proceed, so the suggestion of the company was permitted to slumber, while the city remained in darkness. Of course there were other things directly to engross the attention of the managers of city affairs, especially during that and the two years following. So the proposal remained without attention until September, 1856, when it was taken up and disposed of. The agreement then was that the city was to pay at the rate of two dollars per thousand for the gas used, each lamp to consume not less than 11,000 feet per year; the gas company to set up posts and lamps when ordered at a cost of $27 each; to keep them in repair at a cost of twenty-five cents per month for each lamp; the contract to continue until January 1, 1860, and thereafter until ninety days after notice served by either party to the contrary. The agreement was entered into on a plan which provided that the lamps were to be lighted only when there was no moonlight, so that for a week or more of each month nature lighted the streets, and the artificial illuminant was dispensed with.

The council, in making provisions for lighting the streets took care not to impose the burden of the additional expense on the citizens regardless. There was only a portion of the city supplied with street lamps, and streets were provided with illumination only upon petition of the property owners. Accordingly a gas tax was levied upon those citizens who enjoyed the luxury of lighted streets, and this system obtained until after the introduction of electricity, the gas tax ordinance being repealed in 1898.

Street paving came as tardily as street lighting had done. It was in 1856, the same year that the lighting was adopted, that the subject of paving was taken up. At a meeting on December 15 of that year a resolution was adopted calling for an estimate of the expense of paving State street with cobble stone, macadam, plank or blocks. The estimate was not immediately forthcoming. Indeed there is no mention of the subject until at a meeting held on May 30, 1859, a committee appointed at a previous meeting reported on the modes of paving adopted by other cities and the costs of the different methods. "Where-

upon," as the record sets forth, "a resolution was adopted that upon a majority of the property owners petitioning, councils will provide for paving street intersections and at the public square, and appropriate the taxes levied upon State street until the property owners are refunded the expense of paving.

The ordinance for paving State street from Fourth to Eighth street with stone was passed July 28, 1859, and received the approving signature of Mayor Sherburne Smith. This was the beginning of street paving in Erie. On August 29 of that year the Select Council passed an ordinance levying a tax on the real estate on State street from Fourth to Eighth street for the paving, which was not concurred in by the Common Council until September 12, and approved September 16. On June 9, 1862, an ordinance was adopted to pave State street from Eighth to Turnpike, Turnpike from State to Peach, and Peach from Turnpike to Buffalo street. In June, 1863, an ordinance was adopted to pave North Park Row from Peach to French, and in June, 1864, provision was made to pave State street from Fourth to Front. Then for a time the city rested from its labors in the paving line.

About this time there was devised a new mode of pavement that obtained a remarkable degree of favor—without experience to warrant it, however. It had been tried in the neighborhood of the Michigan pineries, and the representation was that Detroit had tested it and, satisfied with results, had laid miles of it. It was called the Nicholson pavement, and was made of brick-shaped blocks of wood, laid with the grain vertical, with a narrow strip of wood an inch thick between the courses, the whole treated with a coat of tar, and clean gravel filled between the courses above the separating strip and that also treated with tar. The blocks were laid upon planks resting upon sand ballast, and blocks and strips were nailed together and to the boards upon which they were placed, in the process of laying. Fever for the Nicholson pavement reached Erie. In 1867 an ordinance for paving Peach street from Fifteenth to Second was adopted, and another for paving French street from Eighth street to the north side of Front street, and the Nicholson mode was adopted. It was laid. But trouble ensued. There were citizens who refused to pay the taxes assessed, and a case came into court, in which the late Lewis W. Olds was the defendant, and Mr. Olds obtained a verdict. But that was not all. The pavement proved to be practically worthless—perhaps because improperly constructed—and in the course of a few years it was pulled up and a stone pavement laid instead at the expense of the city.

Paved streets thenceforward multiplied. At first only Medina stone was considered, and along in the decade of the seventies there were a number of large contracts. The largest was the paving of Sixth street from French to Parade and Parade from Sixth to Eighteenth

street. At about the same time Ninth and Eleventh were paved from French to Parade and Sixth from Peach to Walnut. In 1881, however, asphalt effected an entrance. A sample piece was laid on Sixth street near Peach, and this, showing good wear, made a favorable impression. At once it attained to popularity and continued until the present. In 1893, because paving with brick cost less, contracts were made for pavements on four of the city streets, and at the present time pavements continue to be laid of both brick and asphalt, but asphalt has the preference, and when worn-out stone pavements come to be replaced the choice is uniformly for asphalt. There are 110 miles of streets in the city of Erie of which about 40½ miles are paved at the present writing, and, expressed in tabular fashion the exhibit of paving in Erie would be about as follows:

Sheet asphalt	461,321.7 yards	23.04 miles
Block asphalt	12,985.3 yards	.65 miles
Brick pavement	327,042.5 yards	13.32 miles
Stone pavement	82,961.6 yards	3.53 miles
Total	884,311.1 yards	40.50 miles

Partly due to the influence of the railroads, partly to the growth of industries, partly to the effect upon growth in population by the existence of leading thoroughfares communicating with the smaller towns in the county, and not a little to the natural advantages of the section, the region directly south of and adjoining the city became so thickly settled that in 1866 it was decided to organize it into a borough, and, the movement led by such influential citizens as Heman Janes, Wm. Henry, Rev. J. H. Pressly, Adam Acheson, Edwd. Camphausen, Michael Liebel and others a charter was obtained for the borough of South Erie. Its boundaries were: North by Buffalo street (the southern boundary of Erie); east by Parade; south by the Ridge road, and west by Cherry street. It had a brief but strenuous existence. Peach street, the main highway, was paved; a market house was built fronting on Peach and State streets near Simpson street, as it was then called; schools were erected; streets opened, and other improvements undertaken, the money required being obtained by the issue of bonds. In 1870, however, it was decided to effect annexation with the city and this was accomplished, the city taking in its neighbor along with all the encumbrances, consisting chiefly of a pretty considerable debt. However, much more than the borough of South Erie was then added to the city. The boundaries were extended on the south to about what would be Thirtieth street; on the east to the Lighthouse road extended southward, and to Cranberry street, the present limits of the city, except that in 1908 a panhandle on the west from Eighth to Eleventh,

east of Cranberry street was added. One effect of the annexation of South Erie was the alteration of street designations. Buffalo street became Eighteenth; Greene, Nineteenth; Monroe, Twentieth; Simpson, Twenty-first; Brown, Twenty-second; Washington, Twenty-third; Franklin, Twenty-fourth; Eagle, Twenty-fifth and South, or the Ridge road, Twenty-sixth. There was a part of Erie, annexed to the borough in 1848, that, furnished with provisional street names, had these altered in order to agree with the system adopted for the town when it was laid out by Mr. Ellicott. In the section between Twelfth and Buffalo street these changes in names were made: Canal street to Thirteenth; Washington, to Fourteenth; Penn to Fifteenth; Court, to Sixteenth, and Ichabod to Seventeenth.

In the borough days, as has been stated, the financial difficulties that arose drove the council to the necessity of issuing scrip. The same troubles were encountered after the city had been in operation, the first instance, however, the difficulty arising from conditions and circumstances apart from the management of city affairs. It was in war time, and there arose great difficulty in making change, for the reason that all small coins had ceased to circulate. Councils at length took cognizance of the state of affairs, and after considering the subject, on September 22, 1862, voted to issue city scrip in the denominations of 5 cents, 10 cents, 20 cents and 50 cents "to supply the present great deficiency in small change." It was in a sense a patriotic measure, simply forestalling the general government at Washington, but its principal design was to accommodate the citizens of Erie. The scrip was issued in exchange for current funds, and was redeemable upon demand, and it was provided that the funds derived from the exchange should be properly invested so that it would be available for redemption when the necessity arose. The issue of scrip began in October, 1862. The committee to have direction of affairs in connection with this business were Wm. A. Brown and John R. Cochran and they appointed Vincent, Bailey & Co., leading bankers, trustees of the fund. This provisional money was not long in circulation. Pretty soon the government "shinplasters" made their appearance and these, with the postage stamps which lent their adventitious but efficient aid (so long as the "gum stickum" lasted) supplied every want. On May 11, 1863, the first instalment of the city scrip was retired, $1,500 being burned and "totally destroyed." On June 22, $3,700 was burned and on July 27, $2,000. In August, 1863, the trusteeship was discontinued and the treasurer was appointed to look after the redemption. It appeared that $18,000 had been issued of the scrip and of the proceeds $11,500 was invested in a first mortgage on real estate and $6,500 was placed in the hands of the trustee for the purpose of meeting demands for redemption. To the present time there remain in the hands of citizens here and there samples of that scrip, kept as interesting relics.

They bear the signature of Prescott Metcalf, Mayor, and J. F. Downing, then clerk of the Select Council, and the only person still living who was connected with the city government when the issue was made is Mr. Downing. Of the councils that effected its retirement when redemption had begun, by consigning it to the flames, only Col. J. Ross Thompson survives.

The city councils in the days of the war period were distinctly patriotic. In the borough days they used on occasion to vote an appropriation for fireworks on the Fourth of July, as a manifestation, no doubt, of the possession of some measure of the spirit of '76. But in war times the method of showing patriotism was different. It was no doubt a war measure that demanded of each member of the council that he take an oath of loyalty to the government of the United States, but councilmen went further in holding up the hands of President Lincoln. Along with the records made of providing scrip for small change are the entries that tell of providing a fund for the support of the families of drafted men while in the service, and the reports entered from time to time show that a goodly number of families were relieved from want by the council fund.

The last issue of city scrip was in 1873, and was declared to be "a necessary expedient of the times." That year will be remembered as the date of the great panic, but the condition that obtained in Erie had not the remotest connection with Jay Cooke. At the time there was a large amount of unpaid warrants outstanding which could not be paid. Contractors, employes and other creditors of the city were under the necessity of having their warrants discounted, and a necessity existed, or seemed to exist, for a class of orders of small amount that would serve as convenience in making change, to take the place of the warrants. The scrip was therefore issued and in time became to a certain extent current. Redemption proceeded as funds were available to that end, so that in 1881 Mayor Jones reported that:

The original amount of city scrip was		$99,995
Amount unissued and on hand		6,585
Total issued		$93,410
Redeemed to January 1, 1880	$88,497	
Redeemed January 1, 1880 to 1881	4,621	93,118
Outstanding		$ 292

There was a bonded debt of the city, but at the time of Mayor Jones' messages there was besides a floating debt of considerable proportions. Those were the days of small things, or, at least, the days when, with the city, money was scarce and hard to get—or else the

members of council were inclined toward the extravagance of ordering beyond what they had means with which to pay. Warrants were issued, however, and these receiving the endorsement of the treasurer, from that time bore interest and were discounted by the holders. In the message of Mayor Jones, of 1880, he reported warrants in circulation amounting to $25,827.25 and advised that measures be taken to redeem them. In the year 1881 it was reported that the floating debt had been reduced to about $15,000, and Mayor McCarter, in 1882, reported that there were no warrants outstanding, bearing interest, all having been paid during the past year. There has been no floating debt since.

It was at this period that the city's credit rose above par. Large undertakings had necessitated the issue of municipal bonds. There had been several issues previously, at first of securities bearing 7 per cent interest, and in the early seventies a series at 6 per cent. They had been floated, but at a discount. Early during the incumbency of Controller Chas. S. Clarke it became necessary to issue a new series, and he proposed that they be made to bear 4 per cent. Although councils were doubtful of results, that rate was adopted, when, much to the surprise of most of the members, the issue was disposed of and netted a premium. Beginning with 1892 bonds of the city of Erie pay 3½ per cent, and are readily disposed of. The total funded indebtedness of the city June 1, 1908, was $785,654.73, while there was in the sinking fund $420,490.42, leaving the net debt of the city $365,164.31.

The period at which the community of Erie first felt the true impulses of the city; the year in which it stepped forth out of the rural byway, and, shaking from its shoulders the garment of village conservatism and fear, entered upon the highway of progress; when from being "the sleepy borough," it started into a state of wakefulness and activity; was 1867, and the election of Orange Noble as Mayor of Erie marks the beginning of a new civic era, the entrance of Erie upon its career as a real city. For some time matters had been so tending. Civic improvements had begun; but what had been done served more to point out what ought to be done than to produce a feeling that with so much accomplished it was time to rest. There had arisen discussion with reference to sewers and a sewer system for the city; an extension of the paving improvements, an improved fire department, and above all, an adequate supply of water, both for domestic uses and for fire protection. There was an element of the population that was strongly outspoken in favor of progress; there was also an element opposed to radical methods and fearful of debt. The issue was joined in the spring election of 1867. The result of that contest was the election of Orange Noble, the candidate of the progressists, and Mr. Noble was re-elected until he had served the city for four years in succession.

Mr. Noble was probably the most public spirited citizen Erie ever had —he certainly was the leader in that respect up to that time. Having made a fortune of nearly a million dollars in the oil field he came to Erie, settled here as a citizen, and spent it. He put some of it into real estate upon which he erected splendid buildings; he put more of it into manufacturing industries; he established a banking house and aided in starting another; he was ready at all times to lend a hand in whatever interest he was solicited to patronize—and so he spent his fortune. He died a poor man. But it was he who started Erie along in the path of progress, and it was his example that stimulated the young city into activity. From the year of his election is dated Erie's greatest things of a civic character.

There were practically no sewers in Erie prior to 1867, for the few covered drains were not in any sense sewers; rather a make-shift to take care of streams that could not otherwise be disposed of, and utilized because happy circumstances had so well disposed them. In 1867 the councils set about adopting a sewer system, and though we, with the wisdom which hind-sight provides are free to say a great mistake was made at the start, they did the best they then knew how to by following the universal example of other cities. The first main sewer planned was in Fifth street from Mill creek to Peach, and in Peach street from Fifth street to Tenth. Into this lateral sewers, that received other branches or house connections, were drained. It was the beginning of the Mill creek evil, to be sure, but as has just now been stated, the people of that day did not have the wisdom of those of the present. But it was the beginning of the sewerage system of Erie; the first of many mains to empty into Mill creek was that at Fifth, and many another, pointed more directly to the bay, followed in the general plan of drainage for the city. It is proper to state that the mistakes of those who had planned the drainage of Erie were discovered long before the beginning of the Twentieth Century. Dr. Germer, while health officer, more than thirty years ago, raised his voice against the pollution of the water, both of Mill creek and of the bay, but the practice continued, until in 1907 and 1908 the matter came to a head through the interference of the State Board of Health. Nothing else had been effective, though more than one "Mill Creek Commission" had declared against the system. In obedience to the mandate of the State Board a plan for a receiving sewer and the disposal of the sewage has been adopted, toward the accomplishment of which the Councils are addressing themselves. But public sewerage began with Mayor Noble's administration, and during the forty years of its development had become a network of drains of the total length of 79½ miles, ranging in diameter from 9 to 52 inches, the total cost of which was $981,847.95.

The story of street paving has already been told. It had been begun earlier, until State street, Turnpike and part of Peach had been paved, when progress went lame. It was Mayor Noble's administration that revived paving along with other improvements.

Erie had had a fire department from 1837, crude and inefficient at the start, but very steadily improving as the town grew. In place of leathern buckets with a company of passers there had been provided hand fire engines of pretty steadily improved designs, and when by charter the town had blossomed out into the city there were in existence not less than three engine companies, while the wise precaution had been taken to provide subterranean reservoirs from which to draw a supply of water. In 1861 the city made the important advance of purchasing a steam fire engine, the Keystone. Great in those days, it was soon found to be inadequate. The coming of the steamers changed the organization of the department, however, and hose companies distinctive from engine companies, came into existence, the first of them named in honor of Mayor Noble. But it fell into disgrace. Five of its members were convicted of incendiarism. This brought about another measure of progress that appertains to the period of Orange Noble's mayoralty, namely, the beginning of the paid fire department. The year 1871 marks this. During the Noble administration the steamer McLane was added, and then, in the course of a few years there were bought and installed the W. L. Scott and the D. T. Jones. Steadily the department grew toward a fully paid organization, and with the growth many of the old traditions departed. No longer are the engines embellished with names; a number is sufficient. At the present time there are nine engine houses, all brick structures and most of them modern. There are nine steam fire engines, two ladder trucks with towers and modern appliances, one chemical engine and ten hose wagons, with a well organized force and thorough equipment. The Gamewell fire alarm system was installed in 1886.

The most important need of all was water, and this, too, came during the administration of Mr. Noble. It was the principal issue in the campaign that resulted in his election. In the borough days there had been a pump-log waterworks constructed, but that was as nothing to a live city. The populace was crying out for water, and because of the urgent demand private projects were set on foot. A corporation called the Erie Water & Gas Company was organized, and soon afterwards the Erie Gas Company secured an amendment to its charter that permitted it to introduce water wherever it supplied gas. There was a strong rivalry for a time, to secure contracts; but no steps were taken to provide water. The evident demand of the citizens was for a municipal water works, and Councils appointed a committee to secure the services of a competent engineer to submit plans for sewerage and water and H. P. M. Birkenbine of Philadelphia was engaged

and submitted a report in February, 1867, which placed the expense of building water works at $350,000. The effect of the report was that councils made a contract with the Erie Water & Gas Co. to supply water for fire purposes at a yearly rental of $9,000 for twenty years. This action fired the train, and the explosion occurred when Mr. Noble was elected Mayor. Confirmed in their position the friends of the municipal system obtained the passage of a legislative act authorizing the construction of the water works. The act provided for the appointment by the court of three Commissioners of Water Works, and the first appointees were W. L. Scott, Henry Rawle and W. W. Reed. The board was organized on June 29, with William Brewster as secretary and H. P. M. Birkenbine was engaged as engineer. It was decided to locate the pumping station at the foot of Chestnut street. In November a contract was made for two Cornish pumping engines; in December an order was given to the Erie City Iron Works for the stand-pipe and early in 1868 contracts were made with J. M. Kuhn for the buildings and James Dunlap for the pier. The pumping station was completed and a portion of the water mains laid in November, 1868, when the service commenced. It had been estimated by the engineer that it would require $350,000; the cost when the plant was fully ready to supply water was somewhat above $353,000.

Of course the building of the pumping station and the laying of the street mains as planned by the supervising engineer was not the real end of construction in connection with the water works. It has been a story of continued construction to the present time, and will continue to be as long as the city endures. In the nature of things it cannot be otherwise. When the pumping station was built a stand-pipe, into which the water was pumped for the equalization of pressure, was constructed of boiler iron surrounded by a tower of brick masonry about 260 feet high, said to be the highest tower, built of brick, in the world. In 1873 it was decided to supplement the equipment by a reservoir, which was built on the high ground of the first ridge, south of the Erie Cemetery. It is of a capacity of about 33,000,000 gallons, is 27 feet deep, and the bottom is 210 feet above zero water level in the bay. Soon a difficulty presented itself, in the character of the water, which was not of sufficient purity, and this was remedied for the time being by extending the intake pipe 333 feet beyond the end of the pier. Then came a new demand. Greater capacity was demanded by a greater city, and to supply this, in 1886 a Gaskill compound pumping engine of a capacity of 5,000,000 gallons daily was installed. In 1893, the capacity being again found to be insufficient, a Worthington pumping engine of 12,000,000 gallons daily capacity was installed. Again the quality of the water was become such as to render it objectionable, and in 1896 the intake pipe was extended into the Big Bend, the pipe consisting of cast iron pipe sixty inches in diameter,

8,307 feet in length. Three years later another Worthington pumping engine was added, that has a daily capacity of 8,000,000 gallons. Meanwhile the old Cornish engines were put out of commission, but with the pumping facilities that remain it is possible to supply the city with 12,000,000 gallons of water per day and still have in reserve for emergency a capacity of as much more.

In the course of time the water of the bay was condemned as unfit for use, whereupon the Water Commissioners proceeded to provide the remedy of extending the intake pipe across the peninsula into the open lake. This work was decided upon in 1904. An act of the Legislature

PUMPING STATION AND STAND PIPE, IN 1876.

was secured that ceded a section of the peninsula to the Commissioners of Water Works, plans were prepared that included the extension of the pipe, and settling basins in which to filter the water, and a contract was awarded to the T. A. Gillespie Company of Pittsburg. Work was begun in July, 1904. The pipe, which is of steel 60 inches in diameter, was extended beyond the peninsula 9,334.25 feet into the lake, to a point where the water is 35 feet deep, and there anchored to a crib so as to ensure a depth of 26 feet of water over the pipe. The entire length of the intake pipe is now 17,641.43 feet, or rather more than 3.35 miles, and is believed to be the longest single piece of submerged

60-inch cast iron and steel intake pipe in the world. The work of placing this intake in position was completed August 31, 1908, and on September 16, 1908, the city was supplied with water drawn from the outer lake, more than three miles from shore. The Commissioners have surrounded the pumping station with a handsome park, and a portion of the land acquired on the peninsula has also been parked. Near the pumping station, in 1902, a swimming pool was constructed, which it patronized by scores of children every summer day, and, whether considered in connection with strict business relations or the aesthetic and hygienic spirit manifested by the Board of Commissioners of Water Works, has won universal endorsement. The Commissioners in 1909 were Willis B. Durlin, William Hamilton and Clark Olds.

Following the period under Mayor Noble, characterized as the epoch of public improvements, there came the administration of William L. Scott, regarded as the era of reform. But progress continued. The city continued to grow. Manufacturing was increasing by leaps and bounds, building up the city, and Mayor and Councils lent all proper aid. It was a conservative progress that Mayor Scott introduced and his successors, C. M. Reed in 1872, Henry Rawle in 1874, John W. Hammond in 1876 and Selden Marvin in 1877 followed along the same conservative lines. Mayor D. T. Jones' administration (1878-80) was characterized by the successful straightening out of the city's finances and the removal of the floating debt, and Mayor Joseph McCarter (1881-83) placed the city in a position where its credit was above par. Philip Becker, who was elected in 1883, aided in lighting the city with electricity, and had the satisfaction of seeing a favorite measure adopted, namely, to build a city hall, and with a sense of gratification presided at the ceremony of laying its cornerstone in 1884. Frank F. Adams, one of Erie's busiest manufacturers, was prevailed upon to accept the office of Mayor in 1885, and carried into his administration valuable business ideas, but found it necessary to resign before the end of his term, Frank A. Mizener continuing his policies for what remained of the period. John C. Brady's administration (1887-88) was marked by the multiplication and extension of the public service facilities, and Charles S. Clarke (1889-93), coming from an extended period of training in the office of Controller, carried into the higher office that interest in the city's financial affairs that had distinguished him while he served as the "watchdog of the treasury." Walter Scott was the centennial mayor. Elected in 1893, he saw the city hall so far completed as to make it available for use, and in the last year of his term, aiding in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the permanent settlement of Erie, presided at the dedication of the city's building. The terms of Robert J. Saltsman, begun

in 1896, and John Depinet, in 1899, were chiefly marked by efforts to solve such problems as the abatement of the "Mill creek evil," and the abolition of grade crossings, stubborn questions not to be quickly disposed of. William Hardwick was elected on the platform of progressiveness, with "Erie first, last, and all the time" as the watchword or motto, and the purpose uppermost to make of Erie a clean and orderly city; and he strove to that end. Mayor Saltsman's second term, begun in 1905, was cut short by death in 1907, when Michael Liebel, Jr., was called to the municipal throne. Bringing energy and zeal with him he has addressed himself to some of the problems that have been most stubborn. Not the least is the question of the public health in the settlement of which it may be necessary to resort to an issue of bonds, but that the correction of the evils that exist in the condition of Erie's sewer system shall be effective Mr. Liebel is determined and the people are with him.

Erie, in 1884, adopted an ordinance creating a board of Fire Commissioners, under the direction of which the Fire Department has attained to high proficiency. The success that has attended the operations of the Fire Commissioners has prompted a similar commission for the Police Department, but that has not yet been provided for, the Mayor and Council committees having charge now of over 58 men, as has been the custom from the time the force consisted of a chief and two men who served with Sundays off. It is, however, an efficient department, well organized, and provided with a modern call system of 32 boxes, and patrol wagon service. In 1905 a Mayor's Court was created by ordinance, which is, of course, operated in connection with the Police Department.

In the old borough days the streets were under the charge of a Regulator, but when the city came into being there was a change to committees of Councils with ward foremen under them. It did not work out well, and therefore a change came in 1879 when an ordinance was passed creating the office of Superintendent of Streets, and, with the efficient aid of the City Engineer's Department, this branch of the city government is now well managed.

The Board of Health was created by ordinance in 1897, and, with its health officer and corps of sanitary police, is doing much for the public health. The office of inspector of plumbing is an important auxiliary of the Department of Health.

The city's work is never completed. New things are arising to demand attention and old problems are yet to be disposed of. Aside from the sewerage question that of the abolition of grade crossings seems now to be the most pressing and for the time being it is on Mayor Liebel's slate to be attended to. Whether Hon. J. B. Cessna's contention that the railroad companies can be compelled at their own expense to provide for crossing public highways so as not to interfere

with ordinary traffic, shall be established by a Pennsylvania court decision, or fail to be established, there will be no rest until no railroad crossings at grade remain in Erie.

Of equal importance with the business transacted at the City Hall or the Court House, is that done at the postoffice, and the story of the growth of that section of a public department of the general government that is localized in Erie, is in a way an index of the growth of the city. From its beginnings in the log building near the foot of French street, through its various changes in locality and betterment of accommodations to meet increasing demands, it has kept step, alike with the progress of the city and the advancement of the nation. It was so when better facilities gave the city a service more prompt and more frequent, when the registration of mail and the money order system came into vogue, when the free delivery of city mail was established and, last, when daily delivery in the rural districts was put in operation. The letter carrier system was introduced in Erie in 1867, the first carriers being Phineas Wheeler, Jacob Rindernecht, Peter W. Smith, Thomas Lee, George Momeyer, George Mallory and Spencer H. Booth. In the year 1899 there were on the letter carriers' force forty-one regulars and nine substitutes. Rural free delivery in Erie county began by the establishing of six routes out of Erie, on December 1, 1900, two additional routes being established on February 1, 1907. The postmasters of Erie have been: James Wilson, 1801; John Hay, 1804; John Gray, 1809; Robert Knox, 1811; James Hughes, 1828; Robert Cochran, 1833; Smith Jackson, 1840; Andrew Scott, 1841; Robert Cochran, 1845; Thomas H. Sill, 1849; B. F. Sloan, 1853; Joseph M. Sterrett, 1861; Isaac B. Gara, 1869; Thomas M. Walker, 1876; Isaac Moorhead, 1879 (died in office June 4, 1881); E. W. Reed, 1881; Henry Shannon, 1885; John C. Hilton, 1889; Charles S. Clarke, 1894. Isador Sobel, the present incumbent, was appointed postmaster under President McKinley, on March 29, 1898.

The most important and most generally observed event in the history of the city was the celebration of the Centennial of Erie on September 9, 10 and 11, 1895. It was an occasion of general festivity, the city being gaily decorated with flags, bunting, emblems, illuminations and arches, the latter commemorating for the period of the celebration important events in the city's history. The proceedings began with a parade of 500 bicycle riders on the evening of the ninth. The tenth was ushered in with artillery salutes and the ringing of bells; in the forenoon there was a parade of 7,000 Sunday-school children in five divisions, each headed by a band, at the halting place on South Park Row "The Living Flag" being formed by 250 little girls. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the formal exercises of the occasion began

on a platform erected on the north front of the City Hall, historical addresses being made by Hon. J. F. Downing, Hon. James Sill and Superintendent of Schools H. C. Missimer, and a centennial poem was read by Henry Catlin. Hon. John P. Vincent presided, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. C. Wilson of the United Presbyterian church and closed with a Pontifical benediction by Rt. Rev. T. Mullen, bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Erie. Later the cornerstone of a proposed public library was laid by the Masonic Fraternity on a lot donated by Mrs. and Miss Sanford. In the evening there was a jubilee concert in Park Opera House, participated in by all the singing societies of Erie, a feature of which was a centennial ode written by Rev. A. H. Caughey, the music by H. N. Redman. Wednesday, the third day of the celebration was ushered in by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells; at 10 o'clock an industrial and historical parade took place; in the afternoon there was a parade of military and naval bodies and civic societies; on the bay there was a review and regatta; in the evening a grand display of fireworks closed the celebration of Erie's centennial.

Features of the celebration were a daily La Fayette reception in the old Dobbins homestead, which had been the stopping place of the Marquis at the time he visited Erie, and a series of entertainments during the three days, conducted by Erie ladies in the People's Market House, State and Fourth streets. A tribe of Indians from the Cattaraugus reservation added a feature of historic interest by participating in the doings of the occasion.

The executive committee of the Centennial were F. F. Adams, chairman; Hon. Walter Scott (Mayor), E. Camphausen, W. J. Sell, F. P. Magraw, S. W. Bolles, E. J. Howard, J. P. Hanley, F. Brevillier, W. J. Sands, M. Liebel, Joseph H. Williams, John Fleeharty, J. F. Downing, Harry Vincent and A. B. Felgemaker.

CHAPTER V.—ERIE'S HARBOR.

First Landings.—The Public Docks.—The Canal Basin.—Erie Vessels.—The Fishing Industry.

The beginnings of Erie's harbor came with the erection of the borough of Erie in 1805. By the act of 1811 the sand beach at the eastern end of the bay, "from the upper corner of the Garrison tract, and for twenty perches back from the water's edge down the lake to the outlots, and from thence down the same, including all the land between the outlots and the water's edge, to the tract of land No. 38, the property of John Kelso," was dedicated a public landing, to be for the use of the inhabitants and others until otherwise appropriated by law. It was the shore of the bay or bight at the eastern end of the harbor entrance that was long employed as an anchorage by vessels of too great draft to enter the bay, and a warehouse was constructed upon it and roads constructed by which communication with it could be had. Before the passage of the act, this piece of beach had been so employed, and the purpose of the act was to confirm the rights of the public in its use. It was one of the features of the earliest harbor of the port of Erie.

The beginnings of the real harbor, within the bay, were inaugurated, however, when the borough authorities in 1806 began the sale of the water lots to citizens whose present or prospective business interests in the harbor prompted them to acquire proprietary interests in these water lots. The first act by the borough council, looking to a public improvement at the harbor, was the proceeding on May 26, 1807, which directed:

That Thomas Forster, Rufus S. Reed and George Buehler, or any two of them be authorized to contract with such person or persons and on such terms as they shall consider most advantageous to the borough for raising a wall six feet above the surface of the water across the ends of French and State streets at the north side of Water street (a street laid out in the bay sixty feet north of the north line of Front street, to be forty feet wide) and for making side walls to the said streets if necessary; for filling French street from the said north side of Water street to the bank of the lake.

Just what the outcome of this piece of legislation was does not appear in the records of Council. It is fair to presume, however, that nothing came of it. Subsequent proceedings indicate this, for on October 28, 1816, it was voted that a contract be made with Seth Biddle and Samuel Bunting for repairing State street from Third street to the lake and also for making a wharf. This, too, seems to have been abortive, for on August 12, 1823, the clerk was directed to advertise for bids for building a wharf 50 feet wide and 130 feet long at the north end of State street. This produced the result of awarding a contract to John Randall for $975, the work to be completed in four years and payment to be made in "instalments of $250 per year until all is paid, by drafts drawn on the purchasers of water lots." Although a bond of $2,000 was furnished by Mr. Randall, something interfered to prevent the performance of the contract, but what it was does not appear.

During the end of the year 1831 the public began to take an interest in the matter with a view of hoiding up the hands of the borough council. At a meeting on January 4, 1832, "a committee appointed at a meeting of citizens to ascertain the consent of the taxable inhabitants of the borough to a tax for the purpose of making a public wharf opposite to State street, reported to Council that they had performed that duty, and returned lists signed by the taxable inhabitants approving the same." The clerk was directed "to ascertain the proportion of all taxables that have signed," and it was resolved that "Council will borrow money for the wharf." A committee was appointed "to ascertain whether money can be borrowed by pledging the faith of the borough, and for how long, and on what terms." Even this seems to have failed, but success was in sight. There was a brighter day about to dawn. The very next year the canal project was on and as that, with its several problems, was worked out, the public wharf came into actual existence. The real beginning of Erie's harbor came with the work upon the canal basin.

Meanwhile there was development along private lines. That was to have been expected with so many of the water lots having been disposed of; for it was not likely the purchasers of all of them had been buying on speculation. The trade was not great at the port of Erie when the people began to buy the water lots. It was principally in receipts of salt and shipments of bacon, flour and whisky, and the actual harbor had been at the public landing. That had increased in importance, and in the course of time three warehouses found business there. But there came a new factor in lake trade, a new method by which vessels were navigated. Steamboats began early on the lakes, so that in the decade of the twenties there was not a little of the commerce of the lakes carried on by steam vessels. At Erie a very large proportion of the business of the harbor was by steamboats. For a number of years these were halted at the harbor entrance, being un-

able to proceed farther, and the business of unloading was proscuted by the aid of lighters or scows that were poled out and in. With the improvements effected under the government it became possible for every class of vessel then in service on the lakes to enter the bay, and with this improvement began the development of the harbor within. The first to build a landing or dock for large vessels was Rufus S. Reed. He had acquired water lots at or near the foot of Sassafras street, and there he built a dock long enough to obtain a depth of nine feet of water at its outer end. Mr. Reed had a purpose in the construction of this dock. He was the most extensive steamboat owner of the time. He acquired a suitable landing place for his steamers. But Mr. Reed had business ideas. He was not averse to other steamboat owners making use of his dock. On the contrary he desired that they should, and he desired it so strongly that he contrived to have a rule or regulation, a law or ordinance, framed and enforced which compelled all steamboats having business at Erie to land at Reed's dock, and this order of things was in effect for a number of years. Reed's dock thus became the center of business of Erie harbor.

There was at the same time a smaller wharf at the foot of French street, built by Messrs. Kellogg, Hamot, Dobbins and others. It came earlier into use than the steamboat landing at Reed's dock, but it was employed mostly by the sailing vessels of the time, many of which were able to cross the bar and effect an entrance through the narrow channel. In order to render it more available, a road was constructed down the ravine at the foot of French street. The French street dock, however, was but a small affair and counted for little, even after the new entrance of the bay had been made, and Reed's dock was very soon about all there was of the harbor. In order conveniently to reach it a road was made along the shore from French street. In the course of time, the demand for another landing, one which might be a competitor with Reed's, and that would relieve commerce from the necessity of paying tribute to the great steamboat owner, began to be felt, and from time to time the subject of building a public dock at the foot of State street came before Council, as has already been stated, but without reaching a definite result, until, in the fullness of time the canal project came forward.

It was in the year 1833 that interest in the harbor in connection with the canal first came before the borough Council to receive attention. The enterprise of extending the Pennsylvania canal from Pittsburg to Lake Erie had been decided upon, and the Erie representatives in the Legislature, confident that Erie would be the terminus of that canal extension, had secured from the state a grant to the borough of Erie of the land of the third section of the town of Erie to be sold and the proceeds devoted to the construction of a canal basin in the harbor of Erie. On April 20, 1833, there was a meeting of the borough coun-

cil, devoted exclusively to the new canal project. The act ceding the third section was read and a resolution passed to have the tract surveyed by Thomas Forster and laid out in 50-acre lots. These were to be sold at auction in August, and the sale was to be advertised in the newspapers of Erie, Harrisburg, Chambersburg, Lancaster, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Meadville, Fredonia, Buffalo, Rochester and Utica, and for the purpose of paying the expenses incurred it was voted to negotiate a loan of $200. At the same meeting it was voted to request the canal commissioners to send on one of their engineers as soon as convenient, consistent with other duties, to assist in laying out the contemplated canal basin, with a view to future operations; and to correspond with the Governor on the same subject.

Meanwhile the borough authorities were not idle. On May 21 John Justice was engaged as chief carpenter at $2.25 per day, "and board himself," and he was authorized to build two crane scows at $130 each. Timber was contracted for at one-half cent per foot, to be cut from land in the third section, and stone was bargained for at $3.25 per cord, for filling.

On May 31 Messrs. Brown and Babbitt, the committee, introduced to Council, Alonzo Livermore, engineer of the French creek division of the Pennsylvania Canal, and his assistant, whereupon the Council adjourned to accompany the engineers, in a body, in making the necessary exploration of the bay and deciding upon a plan. No report of this expedition appears in the borough records, nor any ordinance locating or defining the proposed work, except the report to the governor in 1834. It appears that the decision or advice of Mr. Livermore was taken as a finality and the work proceeded at once in conformity. This may be said: The position of the dock that was to be the outer boundary of the basin was determined by the depth of water, which was twelve feet. The details were incidental. These consisted of a series of slips extending from the south up into the main dock, an extension of State street to the front of the dock, and a passage way across State street at the southerly line of the outer dock, to be bridged.

Directly afterwards John Justice, head carpenter, was authorized to engage good framers at $30 per month and board themselves or $24 per month and boarded, and other good hands at $13 per month and boarded.

In view of what has since been, the report of the Burgess and Council to Governor Wolf, of January 28, 1834, will be of interest. The report sets forth

The land of the third section of Erie, reserving 100 acres and also 50 acres for the present (for the purpose of procuring timber for the construction of the works), was sold at public auction August 6th.

7th, and 8th, to the highest bidders. The terms of sale were one half in hand, one-fourth in six months and one-fourth in twelve months.

Amount received	$13,112.24
Amount due February 6, 1834	6,556.12
Amount due August 6, 1834	6,556.12
Total	$26,224.48

As to the plan adopted, at the suggestion of Mr. Livermore: The work is carried out into twelve feet of water, and the whole area proposed to be included is about thirty acres, which will form a safe, convenient and spacious harbor for canal boats and afford sufficient depth of water for steamboats and other vessels to come inside when it shall suit their convenience to discharge and receive freight, and for other purposes.

The corporation have already put down and nearly completed 660 feet of pier work and have on hand a large quantity of materials. The amount already expended is $9,207.06. They are of opinion from what has already been done that there will be sufficient funds to construct and entirely complete the work according to the plan adopted.

The importance of the improvement to the navigation and commerce of the place is already apparent. There are now five large steamboats and quite a number of schooners laid up for the winter within the works constructed. It is admitted on all hands that it will form the most convenient and safe place for vessels to lay up for the winter, and to repair and fit out, there is any where on Lake Erie, leaving an abundance of room for any number of canal boats that ever may be wanted. It will also form, as intended, a most convenient and secure place for the loading and unloading of cargoes from vessels and canal boats and for shifting cargoes from one to the other as may be required.

And, following up the plan begun, the canal basin was at length completed, a good long while before the canal itself was finished, for it was not until the close of navigation in 1845 that the first boats over the canal reached Erie. Meanwhile the business of Erie harbor continued, for during the thirteen years between the commencement of the harbor at the lake terminus of the canal and the actual beginning of the canal business at the port of Erie, steamboating developed prodigiously.

Rufus S. Reed, of the pioneer stock, was among the first on the shores of Lake Erie to acquire stock in vessels, and, keeping abreast of the times, he was one of the first, also, to invest in steamboats. It was in the Reed blood, in fact, to develop the new commerce, for Gen. C. M. Reed, following the example of his father, who was part owner

of the steamboat William Penn, 200 tons (built in 1826), embarked in the business on a far grander scale, and in 1832 built the Peacock at Erie. This was the first of a line of the most famous steamers that ever ploughed the water of the great lakes. The Thomas Jefferson and James Madison followed, two years apart, and after them came others in what, even to this day, would be reckoned a fleet of fine steamers.

Now the arrival of one of these boats at its Erie landing was always regarded as an event not to go unnoticed. On pleasant summer evenings it was a sort of society function to stroll down to the landing and meet the incoming steamer. All Erie then lived in close proximity to the water. There was practically nothing of the town above the park, and French street was the fashionable center of the place. It was the only street that led down to the harbor, and, besides its shops and taverns, many fine residences graced it with their imposing presence. At the corner of Fourth street was the Colt mansion; at Fifth street the Reed family residence; and east and west, but principally east, upon every street from Second to Sixth, but extending no farther than to what is now Holland, the other notables of the town had their residences.

When the evening of steamboat day had come (the steamers made three trips a week, and always reached Erie in the evening), the ladies appeared in their summer evening attire and in groups, or escorted by the gentlemen, wended their way down the steep incline at the foot of French street and proceeded thence along the road westerly to the Reed wharf and there received the incoming steamer in appropriate fashion, greeting acquaintances as they arrived, or possibly adding new acquaintances to their list. Sometimes music lent its adventitious aid, but it was not indispensable.

They were busy times at Erie harbor, those of the steamboat days. Besides the big steamers there were sailing craft that traded here, bringing chiefly salt, fish, whisky, lime and such commodities. But brisker times and a livelier harbor were yet to come. This resulted from the building of the Erie extension canal, opened in 1845.

Erie harbor in canal days presented a scene of great activity, and those who remember its appearance then are excusable for declaring it now to be deserted and dead. In the early sixties it had reached its height, and there are many comparatively young men of today who remember very well what Erie harbor then looked like.

The public dock consisted of an extension of State street in the form of a mole or causeway, 1,500 feet or so out into the bay, and at its end there were east and west extensions, on the one hand reaching toward Reed's dock; on the other past the French street landing over towards what in the parlance of the boys who frequented it and made use of it to go in swimming from, was known as the "Muddy dock."

The eastern and western wings, presenting a plain front to the bay, had a roadway, twenty feet wide, extending from end to end, and this portion was public. South of this roadway, next the canal basin, the dock was private property, and each of the several sections of the docks was provided with one or more slips, up into which the canal boats could be run for unloading, to give place in turn to the vessels, usually schooners, that were to take on a cargo of the coal that the canal boats had discharged.

These slips were of various sizes. Generally they were about 25 feet wide and from 60 to 125 feet in length. The water was of no very great depth. Probably ten or twelve feet was the extreme. Between the slips there was space for the storage of the coal, and at the upper end, next the street, that extended along the dock front, were the warehouses in which were kept the other items of merchandise traded in; and they also contained the offices of the storage, commission and forwarding companies that did business at the harbor.

Among the names appearing on the public dock that were long familiar to Erie people were these: D. D. Walker, Scott & Hearn, Richards, Pelton, Reed & Co., Walker & Gilson, Josiah Kellogg, Starr & Payne, George J. Morton, Scott & Rankin, Curtis & Bryce, and Andrew Hofsies. Perhaps, the very last name to disappear from the public dock was that of Dame Walker, which prominently marked the old red warehouse that stood at the east side of the causeway just beyond the bridge.

It has been said the scene at the harbor was lively in the early sixties; and so it was. The voices of the drivers of the haggard horses that towed the boats; the shouts of the numerous captains as they hailed one another or the passing tugs; the nervous puffing of the little towboats, as they moved here and there, berthing the boats or the vessels, and the general activity on the docks, proclaimed that something was all the time doing.

At that time there were these tugs employed: Hercules, A. L. Griffin, Mary A. Green, Dragon and Home. The two last named were larger boats, that brought vessels in from beyond the channel piers, or towed them out; the others moved about in the basin here and there, now doffing a smokestack as the passage was made under the causeway bridge and again with its nose saucily pushing a schooner up into its berth in one of the numerous slips.

On the docks a large number of men were employed as coal heavers, for every pound of coal had to be lifted out of the holds of the canal boats by human brawn and the same coal had again to be heaved into the vessels that were to convey it to Buffalo or to some other port on the Great Lakes. It was common report and general belief that these coal heavers made remarkable wages, especially for laboring men. Whether this be true or not, it cost vastly more in

those days to handle coal than it does nowadays, when a device is employed to pick up a car bodily, lift it over the vessel and dump its contents into the hold; or where a car carrying as much as a canal boat used to, is pushed up an incline and its bottom dropped out and the contents sent sliding into the vessel waiting to receive it.

It was not all exporting that resulted at Erie harbor from the opening of the canal. There was importing as well, and the period of the beginning of the sixties witnessed the inauguration of trade in iron ore from the west, principally, in those days, from the mines on Lake Michigan. This ore found its way as a return cargo on the canal boats, to Sharon and all the points touched by the canal in the Shenango valley, down to Pittsburg, and in this opening of the iron trade with Escanaba was laid the foundation of more than one fortune. How insignificant Erie's iron ore trade of the canal days was, however, may easily be understood when it is considered that the public dock accommodated the iron ore trade as well as the coal business, with room to spare.

The building of new railroads sounded the death knell of the harbor that the canal had built up. In the fall of 1864 the Philadelphia & Erie and Erie & Pittsburg railroads were opened. Both railroads built their own docks, and it was not long before the competition between the Erie and Pittsburg and the canal became so strong that it was evident the latter must yield. It did. It became the property of the railroad and in 1871 was abandoned. Meanwhile the railroads were greatly improving their harbor facilities. The Philadelphia & Erie Railroad was opened through to Erie from the seaboard in 1864. In 1865 there was incorporated the Erie & Western Transportation Co., subsidiary to the railroad company, and in 1866 it established itself at Erie. At the time business was begun at this port by the E. & W. T. Co. there was little available out of which to form a harbor, except the vacant space. There was a small dock or pier in a line with the north front of the Public dock. For a long time it had been used by W. W. Loomis in connection with his floating drydock, a novelty in those days, employed for the docking and repair of schooners and other vessels of the size and burthen then almost universal—not above 200 or 300 tons. Upon that dock elevator A now stands. This dock was bought by the Erie & Western Transportation Co. along with the land upon which it stands. The "Muddy dock" was also on the same property. It was a wharf that extended into the harbor 300 or 400 feet and there was a wide slip or passage between that and the outer dock or pier above alluded to. At first this space was bridged, but, after the building of the first elevator by Messrs. Noble, Brown, McCarter and Shannon in 1868 it was filled in with solid pier work.

In connection with the railroad enterprise of building the harbor, was that of David Burton & Sons, the pioneers in the anthracite coal

trade of Erie. They began business in 1866 on a dock the property of the P. & E. Railroad, east of the present hard coal trestle dock. The firm consisted of David Burton and his sons Andrew and Alured P. In 1868 David withdrew when the new firm of Burton & Longstreet was organized, and continued the business until 1874. The eastern harbor grew quite rapidly in the early days. The city directory of 1867 boastfully says: "Erie has six large docks, four supplied with railroad tracks." These docks were the Public dock and Reed's dock, used in connection with the canal, and the Erie & Pittsburg, the Anchor Line (E. & W. T. Co.), Burtons, and the Whallon dock. That, which had been built outside the harbor at the mouth of Lighthouse run, by the Anthracite Coal & Iron Co., was then just completed and was regarded as the terminus of the Cleveland & Erie Railroad and a connection with the P. & E. But little business was done on that dock, however.

Meanwhile the development of the harbor of the Erie & Western Transportation Co. was progressing rapidly, and Erie became a livelier steamboat port than it had ever dreamed of being, even in the era of the Reed steamers. Instead of two or three calls per week, vessels arrived daily, and frequently more than a single boat. At the beginning the vessels of the Erie & Western Transportation Co., known as the Anchor Line, were not numerous, the fleet consisting of boats bought by the company. But an arrangement was made by which the steamers of the Evans Line supplemented the Anchor Line. In 1871 the fleet that did business at Erie consisted of two lines. The Atlantic, Duluth & Pacific line included the steamers Keweenaw, Arctic, St. Paul, Meteor, Pacific, Coburn, Atlantic, and the India, China and Japan, then just brought out, built of iron, among the finest on the lakes and built for the E. & W. T. Co. The Anchor Line vessels were the steamers Philadelphia, Merchant, Thomas A. Scott, Winslow, Annie Young, Alaska, Bradbury and Sun and the schooners Salina and Gardner.

Steadily increasing business produced a steady enlargement of the docks and facilities of the P. & E. harbor. Elevator A was rebuilt of vastly greater capacity in 1880. A year or two later elevator B was built and subsequently a third, elevator C. The large freight house was first built on the westerly side of the coal pier in 1876 and moved to its present location in 1881. In 1884 the Scott coal dock, with its great trestle of coal pockets was built, and in 1889 the easternmost dock was equipped for the iron ore business. In 1901 this dock came under the management of James Thompson, who, in 1908, formed a copartnership with M. A. Hanna & Co., when the equipment was thoroughly modernized. The improvements made to the harbor are such that at the present time ships carrying a cargo of upwards of ten thousand tons can be accommodated at the docks and expeditiously relieved of their cargoes, and with equal dispatch furnished with a load

of coal from the opposite side of the slip. Development at the Anchor Line docks has kept pace with that on the other docks of the P. & E. Railroad, large warehouses providing separate facilities for handling the east-bound freight apart from that bound west.

The record of the vessels owned by the Anchor Line from the time business was begun, furnished by the company, is as follows:

Salina	Sold in 1872
Gardner	Sold in 1872
Merchant	Lost in 1875
Thos. A. Scott	Lost in 1880
Keepsake	Sold in 1881
Prindiville	Sold in 1881
C. H. Weeks	Sold in 1881
Arizona	Lost in 1887
Annie Sherwood	Sold in 1888
Schuylkill	Sold in 1888
Allegheny	Sold in 1888
Annie Young	Lost in 1890
Winslow	Lost in 1891
Erie	Sold in 1891
Philadelphia	Lost in 1893
Gordon Campbell	Sold in 1899
China	Sold in 1905
Delaware	Sold in 1905
Conestoga	Sold in 1905
Juniata	Sold in 1905
Lycoming	Sold in 1905
India	Sold in 1906
Wissahickon	Sold in 1906
Conemaugh	Lost in 1906

The present fleet consists of:

Japan	Built in 1871
Alaska	Built in 1873
Lehigh	Built in 1880
Clarion	Built in 1881
Susquehanna	Built in 1886
Codorus	Built in 1892
Schuylkill	Built in 1892
Mahoning	Built in 1892
Muncy	Built in 1902
Tionesta	Built in 1903
Juniata	Built in 1905.

Delaware .....Built in 1905
Wissahickon .....Built in 1907
Conemaugh .....Built in 1909

The original Erie & Pittsburg dock, now known as No. 1, was built in 1864 by John and James Casey, but it has geen greatly enlarged, though still known by the number which identifies it as the original. Dock No. 2, to the west, was built by W. L. Scott & Co. a few years later, but the exact date cannot be ascertained. In the beginning all the lake business of the E. & P. Railroad was done on the single dock first built. The steady and even rapid growth of the iron ore business, however, demanded more room, and it was to provide this that No. 2 was built, that dock being devoted entirely to the shipment of bituminous coal, and, keeping pace with the times, its equipment now includes the device which, lifting a car bodily, overturns it and empties its contents directly into the hold of the vessel alongside. During the Scott administration Dock No. 3 was built, being an addition to No. 1, and it was devoted to coal shipments as well as to the receipt of ore until 1891, at which time Dock No. 4 was built and leased by the Carnegie Steel Co., and operated by Pickands, Mather & Co., of Cleveland. The equipment of these docks had been traveling cranes with the dumping ore buckets now become obsolete, but in 1896 the newer and more efficient Brown hoists were substituted. In 1902 M. A. Hanna & Co. took over all the ore docks of the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad (or the Pennsylvania Company), and, the same year, substituted for the buckets on the Brown hoists the Wilber, Seaver, Morgan Co. clam shell device, increasing expedition in unloading. In 1902 trestle No. 1, on the shore, was built to facilitate the storage of the ore that arrived in quantity too great to be moved away at once by the railroad. Trestle No. 1 has a capacity of 140,000 tons. Trestle No. 2, built in 1908, has a capacity of 100,000 tons, and altogether, including space on the docks, the entire storage capacity of the Erie & Pittsburg dock plant is about 600,000 tons. In 1892 a plant for producing electricity for lighting and power was installed at the E. & P. docks and continues in use.

The Watson dock was built in 1869 for the blast furnace that was that year erected. For a long time it remained idle until in 1894 it was bought by H. F. Watson, to be used in connection with his paper business, canal boats being laden there and towed to Buffalo and thence proceeding by the Erie Canal to New York. At present it is occupied in part by the Erie Sand & Gravel Co. At first the blast furnace dock was without railroad connection, but the year after it was opened, in 1870, the Erie & Pittsburg Railroad Company built a track along the shore of the bay, eastward from its original terminus, and laid tracks on the dock of the blast furnace. Subsequently the bay

shore line was continued through so that a connection was made with the tracks in the P. & E. yard. Tracks were also laid on the French street dock and the Carroll dock, after the junction had been effected.

The latest addition to the harbor of Erie is the fine Public Steamboat Landing which was formally dedicated in June, 1909. This consists of an extension of the Public Dock northward 600 feet into the bay, and was made possible by an appropriation of $150,000 voted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The accomplishment of this enterprise is due to the Erie Chamber of Commerce, and more especially to the individual efforts of Clark Olds, Esq., a former president of the Chamber, who succeeded in interesting the Erie representatives in the legislature. It is of timber construction to a short distance below the water line, the superstructure being of cement, the central area paved with vitrified brick. It contains a gallery of steel and reinforced concrete construction, and is pronounced the best dock on the chain of lakes. The formal dedication was presided over by Governor Stuart, who turned it over to the city of Erie as a public boat landing. Immediately the Cleveland & Buffalo Steamboat Company arranged to furnish regular passenger and freight transportation between Erie and Cleveland and Buffalo, making use of the new dock.

The principal trade at the harbor of Erie is in iron ore and coal. This trade began in the days of the Erie Extension canal, and in 1866, it was announced with considerable flourish that the imports of ore that year had been 57,609 tons and the shipments of coal 251,317 tons, constituting Erie at that time the second in rank in the United States as a coal port. In 1907, however, the receipts of iron ore at Erie had reached, for that season, 2,657,410 tons, while the shipments of coal had been 1,506,554 tons. There were received at Erie by Anchor Line in 1906, 1,643,630 barrels of flour, while the value of the merchandise handled at this port, placed Erie third in the list of lake ports, Chicago and Buffalo only exceeding Erie.

The vessels owned at Erie according to the record at the Custom House for the year 1908, the last full year available for this work, were:

Owned by Geo. B. Taylor and known as the Pittsburg & Erie Coal Co. fleet—steamers Alcona, 952 tons; Business, 985; H. S. Pickands, 625; Havana, 1,041; John Plankinton, 1,821; Philip D. Armour, 1,990; R. P. Fitzgerald, 1,681; Toledo, 960; and Wiley M. Egan, 1,677, and the schooners Edward Kelly, 776, and Marengo, 648.

Owned by the Sand & Gravel Co.—The steel steamers (or "sand suckers," as they are commonly called) Dan King, Erie and America.

Owned by E. D. Carter.—The steel steamers E. D. Carter, 6,359 tons, and J. H. Bartow, 6,316 tons.

Owned by James McBrier—Steamer Nyanza, 2,296.

Owned by the Wainwright Steamship Co.—The steel steamer Wainwright, 4,937 tons.

Owned by Edward Mehl—Steamer Uganda, 2,298 tons.

Owned by the Pennsylvania Fish Commission—The gasoline boat Com. Perry, 34 tons.

The vessels of the Anchor Line have already been mentioned.

Then there are the boats employed in the fishing industry, a most important feature of the port. The steamboats, mostly of the build of tugs, range from ten to forty-three tons burthen. Of these boats four are built of steel, and forty-one are of wood, and besides these there are nine propelled by gasoline engines. Altogether there are 90 vessels of varying degrees registered as hailing from Erie.

In the early days fish of many different kinds were abundant in the waters of Lake Erie, and Presque Isle Bay was a splendid fishing ground for such game species as black bass and muscallonge as well as for the shore varieties—perch, rock bass, sunfish, etc. The lake was especially well supplied with whitefish, the best of fresh water fish, besides different kinds of pike or pickerel and herring, and there are traditions, at least, of catches of whitefish of forty in number, the average weight of the fish being fifteen pounds. When fishing with nets, as a steady business began in Erie, the supply was deemed inexhaustible, and so it was, if the demand and the method of taking them had never changed. But in the matter of catching fish as in everything else man has undertaken there have been great strides made in a forward direction.

The first fishermen were those who employed only the hook and line, and perhaps the first individual in Erie to try to earn his livelihood by fishing was old Ben Fleming. He was called "Bass" Fleming because of his occupation, and he was a survivor of the great Battle of Lake Erie of 1813. His stock consisted only of bass and such other kinds as could be caught in the bay. Whitefish, which haunt the deeper water of the lake and are not taken with the hook, Fleming never had for sale, and it was not until 1854 that gill-net fishing became an established industry at the port of Erie. It was begun by a man named Hitchcock, who came here from the western end of the lake with his outfit, and the success that attended his labors produced a sort of sensation in the neighborhood of the islands. A decided impression was created here and resulted in John Dash and his two sons Adam and John, Jr.; Clark Jones, Richard P. Burke and others engaging in the business.

In those days, and for a good long while afterward, the fisherman's outfit consisted of a boat, twenty or twenty-five feet long, double-cat rigged, and two or three gangs of nets. The boats were without decks but were built on beautiful lines and were not only sea-

worthy but very smart sailers. There were usually three in the crew, and the trip out to the nets was made very early in the morning. The nets were of cotton twine, but, instead of the present equipment of oiled floats and lead sinkers, were furnished with stone sinkers and floats that were slats of white cedar notched and slit in the end, so that when the nets had been drawn in it became necessary to detach the sinkers, and the floats before the twine could be dried.

At first the product of the fisheries had no ready sale when fresh. There was a local market, but of a limited extent and there were no facilities for the rapid transportation of fish, such as came later. As a consequence much of the product was salted and packed in barrels and at one time salt whitefish was a staple commodity in every grocery and provision store. Soon after the railroads were built the markets were extended, and then, by the use of ice shipments of fresh fish to the interior increased steadily, and artificial freezing in time enabled a wonderful expansion of the business. In the year 1872 there was but one wholesale dealer at the docks, Clark Jones. Even to 1875, the trade continued to be limited, so that a single firm, H. Divel & Co., took care of the business. In those days the individual boats disposed of their catches to the dealers at the dock, the dealers as a rule having no boats of their own.

The beginning of the new order of things came in 1876, when there were four dealers at the harbor: Burch & Coatam, Aaron F. Bush & Co., and Marks & Kerber at the foot of Holland street, and Heidt & Nunn at the foot of Peach street. E. D. Carter first engaged in the business in 1877, and the next year Louis Streuber, and then for a long period—up to 1894—Carter, Streuber, Bush, and Divel were the leaders in the wholesale fish industry. With the impetus thus given to the business, of course there was a corresponding increase in that branch of it which included the fishermen and their outfits, and the various trades connected, such as boat building and the manufacture of nets, for the nets were made here out of twine brought in from the factories.

Soon, however, the demands of the trade called something swifter and more dependable than the fishing smacks, smart as they were. The wind could not always be relied upon, and the boats were of limited capacity. Even the multiplication of the boats was not sufficient, and besides, the trouble about the wind remained. It fell to Aaron Bush to introduce the steam fishing boat. It came in the eighties, and it was not long before it had successors. W. W. Loomis was then in the business of vessel building, and for a number of years the principal output of his shipyard was the "fish tug"—for the fishing boats were built on the exact plan of the tug boats of the lakes. Others engaged in the business and Seifert, Paasch, and several other builders came into prominence, and at the close of navigation in 1908 there were no less than 54 fishing boats, some of them of 43 tons burthen, registered at the port of Erie.

Meanwhile a serious trouble had developed. The waters of Lake Erie were becoming depleted. At first little was sought but the whitefish. Most of the other species, regarded as inferior, were rejected, or not sought for, and the lake herring, esteemed in the colder seasons when its flesh was firm, was not considered salable. But changed conditions compelled the practical application of the old saw that "all is fish that is taken in the net." And even at that, the supply was becoming short. A resort was then had to artificial propagation. Hatcheries were established at the western end of the lake and in 1885 the Pennsylvania State Commissioners of Fisheries built a hatchery at Erie, a building of an attractive style, at the corner of Sassafras and Second streets, which was opened in December of that year. At first only whitefish were propagated, but other varieties were added until herring, wall-eyed and blue pike, and perch are also hatched. The product of the four first named varieties in a single year at the Erie hatchery reaches 234,000,000, which, in the form of young fry, are set free in the lake. This, it must be borne in mind, is only a part of what is artificially supplied, for there are other hatcheries on the Ohio shore of Lake Erie. A notable development in recent years is a new kind of fish, known to the trade as the Cisco, which is a cross between the whitefish and the herring, and is sometimes sold to those who cannot discriminate as whitefish. The session of the State Legislature of 1909 made provision for the construction of breeding ponds in the peninsula, where the perch, the black bass, the sunfish and other species are to be propagated. Louis Streuber, of Erie, was appointed a member of the State Fish Commission in 1895, and served until 1899, when John Hamberger was appointed from this port.

The sturgeon fishing business at Erie has come and gone, the sturgeon having become to all intents and purposes, exterminated. In 1872, Post & Durfee, of Fairport, Ohio, set the first pound nets off the port of Erie for the purpose of catching sturgeon. At first the only use made of these fish was to extract the roe for the manufacture of caviare, the rest being thrown away. A factory was established above Massassauga Point, and years afterward a manufacturer of fertilizers did a profitable business from the reduction of the fish carcasses that were dug out of the dunes of sand that, drifting over them, had buried and preserved them. Successors of Post & Durfee were Heidt & Wendell, Slocum & Stuntz, Slocum & Meyers. The last named firm established a caviare factory on the tongue of land at the southwest corner of Misery Bay, which has since been known as Sturgeon Point. At this place, however, the carcasses of the fish were put to better use, and smoked sturgeon came into great demand. But the fisheries failed. The goose that laid the golden egg had been killed. There were no more sturgeon. Eventually the Legislature of Pennsylvania prohibited the use of pound nets, and for a number of years there was no

fishing by means of that device. Within recent years pound net fishing has been resumed, but it is rare indeed that a sturgeon is taken.

During the last ten years the wholesale fish business has been principally in the hands of A. Booth & Co., a foreign corporation, and the Keystone Fish Co., of Erie. Other dealers have been the Buckeye Fish Co., and the Union Fish Co. The warehouses of Booth & Co. and the Keystone Fish Co. were destroyed by fire in 1908, and in the latter part of that year Booth & Co. failed. Work was immediately begun to rebuild by the Keystone Fish Co., and in 1909, on the ruins of the other a new warehouse was erected by W. F. Kalbe. In addition to these, in 1909 there were engaged in the wholesale fish business at the port of Erie, the Union Fish Co. and the Booth Fisheries Co., both foreign concerns.

CHAPTER VI.—BURNING OF THE ERIE.

A Historic Marine Disaster.—Terrible Fatality on a Steamer's First Trip.—Story of a Survivor Still Living.

Tales of terrible loss of life by shipwreck have in all ages possessed their own peculiar fascination, and many a story, of truth or fiction, in which the horrors of the storm or the fire at sea are depicted, are read again and again with scarcely any diminution in interest. The loss of the Medusa, the wreck of the Grosvenor, or even the tales of shipwreck of modern times as they appear in the columns of the daily newspaper are first to attract the eye and rivet the attention, and these stories are likely longest to be retained in memory. This is the case with the story of the burning of the steamer Erie, of this port, sixty-eight years ago, with the loss of nearly two hundred and fifty souls.

It was a particularly harrowing occurrence because of the lack of facilities for obtaining information, and people of today can imagine the situation when it is appreciated that, after it became known the vessel had burned, it required many long hours to get any particulars—indeed it was not until twenty-four hours after the occurrence that the report of the loss of the Erie was confirmed, and then it was only after sending an express rider out from here to proceed as far as to Silver Creek, obtain the facts and then return to Erie, that the details of the awful occurrence became known. The state of suspense and anxiety that prevailed in this city meantime may be imagined, for there were believed to be many Erie people among the passengers and crew.

The Erie was a comparatively new vessel at the time of her destruction. She had been built in Erie in 1837 by Thomas G. Colt and Smith I. Jackson, and was one of a number that constituted the finest line of steamers then in existence anywhere. Erie had become a noteworthy ship-building center. It was a result of the building here of Commodore Perry's fleet, in one sense, for the large force of carpenters and other mechanics brought from eastern ports to work on the ships of the American fresh water fleet, did not return when the work on these ships was completed. They remained and many of them became prominent, some as navigators, some as designers and builders

of vessels, some as business men and others as farmers. Many of the ship carpenters were Welsh, and with them the Welsh names, the Richardses, Hentons, Griffiths, Hugheses, Joneses, and such came into the county, and through them was established the settlement in South Harborcreek known to this day as Wales. There were a considerable number, however, who continued to follow their trade, and one of them, Captain Richards, became prominent as a designer and director of vessel construction at Erie.

Steam navigation became established on the great lakes in the twenties, and, following the development along the new lines of navigation, Erie business men became interested in the new departure. The first steamer owned in Erie was the Peacock, bought by Rufus S. Reed, and soon afterwards a sister ship was decided upon and the William Penn was built at Erie, Mr. Reed and others being the owners. Then followed these boats, all owned by Mr. Reed and built at this port; the Pennsylvania, in 1832; the Thomas Jefferson, in 1834; the James Madison, in 1836; and the Missouri, in 1840. The steamer Erie was built here in 1837, and after being operated for four seasons was bought by General Reed, who was then at the head of the steamboat business on the lakes, and was added to the splendid line of steamers that sailed under the Reed colors.

It was in 1841 that the Erie was added to the Reed fleet of steamers, and, before being put into regular service she was given a general overhauling, receiving of course, a thorough renovation in which the paint pot and brush figured prominently. Indeed, the painters had not finished their work when the time came for the advertised departure of the vessel on her first trip as one of the Reed line of steamers, and the painters, still engaged in their work, accompanied the Erie on her run down the lake, which was the first stage of the trip, intending to have their work finished when the boat returned to Erie. The trip as laid out consisted of a run to Buffalo, from which port a trip to Chicago and return was to begin.

It was on Friday, Aug. 6, 1841, at 11 p. m., that the Erie left this port for Buffalo on her ill-fated trip. She lay at Buffalo until Monday, Aug. 9, and at 4:20 p. m., took her departure. She had a large list of passengers, numbering nearly 300, and including many emigrants, Swiss and Germans, bound for the west. There was a fresh breeze from the west, but the boat made excellent progress, and by 8 o'clock in the evening had reached a point off Silver Creek, when there was an explosion, and almost in a flash the entire steamer seemed to be enveloped in flames. A number of demijohns of turpentine and varnish had been left on the boiler deck, and these, becoming overheated, had exploded, the vapor at once bursting into a blaze that seized upon the freshly painted woodwork and the flames spread with

as much rapidity as though fed by gunpowder, and, fanned by the breeze, the boat was instantly a roaring furnace.

Then ensued a scene that defies description. To say that the victims rushed frantically to the side of the boat and, heedless of consequences, threw themselves into the water of the lake; that many were unable even to reach the side but perished miserably in the flames; that many, imprisoned in cabin and state-room, were roasted alive without the ability to stir—to mention any of these general facts cannot give even the faintest idea of the horrors that the awful scene presented. There is preserved the story of one of the passengers who, more fortunate than hundreds of others, was able to effect his escape; who was able at the outbreak of the holocaust to make his way to the forward part of the ship which was for a brief time free from the ravages of the fire. This is his story:

At about 8 o'clock I was sitting in the saloon. Parmelee, the barkeeper, had just made me a punch and we were playing a rubber of whist, when, all at once, we heard a slight explosion, a hissing sound and a cry of "Fire!" So many accidents had occurred and I had so schooled myself to the thought of such an accident that I was comparatively cool and self-possessed. I sprang to the door, followed by Parmelee, and we were met by a mass of scorching flame. I rushed forward, and he followed; but no more. Of the dozen or fifteen in the saloon at that moment not another survived. In a second all that part of the boat nearest to where the flames burst out (the boiler deck) was a roaring furnace, and they must have perished horribly in the saloon, for there was no means of escape.

On going forward I saw in a moment the whole terror of the scene. The flames burst out in immense masses and were driven back by the wind, enveloping in one moment the whole body of the boat. Titus (the captain) sprang to the wheel and headed her for the shore, and the wind now drove the flames into every part of her and she rolled over the sea a mass of fire, for she had been lately painted and her panel work varnished, so that she caught as if dipped in spirits of turpentine.

Then the air was filled with shrieks of agony and despair. The boldest turned pale at that awful moment. I shall never forget the wail of terror that went up from the poor German emigrants who were huddled together on the forward deck. Wives clung to their husbands; mothers frantically pressed their babes to their bosoms; lovers clung madly to each other. One venerable old man, his gray hair streaming in the wind, stood on the bow, and stretching out his bony hands, prayed to God in the language of his fatherland.

But if the scene forward was terrible, that aft was appalling, for the flames were raging in the greatest fury. Some madly rushed into

the fire. Others, yelling like demons, maddened with the flames which were all around them, sprang headlong into the waves. The officers of the boat and the crew were generally cool, and sprang to lower the boats, but these were, every one successively swamped by those who threw themselves into them regardless of the commands and execrations of the sailors and heedless of everything but to seek their own safety.

I tried to act coolly. I kept near the captain, who seemed to take courage from despair, and whose bearing was above all praise. The boat was wearing toward the shore, but the maddened flames now enveloped the wheel house, and in a moment the machinery stopped. The last hope had left us, and a wilder shriek arose on the air.

At this moment the second engineer, the one at the time on duty, who had stood by his machinery as long as it would work, was seen climbing the gallows-head, a black mass with the flames curling about him. To either side he could not go, for it was one mass of fire. He sprang upward, came to the top, for one moment felt madly around him, and then fell back into the flames.

There was no more remaining on board, for the boat now broached round and rolled upon the swelling waves, a mass of fire. I seized upon a settee near me and gave one spring, just as the flames were bursting through the deck where I stood. One moment more and I should have been surrounded by fire. In a second I found myself tossed upon a wave, grasping my frail support with desperate energy. At one moment I saw nothing but the yawning deep and the blackening sky; at the next the flaming mass was before me as the wave pitched me up; and around were my fellow-passengers struggling with the waves, some supported by nothing but their strong arms, every moment growing weaker, while the wild agonizing shrieks of those who were every moment taking their last look at the upper world appalled even the stoutest hearts. And those who were still clinging to the bulwarks, but momentarily dropping with every pitch of the vessel, made such a scene as nightly haunts my dreams, and can never be obliterated while memory remains.

I had been in the water but a short time, though each moment seemed an age, when I heard the voice of Captain Titus, who, the last to leave the vessel, was now in the water, calling out in a firm voice:

"Courage! Hold on; help is coming!"

Oh, words of hope! How they cheered us in that hour of gloom! A moment later I saw the lights of a steamboat, and in a short time the hull of the Clinton, which upon seeing the fire, had hastened to our assistance. Her boats were quickly lowered and by the light of the burning vessel they were able to pick up those struggling in the waves and twenty-seven of us were saved from a watery grave. Some were

terribly burned and some in the last stage of exhaustion, but all were profusely thankful for their preservation.

This is the story of a survivor of that famous wreck; of that horrible battle against two terrible elements combined to work destruction and death. It is not, however, a narrative told in the heat of the excitement immediately following the dreadful experience, but is an account given thirty-five years later, when he had had ample time to review the occurrence, and, approaching the subject as coolly and calmly as possible, to describe scenes that any adjectives, even the most extravagant, would seem to be quite inadequate to properly illuminate.

The intelligence of the dreadful disaster reached Erie the next day, and the effect was awful. How many from Erie there were on the boat could not be told, but it was known there were not a few. A large proportion of the crew, all the members of the band, and doubtless many of the passengers belonged here, and the entire village was thrown into a state of terrible apprehension. People were running about, from place to place in the little town; inquiring of everyone met whether any news had been heard; seeking the harbor in hopes some boat had arrived; scanning the offing, trusting to see signs of an approaching vessel. But there was no news to be had. The telegraph was unknown to Erie people; the railroad was yet far in the future, and steamboats on the lake were really few and far between. There was only one avenue of rapid communication; the stage road between Erie and Buffalo. This was at once taken advantage of and swift horses were pressed into service for a rapid ride to Dunkirk or Silver Creek. But the long day passed and a sleepless night succeeded before the messengers returned with a confirmation of the terrible news, and then it was but fragmentary. For days; for weeks, even, the news continued to be received, coming principally from the reports published in the Buffalo papers, where the accounts of the official investigation by the New York state authorities were printed, and where interviews with survivors were obtained. The story presented here today, however, was not one of those early tales; it was written by a survivor who had taken up his abode in Ohio and furnished it to the *Gazette* while I had the honor of having an editorial connection with the "Old Reliable."

Perhaps the best known of those who lost their lives in that disaster were the members of the band. There were ten, and their names, so far as can be ascertained, were: David Sterrett, John Clapp, James Heck, Robert Hughes, a German named Philip, Williams, a cabinet maker, Alexander Lamberton and William Wadsworth, besides two others. Of these Lamberton and Wadsworth were all that were saved. Among the drowned was Purser Gilson. It is believed that not less than thirty from Erie perished in the flames, or in the waves

after being driven off the boat. Mr. Gilson was a brother of Mrs. General Reed, and an uncle of Manager Gilson, of the Majestic Theatre.

A statement of the number of souls aboard at the time of the awful calamity, that was made while the inquiry was in progress, and that no doubt was very nearly accurate, is as follows:

Swiss deck passengers	130
Other deck passengers	60
Cabin passengers	50
Crew	25
Band	10
Total	275
Saved	33
Total loss of life	242

The boat was valued at $75,000 and her cargo at $20,000, and it was estimated at the time that the emigrants, who were well to do and were going west to take up farms and build homes, had $180,000 with them, all of which was lost.

There are no records extant of the number of Erie people who were aboard the ill-fated Erie that August day, either as passengers or crew, nor is there a record of the number of Erie people who were saved. But there were some who survived to tell the story of its horrors and among them was James Lafferty, a member of the crew, and by some said to have been a wheelman of the boat. Lafferty lived in Erie with his mother, a charming little woman. He was a mariner, with all the instincts that characterize the calling well developed. During the fearful drama of the burning of the boat he played a conspicuous part, and by his heroism contributed greatly to the assistance of the victims of the awful disaster. Many he helped to escape from the burning ship to the water—many who might have been saved if they but had the necessary presence of mind to make use of the means at hand, for not only did he find a way to get them off the burning wreck but the means for their support, which, unfortunately few had the knowledge, skill or coolness to use, were also provided. As long as the boat had steerage way he stood faithfully at the wheel, and it was when the stoppage of the engines made his services as a steersman no longer of value that he turned his attention to lending aid to the panic-stricken passengers.

In the course of time Mr. Lafferty passed into the period of unserviceable old age. He had not been prudent in youth, and he was not altogether free from the weaknesses that tradition associates with the sailor's life. In the course of time he took up his abode at the alms house, but upon frequent occasions he made excursions to the

city, and always carried with him his favorite violin, upon which he delighted to play. It was also of some service to him when he found himself in an impecunious financial condition. Let him be not harshly judged if it shall be acknowledged that he was upon each of his city excursions vanquished by his failing, and that the end was a cell in the police station. He was not severely dealt with by the officers, they all knew Jim Lafferty, and, though very much the worse for the celebration he had just passed through, he was respected for what he had been, and his splendid service on that night of terrors was not forgotten. In his slumbers, made as comfortable as circumstances would admit, he was covered with a mantle of charity, and he was never permitted to have the character of vagrant set opposite his name. Long a familiar if not altogether ornamental figure in Erie he was always known as the heroic wheelman of the Erie, who stood at his post in the midst of the roaring flames, holding the ship firmly on its course toward shore, and the fact that his efforts were instrumental in saving many lives probably operated to pardon shortcomings that concerned none directly but himself.

In this connection it is only fair to state that the first magistrate to take account of Jim Lafferty's heroic deeds and apply his record in extenuation of his shortcomings, was Alderman Sam Woods, and the leniency extended then continued to be operative as long as Lafferty's uncertain steps led him cityward and in the direction of temptation. Poor Lafferty died a few years ago. He deserves a monument.

There is another survivor of the ill-fated Erie who still lives in this city, a citizen of the highest respectability and so modest concerning the part he played in that memorable scene that it is only with the greatest reluctance he speaks of it. Mr. A. W. Blila, of West Ninth street, when the Erie went into commission as part of the Reed fleet of steamers on that August day in 1841, was shipped as a call boy to attend upon the wheelmen. He was then 13 years of age, but a sturdy boy and not unfamiliar with the duties of the position he was filling. The crew of the boat were accommodated on the main deck, the engineers having their quarters on the starboard side, abaft the paddle wheels, and the wheelmen on the port side, directly opposite the engineers.

That night Mr. Blila was in the wheelmen's stateroom, preparing for his night's rest, and along with him was Jerome McBride, a wheelman, brother of Dennis McBride, a mate of the Erie. The first intimation Mr. Blila and his mate had of trouble on the boat was an unusual sound, not to be described, so unusual that Mr. Blila remarked it, and asked what it could be.

"Oh, it's nothing," said McBride. "Perhaps they have blown out a boiler head or something of that sort has occurred."

But the noise continued. It was something like a mixture of roaring and crackling with trampling of feet mingled, and again Blila spoke of it; but the sailor tried to quiet the boy, and by assuring him that there could be nothing the matter, urged him to lie down. It was impossible, without investigating, so young Blila went to the door and opening it was confronted with a solid wall of fire. Slamming the door to, he told McBride what he had seen; that the ship was in flames. Then he proposed to break the window and escape through that into the water, but McBride said no.

"We will try another plan," said he.

Then seizing a blanket, he held it spread out in front of him and as high up as possible, and telling the boy to follow close upon his heels, he opened the door and rushed through the flames. There was not a moment to spare, and it seemed as though McBride had, in the second of thought he had given it, completely planned out the escape. But a few feet away the gang plank lay upon the deck. This he seized and threw overboard, telling the boy to jump out and get aboard of it. McBride himself followed but he was fearfully burned and was in excruciating agony. With their hands they paddled away from the vicinity of the burning ship. They were among the very last to be picked up by the boats of the Clinton, which had come to the rescue.

Mr. Blila speaks of the circumstance with reluctance, partly for the reason that, notwithstanding the startling character of that tragic event, so little of the details of the scene can be recalled. As a matter of fact he saw but very little of it. Possibly not more than five seconds of time elapsed between the discovery of the fire and the plunge into the waves. There was no time even for thought and the whole occurrence is scarcely more in the retina of his memory than a troubled dream. So now, when he is asked about the burning of the Erie, he says he remembers so little about it that it is not worth while to repeat it. And yet it is one of the most marvelous of experiences and most miraculous of escapes.

He came through his terrible ordeal unscathed. Far different was it with poor Jerome McBride, who had been the means of saving the call-boy's life. His burns were so severe that he died of them after reaching his home in Erie.

CHAPTER VII.—IN TIME OF WAR.

Erie Holiday Soldiers Become Soldiers in Earnest.—The Part Taken by Erie Women in the Civil War.

There was not a period in the history of Erie, up to the present, when the soldierly spirit did not prevail to a very considerable extent and was made manifest by the existence of one or more military organizations. At the present time there is possibly less of this spirit prevalent than ever before, for the one company of the national guard now possessed by Erie hardly cuts the figure in affairs that its predecessors did. And yet, when it is considered how many different orders of a quasi-military character thrive in Erie it might be well to reconsider what has just been said about a decay in the interest taken in such matters. With active organizations connected as side degrees with the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias and other orders, not to mention the various Catholic orders and the Junior Order, besides others, no doubt it might more properly be said that the soldierly spirit continues unabated to this day.

In the olden times, however, the military organizations were not for play. They were for business, and existed in an ever present contemplation of a necessity for actual service of the guards. The beginnings undoubtedly came from the promptings of a double motive. There was the constant fear of the possibilities of trouble from the Indians. Here in Erie, except at the time the fort left by the French was taken by the Indian force in the interest of Pontiac's enterprise, there were no actual hostilities. But there was for a long time just cause to fear there might be. The transaction with relation to the Triangle was a matter that vexed the red man and for a long time the attitude of the chiefs was such that the whites feared to settle here notwithstanding the many attractive features of this section of the country, and it was not until the erection of the block house by General Wayne's soldiers in 1795 that there was an inspiration of courage sufficient to bring hither a permanent settlement.

Thus it is proper to say that one of the forces that operated toward implanting a military spirit at the beginning of the settlement in Erie was the necessity of organization for self-protection.

That, however, was but one of the possible explanations. Another may have been the fact that among those who earliest came to Erie as permanent settlers were a number of Revolutionary soldiers. These, it cannot be doubted, still possessed much of the martial spirit, and that spirit, with a supposed peril menacing the new settlement, it may well be believed produced the natural result. That this really was so seems to be proven by the fact that the first military companies organized in the county, Captain Elisha Marvin's Greenfield company, in 1801, and Captain Thomas Forster's Erie Light Infantry, in 1806, were commanded by Revolutionary veterans.

There was, however, a more general military system, the product of state legislation. That was not so early in its operation as the independent movement which resulted in bringing the Greenfield company into existence, for the act was not passed until 1804, but it quickly became operative, to such a degree that it was accepted generally. The act compelled the enrollment of every able-bodied man in the state between the ages of 18 and 45 years and required them to report for duty two days every year or else pay a fine. The act met with ready response, and on the days of military training there was a large turn-out. The men were in earnest. They brought with them their guns which were duly inspected and they were drilled in regular military fashion, the militia being formed in companies, battalions, regiments and brigades with officers duly commissioned. The training was soldierly and the pomp and circumstance of it truly inspiring, producing an effect which, even after the universality of it had passed, still left enough to be manifested to the extent that bodies were regularly organized that devoted more than the two days a year that the law demanded to the work of attaining proficiency in arms.

General training day in the olden times was an event to be looked forward to and eagerly anticipated. Long after the militia ceased to bring their guns to the place of muster, and after the warlike aspect of the rank and file had passed away the training day still had its attractions. In great crowds the people from the country would come in to the city and there were always doings. Though the militiamen of the level rank carried nothing but a stick, the officers were present generally attired in gorgeous uniforms and big with the importance of the occasion and their military title, and they made the most of the opportunity. Those were the days when Major Fitch, of Wesleyville, became the hero of the small boys who gazed agape at his marvelous performances on the drum and admired the impossible and useless but gay uniform in which he appeared. It was a sort of fair; a grand spectacle for the enjoyment of the entire population, but after all very much a farce after it had about completed its retrogression. It was in 1848 that the law was repealed and general training day as

a legal institution went out of existence. Its demise was lamented by some, but after all it was for the public good.

Erie's first military organization was that of Captain Thomas Forster, which came into existence in 1806 and endured for several years. It took part in the War of 1812-13, though the military operations in this vicinity were not of very great importance.

Besides Captain Forster's company, there were in olden times in Erie these companies: The Erie Greens, in 1821; the Washington Artillery, in 1824; and the Erie Guards in the same year; an artillery company was organized in 1831 and a cavalry company in 1836; in the beginning of the forties the German Guards and the Washington Guards were organized; in 1842 the Wayne Grays were organized, with John W. McLane of Harborcreek, as captain; in 1858 the Franklin Pierce Rifle Company and in 1859 the Wayne Guards with John W. McLane as captain and the Perry Artillery Company, commanded by Captain Gustav Jarecki.

Of all the companies of soldiers ever organized in Erie none had the record of the Wayne Guards, none figured so conspicuously in national affairs, and perhaps not any in the whole country made so remarkable a record. Organized in 1859 it was as though some power more than mortal had the direction of affairs when that company was brought into existence, for it became the nucleus of one of the grandest regiments in the service of the national government in one of the greatest wars in all history.

The boys of the Wayne Guards were prompted no doubt largely by a desire for amusement and entertainment when the company was organized, and the stories of the doings of the times serve to show that there was plenty of fun going at their meetings and drills, one that had to do with the purloining of the barrel of cider the editor of the *Gazette* took in pay from a farmer for several years' subscription being one tale that found its way into print. It appears that the editor man, according to the story told, succeeded in introducing an emetic into the beverage just before the hour for drill, and the drug got in its deadly work promptly on time and didn't spare one of the company, for they were all in the same boat, for fun as well as for business. The meetings in those days were held in Wayne hall, which was on the third floor of the building on French street, opposite the Reed House. The block was known as the Wayne block, but whether it got its name from the soldier boys or the similarity in names was simply a coincidence there are none left now to tell. Wayne hall, however, was a leading place of resort for lectures, concerts and public meetings through most of the decade of the sixties.

The Wayne Guards were the pride of the town. There were no doings complete in the period just before the War of the Rebellion without the Wayne Guards as a leading feature. When the Sunbury

& Erie Railroad was opened to Warren and the event was celebrated with a grand excursion, the Wayne Guards supplied the spectacular feature of the excursion and ornamented the streets of the sister city just united to Erie with a band of iron with their natty uniforms and profusely be-plumed shakos. They figured at the grand ball in the evening and

Danced all night
Till broad daylight
And went home with the girls in the morning.

And they represented Erie with credit in affairs of more importance and occasions of greater circumstance. This was the case at the time of the unveiling and dedication of the statue to Commodore Perry in the public square at Cleveland the year before the breaking out of the war. The Wayne Guards attended in a body and not only figured prominently in the grand pageant that was part of the ceremonial, but distinguished themselves by presenting a cane made of wood taken from Commodore Perry's flagship Lawrence and decorated with a head of gold suitably inscribed, to George H. Bancroft the great historian, who was orator of the day. The presentation was one of the principal features of an event regarded of national importance, and Harper's Weekly, telling the story of the presentation in detail, accompanied the article with pictures of the officers of the Erie military company that had so appropriately complimented the speaker of the occasion.

But who were these young men, the members of the Wayne Guards? Fortunately it is possible to supply a list from the roster of 1860, furnished by Mr. Richard H. Arbuckle, the only survivor, save one, of the officers of the company. There are many people yet living who will be pleased to have the opportunity of glancing over the names, many of whom have since figured very prominently in city, state and national affairs. Therefore, the list is given:

R. H. Arbuckle
T. M. Austin
H. L. Brown
R. R. Brawley
J. S. Bryant
B. A. Baldwin
H. Beckman
W. Brown
H. Butterfield
W. Brewster
W. Boyd
C. R. Beechling
A. H. Caughey
E. M. Cole
J. M. Clark
J. Clemens
B. C. Caughey
D. C. Clark
W. Constable
J. W. Douglass
S. A. Davenport
H. Deighton
B. Grant
G. W. Goodrich
John Graham
A. M. Guild

J. W. Gross	R. J. Pelton
Samuel Glenn	G. Selden
W. Hoskinson	W. L. Scott
W. H. Harris	D. Snell
E. Harlow	J. W. McLane
J. W. Halderman	I. Moorhead
James Hunter	D. McCreary
W. A. Jordan	C. Sherwood
A. King	J. M. Sell
C. M. Keep	J. Saltsman
A. McD. Lyon	C. M. Tibbals, Jr.
J. C. McCreary	J. R. Thompson
O. Miller	A. Vosburgh
H. Mayer	J. F. Wittich
G. W. Miles	I. M. Wallace
T. McConkey	J. W. Wetmore

The officers of the company at the time were these: Captain, John W. McLane; first lieutenant, B. Grant; second lieutenants, George Selden and A. King; sergeants, J. W. Douglass, William Brewster, Isaac Moorhead, G. W. Goodrich, William L. Scott; corporals, H. L. Brown, A. Vosburgh, R. H. Arbuckle and W. H. Harris. Henry Butterfield was secretary and John C. McCreary treasurer.

It is interesting in a high degree to glance over these names and note among them those that became distinguished. The captain became one of the bravest colonels in the War of the Rebellion and only fell short of being a general by losing his life early in the service. Two others became entitled by brevet to bear the title of general, earned by loyal and efficient service as colonels of their regiment—H. L. Brown and D. B. McCreary. One of the members, Alfred King, was an ex-mayor of Erie at the time he was serving in the company; another, W. L. Scott, afterwards filled the office of mayor and was also a member of Congress. Several became leaders at the bar—Grant, Davenport, Thompson, Wetmore, Butterfield. Some were very prominent in manufacturing and mercantile pursuits—Selden, Clemens, McCreary, Caughey, Beckman, Tibbals, Goodrich, Austin, McConkey, Moorhead. Some of them are still living and active in affairs in Erie, among them men who bore the brunt of many a bloody battle. Of the officers but two survive, J. W. Douglass, now in government service in Washington, and Richard H. Arbuckle, very much a man of affairs in Erie at the present time. It is a goodly array of the best there was in Erie in the days before the war.

It is not right that the impression should obtain that the Wayne Guards were only play soldiers. Possibly they were in the business of soldiering at first purely for the fun of it. But there is reason to be-

lieve they had other ideas as well. How otherwise can the motto of the company be explained—"Dulce et decorum pro patria mori." And then there was no foolishness about the man who was their captain. John W. McLane was a born soldier and knew the full meaning of the word.

It was said above of the Wayne Guards that their coming into existence was so opportune that it might seem as though a higher power had ordained it. This is justified by occurrences. Whatever of play had been associated with the Wayne Guards went out when the echoes of the rebel guns at Charleston awakened a nation to the awful fact that war had been inaugurated. That instant the patriotism of the holiday soldiers changed them into real warriors. The Wayne Guards became the nucleus of the military movement that sent into the Union service from this region some of the noblest organizations that ever went out to keep the flag of their country afloat in the skies of freedom. The call of President Lincoln for soldiers was instantly responded to by the captain of the Wayne Guards organizing a regiment for the three months' service. Captain McLane was its colonel and his first officer, Lieutenant Grant, became lieutenant colonel. Three of his companies were commanded by men from his company, Captains Austin, Brown and Graham, and three lieutenants came from the ranks of the Wayne Guards, Lyon, Wittich and Clark.

Nor was the bloodless service of the Erie regiment all these brave boys were willing to offer. Returning to Erie when the term of enlistment was over at once another regiment was enlisted "for three years or the war," and Colonel McLane led it in its glorious career until he fell at the battle of Gaines Mill. It has been aptly said that the Wayne Guards was a military school in which soldiers had been prepared for the great War of the Rebellion. From it there graduated into that service, Colonels McLane and Clark and Captains Graham, Brown, Sell and Austin with others of lower grade who made the old Eighty-third Pennsylvania in many respects the most notable regiment in the Union service during that terrible four years, from 1861 to 1865.

From the Wayne Guards also came other soldiers who led, for the 145th Pennsylvania, commanded in turn by Hiram L. Brown and David B. McCreary, was indebted for these officers to the Erie company that had been a military school.

Few of that gallant company survive, but its fame will long endure—it merits that there should be a monument to it to forever recall what it was and what it did when there was need; to tell to generations yet to come how the boys who played soldier became heroes, enduring and daring and suffering, many of them giving up their lives in the cause of the Union and liberty, all honoring themselves and the city that was their home.

The story has more than once been told how this community, in common with the whole North, was roused into immediate action that morning in April, 1861, when the news was flashed from one end of the country to its farthest extremity that the flag of the nation had been fired upon by the hot-headed people of the South, risen in rebellion against the government. But the passage of time can in no measure abate the interest it excites in loyal hearts, and today as we calmly consider what was then done we are compelled to wonder and admiration of the splendid exhibition of loyalty then made. We can, in fact, hardly conceive the breadth and depth of the feeling that then animated this people, or fully appreciate the spirit that dominated every diversified interest of the Erie of the beginning of the sixties.

There was at that time in Erie, as has been related, a military organization known as the Wayne Guards. They had been holiday soldiers. Their principal duty had been to figure in spectacular fashion at Fourth of July celebrations, or any event in which a demonstration of a public character was a feature. The completion of the Sunbury & Erie Railroad was celebrated at Warren in 1859 and the Wayne Guards took part, their most gallant action upon that occasion being the election to honorary membership of all the ladies of Warren, a proceeding that called forth from one of the ladies, a response in which the boys of the Guards were dubbed "summer soldiers."

But how different after that gun had been fired upon Fort Sumter! The reverberations of that cannon's report proved that "summer soldiers" though they might have been in the "piping times of peace," they were entitled to be considered otherwise now that grim war was casting its terrible shadow over the land.

It was on April 12, 1861, that Fort Sumter was fired upon. At once Pennsylvania was awakened by the sound of the rebel guns. Among the first to be called upon for service was Capt. John W. McLane of the Wayne Guards. The governor offered him the position of Commissary General for the state. Immediately Capt. McLane proceeded to Harrisburg, but to protest, not to accept the position.

"A lame man can fill the post of Commissary General," said Capt. McLane. "I am not lame, I am sound and strong. I want active work in the field. Give me that."

It was done. He was at once commissioned a colonel and was authorized to raise a regiment in response to the call of President Lincoln for 75,000 men to serve three months. It was April 21 when Col. McLane arrived home in Erie. In four days he had enlisted his regiment. Out of the "summer soldiers" of the McLane Guards three companies had been formed, sufficient new recruits having been enlisted to fill the quota. Three of the minor officers of the guards became captains—Austin, Brown and Graham. From Waterford, Union, Girard, from the country surrounding Erie and from the Ger-

man population of Erie, led by Capt. Frank Wagner, other companies were formed, and as has been stated, in four days the regimental roster was full and the troops were in camp on a common at the corner of Sixth and Parade streets.

The celerity with which this regiment was raised was an index to the depth and strength of the union feeling which prevailed. But there was another evidence of this. The men who had enlisted had forsaken all for the patriotic duty of defending their country. The merchant left his counter; the lawyer left his brief unfinished; the mechanic left his tools upon his bench; the farmer deserted his plow in the unfinished furrow. And, in every case there was also left some dependent. There were wives and children; in many cases aged parents. What of these?

Devoted friends and loyal citizens were not lacking. Public meetings were called. Speeches were made in which the duties of those left behind to those who were proceeding to the front were set forth. Pledges were made and money subscribed—the whole city seemed ablaze with loyalty and the men who gave themselves a sacrifice on the altar of their country if necessary felt free to go, satisfied that those loved ones left behind would be protected and shielded from want.

One May day they marched away. Breaking camp the soldiers proceeded along Sixth street to State, and thence to the railroad station, the streets lined with people, flags waving everywhere, sentiments and mottoes displayed in many places. At the station, as the train was about to depart, the spectacle was impressive. There were gathered there a crowd that numbered not less than ten thousand people. There were partings, sad and sorrowful; wives bidding goodbye to husbands they feared they would never see again; children sobbing as they bade their fathers farewell; and friends parting from friends with lingering hand-clasp only hoping for the best.

Then, the final scenes as the long train slowly pulled out. Cheers and tears were mingled, while the booming salute of Captain Jarecki's artillery company punctuated the patriotic good-bye in fashion prophetic—it was the voice of war, and its echoes continued their reverberation for four long, dreary, terrible years. That was the Erie regiment. It was this city's first contribution to the cause of the Union. It was one of the first regiments organized in the state—one of the first in the country. When it arrived in Pittsburg it created a sensation, for it was the first body of troops that city had seen. As it turned out, the Erie regiment never saw service other than that of the barracks or camp. Its term of enlistment expired before it had been ordered to the front, and in July the soldiers were all home again.

But the patriotism of those soldiers had in no measure cooled. They had been in dread earnest when they offered themselves to their

country. Therefore they returned home only to reorganize. In but a brief time they were again enlisted. The Erie regiment became the Eighty-third, and on many a bloody field gave proof of the valor of the Erie boys and of their devoted patriotism.

But there were others just as devoted, just as loyal, just as self-sacrificing in behalf of their country as the brave boys who were bearing the brunt of many a bloody battle on the soil of Virginia, and it is now time a word should be said about the women these Union soldiers left behind. But how can it be approached, and in what manner can it be told. For theirs was a Spartan courage. They sent their husbands and sons away with their blessing and then set about a toil that never ceased until the news of Appomatox set the country wild with joy; a toil that had in constant mind the dangers, the suffering, the death of those they held dear; with every morning looking apprehensive for the news that might announce their widowhood, and then working with the inspiration of loyal love to alleviate the pain or suffering of the boys in the field. And the story of it is of such a continuous performance, one day so like another—how can it be told?

Years of peace, with no one earlier to set down the tale of what the Erie women did

"In the brave days of old,"

have dimmed the memories of what occurred here in those stirring times. But yet what a vast amount of interesting reminiscence is still to be gathered!

Their work began early. That regiment, brought together on four days' notice and marched away to service of unknown danger, was deficient in almost everything. The men had no guns. They had not even uniforms!

And here was where the work of the women began. Capt. T. M. Austin, who commanded Company A, told his wife of the state of affairs. It is to be presumed the captain had no thought beyond conveying the news. But his patriotic wife had thought, and she was swift to act upon it.

"It was not difficult to raise the money required," she said years afterward, when interviewed.

For what?

Nothing less than to buy material from which to make uniforms. John Gensheimer then was in the tailoring business on the corner of Seventh and State streets. From him Mrs. Austin procured the blue flannel. Swiftly the word went round, and as swift came the responses. From every quarter of the town the women reported. Trousers and blouses were cut out of the cloth and the women took charge. Some did the sewing at home, but others chose to sew in company,

and they sewed without interruption (except possibly for sleep) until the uniforms were finished. Sunday came with the work incomplete. So much the worse for Sunday. Over Gensheimer's store there was a group that worked all day Sunday. In the conference room of the First Presbyterian church there was another; and all day Sunday the clatter of the sewing machine continued, even while the service was in progress in the church adjacent. The soldiers needed uniforms. That was enough for the women to know. It was a work of necessity and mercy, therefore proper for Sunday, and if proper for Sunday it was proper to be done in the church. And, notice among the women who were leaders: Mrs. McLane, the wife of the colonel (she was a widow before the war was well begun), Mrs. Austin and Mrs. Graham, wives of captains and a corps of associates that never was enrolled; the roster of which only the Recording Angel ever kept.

They were not experts in the designing of uniforms, and they had no knowledge of military regulations with reference to dress. And yet it may well be doubted whether any body of men ever presented a more attractive appearance than did the Erie regiment in the uniform designed by the ladies and worked out with so much expedition. A member of the regiment writing on the subject of the uniforms, at the time, said:

"Our patriotic women in the meantime were not idle. It was determined that the regiment should be uniformed in some shape before leaving for the scene of action. The needle and the sewing machine were kept busy night and day, and before the day of our departure nearly all the companies were clad in a handsome uniform consisting of a blue jacket and pants and a shirt of yellow flannel. This was a sort of compromise between the Zouave and the regular uniform, and though not durable it was one of the most singular and picturesque that we have seen during the war."

We of today are interested in knowing, but we cannot in full measure comprehend the spirit and the depth of feeling that prevailed in those days. It was an outburst of loyalty that was resistless and that made nearly the entire populace heroic. The making of the uniforms was but the preface of what was to follow. It only afforded the opportunity to get the business in motion that was to be kept active during the entire period of the war. It seemed as though every woman had her part in the work that was to be done, and rank and social condition were entirely disregarded. With a common impulse all joined, nor needed urging for any undertaking in behalf of the army no matter what it involved.

The women organized at an early day the Ladies' Aid Society and Mrs. I. B. Gara, wife of the editor of the *Gazette*, was president. They had weekly meetings at the headquarters of the society in the Perry block, and there the plans were made and the work assigned. There

was no waiting for demands from the army. Needs were anticipated. In the fall of 1861 when the Eighty-third Regiment was about to depart for the scene of action the work was so forward that there was a tour of the regiment to learn what was needed, and socks and blankets were distributed among those who were needy. It was so also when the 111th and the 145th regiments were in camp out on the old fair ground near Wesleyville. In every way that was possible aid was lent to the soldiers.

Mrs. Austin told of an incident in connection with recruiting for the Eighty-third. Her husband came in one night pretty late with seven recruits who, on account of the weather and the lateness of the hour, could not be taken out to camp. There the accommodations were poor; at the Austin house, with so large a contingent to provide for it was a question whether they could be accommodated at all. Bustling about, however, Mrs. Austin improvised a shake-down on the floor and there the seven men slept, at the expense of the family who had surrendered pillows and bed-clothes that the recruits might be as comfortable as possible. It is only an incident that tends to show the spirit that animated the people at that time.

The general work was so well organized that all the women had a share and the calls at headquarters were regular, the women taking the work home with them. Many things were made, at first stockings and shirts and articles of clothing.

But soon the work changed as war's grim work made a new necessity. The boys on the march and in the camp did not alone claim attention. There was a more powerful cause that appealed. The hospitals! and for these everyone worked, old and young. It seemed as though there was work to be done day and night. Comforters and quilts, shirts, stockings, and hundreds—no doubt thousands—of carpet slippers for the use of the patients in the army hospitals were made by the women of Erie. The sewing machine at that time was a recent invention, and there were not very many in Erie. It was also a very crude mechanism compared with what is to be had today, and it was a laborious task to operate a machine for any length of time. But yet the machines, assembled in numbers at several different places in the city, were kept constantly busy, and more than one woman permanently injured her health by overwork on the sewing machines during those trying times.

By far the most general work was the making and rolling of bandages and the picking of lint. Everyone who had any old linen freely gave it over to the cause, and from anywhere and everywhere in the city voluntary contributions came in. Miss Davenport, in speaking of this feature of the work stated that her own people were but examples of the entire community in contributing practically everything in the shape of linen that they possessed. Much that otherwise

would have been carefully kept and preserved as heirlooms, linen that had been spun and woven by ancestors and had descended in the family was freely given to be converted into bandages or lint.

Many a middle-aged woman of today well remembers how she picked lint when a little girl "for the soldiers."

The war and its conditions affected the entire community to such an extent that socially it was transformed. All gaiety was for the time abolished. There were no social functions aside from the gathering of the women in sewing clubs, and no entertainments save lectures and such like, and it was a noteworthy feature of all such gatherings that even then the women did not cease from work. One lady, speaking of these entertainments said it was a really curious sight to observe all the ladies of an audience busily engaged in the work of knitting while a lecture was being delivered. They were generally occupied, at the time of which she spoke, in making woolen mitts with the first finger as well as the thumb free.

There was an immense amount of work necessary to be done aside from the sewing and knitting, and the correspondence alone was an item of no insignificant proportions. The work done by the women was for the army without discrimination as a rule, but yet their own were not lost sight of. The officers of the aid society by correspondence kept in close touch with the Erie regiments in the field and as soon as any need was reported proceeded at once to supply it.

In another way the women made themselves useful, and that was by keeping posted regarding the movements of the army and anticipating the wants of the men as crises came. To be sure when any crisis impended the women were not alone in the apprehensive interest such a condition awakened. A meeting would be called at Farrar hall and speeches would be made by leading citizens and money raised. It is astonishing how much money was raised from first to last during the war times. Every time a demand was made there was cheerful and generous response, and in addition to financial aid rendered personal service was as freely offered.

These meetings were generally called upon the eve of an expected battle and there would be a committee appointed to do whatever might be necessary in aid of the Erie wounded. As a rule these committees consisted of three men and three women. While there never was a woman called upon to go to the front or to lend a hand in a hospital, there were plenty ready to do so in case it were really needed.

It will not be out of place here to say that early in the history of the war Mrs. Austin went to the aid of her husband then ill in hospital at Arlington, and that while there, besides nursing the captain back to health she also lent valuable aid throughout the camp, there being much sickness among the Erie soldiers at that time. Her services as a letter writer were in great request during that visit and when she

departed on her return home she was the custodian of upwards of $2,000 in money for deposit in Erie banks to the credit of soldier boys in the field.

But perhaps the most effective service rendered by the women of Erie was in the preparation of dainties for the soldiers sick in hospital, or in need, while in camp or on the march, of something cordial or strengthening; and also in the work of personal attention upon the soldiers as the opportunity offered.

Many cases and barrels of goods of various kinds were shipped to the south, and many people denied themselves in order to provide for the soldiers something that would please a fickle appetite while slowly recovering from a wound. More than one family can tell how a little was saved from household expenses here and a little there in order that contributions might be made to the soldiers' relief fund.

Better than all was the work in feeding the soldiers as they passed through and in the attentions bestowed upon the wounded.

For a long time the women of Erie held themselves in constant readiness to respond to calls for food and refreshments for soldiers at the railroad station. In those days the means of communication were not as now, and intelligence traveled slowly. The telephone came many years later, and even the telegraph was crude compared with what it is today. Often it was not known, until but a very short time in advance, when a detachment of soldiers would pass through. When it became known, however, there was hustle and bustle. The court house bell was rung, and when the peculiar signal, agreed upon and universally understood, was given on the bell there was prompt response. Provisions were hurriedly gathered and carried to the station.

In those days there was a long shed extension to the freight house, west of the depot, and this was utilized by the women as a place to spread the feast with which the blue-coated travelers were to be regaled. Usually time was allowed for this.

But all the travelers upon those army trains could not partake of the bounty provided. There were occasions when many poor fellows were carried through lying upon pallets of straw on the floor of the baggage cars, and the sight was calculated to pierce a heart of stone. Men with a leg or an arm gone; with head bandaged, or a dreadful wound in the body; some sick and haggard or emaciated with fever, and sometimes, ah! far worse, a prisoner returning from confederate captivity, a living skeleton with his reason overthrown. Oh! there were sights to be witnessed in those hospital cars, some of them that haunt the women who ministered to the suffering heroes to this late day.

One such is described by Mrs. Rindernecht, who remembers as though it occurred but yesterday the pitiful appeals of one of those returning rebel prisoners, who raved incessantly, "Water; water; for

God's sake, water!" living still his horrible life at Andersonville or Belle Isle.

It was in these hospital cars that the women of Erie performed especially noble work. Among the foremost was Mrs. Rindernecht, and it is recalled by one who lent her aid that she made a specialty of blackberry wine that was not only gratefully accepted by the suffering soldiers, but was esteemed as of uncommon value because of its properties as a cordial. She made it a practice to bring a basket filled with small bottles of the wine, which she distributed among the sick.

Miss Sarah Reed, then a girl, was nevertheless (as she has ever been) active in good work, and her assignment of duty was among the wounded of the hospital cars. The ladies of that particular detail went provided with broths and cordials, but they were also supplied with other things quite as necessary. First, they would bathe the faces and hands of the patients, and then, having helped them to such food as they could partake of, each was given a clean handkerchief that had been moistened with cologne.

Bravery and humanity were freely combined in these noble women. It was a brave thing to face the sickening sights and smells of those pent-up hospital boxes; to hear and endure the groans and moans of pain; to meet, as too often they had to, the forms of the dead, lying upon the straw that covered the floor of the car. It was courageous in the extreme to brave the danger of infection. But there was no hesitation nor manifestation of reluctance to enter upon the work of mercy that had been undertaken. It was better than the work of angels; it was the work of true women; it was woman's part in the terrible strife that brought this nation up through tribulation and gave it a "new birth of freedom." Surely the names of these women who found these "sick and ministered unto them" will be written by the Recording Angel in characters of gold. They are of the army of the patriots and Fame will not omit their names from the roster of the good and the brave. And the happy days that came to them and to all "When Johnny came marching home."

That was a labor of love and of joy, and no occasion was more festive than that which, involve as much labor as it might, celebrated the return home of the Erie boys in blue. Shattered indeed were the ranks. Many that went came back no more and many a heart was too sad to permit attendance upon the joyous feast spread there beneath the trees of the park. But even those felt a measure of joy in knowing that the dreadful dark days of civil war were over and, pray God, forever.

It was the last service of the Ladies' Aid Society when the soldier boys were all welcomed home again. Quietly they dropped back into the old avocations of peace and in time even they almost forgot the

strenuous times they had passed through. But it is not right that services such as those rendered should not be recalled from time to time, for we owe to the Erie ladies of the war period a debt of gratitude we never can repay. They should fully share, with their husbands and brothers and fathers, the credit and glory that are due the patriot.

CHAPTER VIII.—PUBLIC MARKETS.

First Attempts.—Evolution of the Street Market.—Its Remarkable Development.—Modern Market Methods.

Very many people now living in Erie remember the last days of the street market; but few indeed remember its beginning, and still fewer the market accommodations that preceded the street market. In its time the street market was a noteworthy institution, and it earned a fame that extended far beyond the bounds of Erie, for there was nothing like it anywhere else in the county, and strangers visiting it found a vast amount of entertainment and, no doubt, of instruction by traversing it. Nor was it a trivial matter to "do" the Erie market and do it right, for on occasions it stretched a full half mile along the east side of State street, extending from the Parks to the railroad bridge.

It was held in the open air, and the accommodations consisted simply of "benches,"—plain, board tops supported by a pair of trusses, set on the sidewalk against the curb, while the wagons of the farmers were backed into the gutters opposite the stalls leased for the business of the day. Standing at the cart-tail the farmer served his customers across the narrow bench upon which his produce was spread, while the citizens who marketed had the use of the sidewalk.

It was a remarkable sight, that street market, and, viewed from the railroad bridge as many a passenger upon passing trains viewed it, was unique among city street scenes. Beginning just below, there stretched as far as the eye could discern, upon a principal street of the city, a line of farmers' wagons standing side by side so closely that there was barely space for a man to move sidewise between them. And such a diversity of goods, wares and merchandise, farm products, garden truck, fish, flesh and fowl, Yankee notions and jimcracks—the famous marts of Damascus and Bagdad could scarcely rival for diversity of wares the street market of Erie in its palmy days.

And it was popular. The very fact of its being proved its popularity, even if no attempt were ever made to confirm this by a census of estimate of the number of patrons. But a visit of sight-seeing to the Erie street market was only half successful if the crowds attending as purchasers were not duly studied. Often the sidewalk was so

congested that motion was next to impossible. People were there with a large basket upon each arm; women attended pushing a baby-carriage before them, a large basket balanced over the baby's feet; children followed their mothers drawing good-sized carts to carry home the purchases, and everywhere the patrons were eager to get forward and secure the best that was offered before it was gone. Therefore there was a deal of strenuous pushing and pressing forward; toes were stepped on; clothing disfigured by baby-carriage wheels; shins abrased by contact with carts until then unseen, and sometimes tempers became peppery hot. But every recurring market day witnessed a repetition of the scene; the same crowd—almost identically so, for the market had its regular attendants on both sides of the stalls, and those interested enough to observe and make notes could identify people by the scores—by the hundreds—who never missed attending the market.

All classes and conditions of people were to be seen at market, and numerous were the tongues spoken, often the language a curious composite impossible of interpretation or translation, for, besides the English and German that were the dominant tongues, there were to be heard a patois of Polish or Italian, Scandinavian or Portuguese, while many a curious freak of costuming could be noted during market hours in that grand bazaar.

Not all the stuff offered for sale was to be found on the benches or stalls. In many cases the commodious bodies of the wagons were necessary to hold the stock in trade. This was the case in corn season or when fruit was ripe. The farmers from North East and that direction came with covered wagons piled full with baskets of grapes; other farmers brought wagon loads of apples; potatoes came in the same quantities, and so did cabbages and many other products, and there was nothing that the farm or dairy produced or the garden yielded that was not to be found fresh and in season on the street market.

But there were disagreeable aspects of the street market. There was no shelter either from sun or rain, and no protection from dust. Street dust is not a nice thing to mix with butter or schmeerkase, and does not improve honey. The hot sun beaming on the meat spread out for sale made it rather uninviting, especially toward noon, and on windy days there was a suggestion of uncleanliness that repulsed. When the weather was wet the market took on a terribly bedraggled appearance, but the baby-carriage and the little cart were there the same as in fine weather and the wheels got their work in even better than when the weather was dry. But, though the attendance was smaller, there was market just the same when it rained. Those who depended upon the market for their supply of butter and eggs, vegetables and fruit, poultry or meat, were disposed to be philosophical,

and made the most of the bad weather. Possibly then beef sold a cent less per pound and eggs or butter were not quite as dear.

The street market began in 1866, or thereabout. Previous to that, from as early as 1814, the marketing was done under cover. The first movement to provide facilities for marketing took place in 1807, when the borough council took steps in that direction and voted to have a suitable place erected, appointing Thomas Laird, Robert Brown and Ebenezer Dwinnell a committee to carry out the plans of the council. This was done, the market house of frame construction, being completed at an expense of $250, but not until 1814. The demands of the public could not have been very large or exacting in those days. By act of council Wednesday and Saturday were designated market days and continued so until the street market was abolished in April, 1895. In 1819 a hay scale was added to the market, but neither market represented much in a business way, for the records of councils show that in 1832 Joseph M. Sterrett leased the market privilege for a year for $20, and the hay scale for $6.

In the year 1837 the town council decided to erect a better market house and selected a site in the West Park. At that time the courthouse, built in 1824, stood about where the soldiers' monument now stands, and it was decided to locate the market house south of that. The building was of brick 100 feet in length by about 40 feet wide and was a really attractive structure, in classic style, ornamented by six columns upon the State street front. It was well lighted, and the interior was open, with no partitions or obstructions of any sort. There is no record of its cost; the contract provided that Thomas Mehaffey, the mason, and A. J. Mead, the joiner, should each receive two dollars per day and their help one dollar per day. There was an indefiniteness about this contract that would rejoice the hearts of the present political contractors who even at the rates given, could no doubt figure out a job that would yield handsome returns.

It is interesting to note among those who held office in connection with that market the names of some who later became much more prominent in affairs in Erie. Gideon J. Ball, then city clerk, was made market master at a salary of $100 per year. Later he became a magistrate and still later a representative in the state legislature. Sherburne Smith, appointed weighmaster, in time became mayor of the city.

The market house in the park continued to do service until the year 1866. For many years it was the only building that remained in the park. The courthouse had been torn down in the fifties, after the present courthouse had been completed, and with the demolition of the courthouse, the buildings used for county offices were also removed. It was not until eleven years afterwards that it was resolved to re-

move the market house, but the movement for the improvement of the parks had become well established, and it was resolved to demolish the building. This occurred in 1866.

There is a pretty well grounded belief that the street market came into being without law or ordinance, just grew as Topsy did. Many have believed this and not a few have declared it. But as a matter of fact there was authority of councils for it. Not direct, however, and not with the purpose of establishing any such institution as eventually developed from the little resolution of permission which was in fact all the action amounted to.

It was in the year 1855 that the market was permitted to occupy the street. The market house erected in 1837 had about it a considerable space in which the vehicles of farmers collected while the business was in progress inside. In the course of time the market house was not sufficiently large to accommodate the demands upon it. Therefore, in 1855, councils extended the market, giving the farmers and others who had come to town to market their produce permission to occupy the space about the house and the street contiguous and to sell their produce there. It was only natural that they should move across and back their wagons up to the curb on the east side of the street, for that side was under the shade of the park trees in the morning.

Therefore, when the market house was demolished in 1866, the street market had become firmly rooted by the growth of eleven years. At first the street market was barely enough to occupy the space between North and South Park rows, and one that extended as far as to Seventh street was regarded as a very large market in those days. But then the market was a market. Quarters of beef or mutton, sides of pork, baskets of butter or eggs; poultry, alive or dressed; fresh vegetables or fruit, honey, sometimes a load of corn in the ear or may-be live hogs or a calf—these were the staples of the market—the market itself. It was not until many years later that bakestuffs and haberdashery, clothes wringers and worm medicine, crockery and small dry goods, buttons, thread and yarn, pins, needles and tape, formed a large part of the offerings over the stalls on the street. In the course of time the huckster and the peddler usurped an undue proportion of the space intended to be allotted to the country cousins, who came to town to trade.

It was in 1866 that the market became distinctly the street market. It had been turned out of doors literally, out into the street actually. But it seemed to take kindly to the change for it thrived, and every succeeding year witnessed an increase in its growth.

Possibly it was because it was fostered by old Doug Tinkcom. He certainly had a winning way with the farmer people—he had with everyone. Doug was sergeant-at-arms in the council chambers, and it seemed as though the post of market clerk went with the sergeant-

ship. At any rate it did in Doug's case. No one ever thought of questioning his right to the place; no one ever knew when he was appointed to the position or whether he was appointed at all—at least at the start. He came into official being with the street market, and for the rest of his life he was not separated from it.

Doug Tinkcom was one of the most genial souls the city ever knew. Always cheerful, he had an especially courtly bearing while dealing with the farmer folk. A humorist of no insignificant degree, it was one of his humors to make himself popular with the country people. Doubtless it had its effect upon the market business. At any rate, the trade of the street grew, and the duties of the clerk grew with it, until both Doug and his assistant, old "Tom" Dillon, found market day to be their busiest.

It was another of Doug Tinkcom's humors to convey the impression that the office of market clerk was a sinecure and its fees a perquisite, and nothing would bring a broader grin to his face than to hear someone declare belief in his peccability and suggest an investigation of his official affairs. As a matter of fact he made regular reports of his collections of market fees, but there never was any audit (for what was there to audit) and his report was the end of the business, and the members of council never seemed to think it worth while to question Tinkcom's honesty or integrity.

Poor fellow, he many times smiled while suffering the keenest anguish, and bore without complaint or even manifestation of pain, pangs calculated to test the endurance of an aborigine. For he suffered from an incurable disease and bore its pain uncomplainingly, his gritted teeth the only evidence of a secret suffering. Douglass Tinkcom was market clerk from 1866 to 1880.

With the passing of Mr. Tinkcom there came about a change in the policy of councils respecting the market. From that time forward the market privileges were sold to the highest bidder. There were a number of market masters but Mr. V. D. Eichenlaub held the post for the longest term of any. For eight consecutive years he was the successful bidder, paying each year an increasing sum, up to $3,000 per annum, and yet making, or appearing to make, a handsome income besides. The largest sum paid in a single year was that of C. W. Brown, in 1893, $3,612. The bid of the Central Market people in 1894, of $4,250, was probably not a bid in good faith, but for the purpose of winding up the affairs of the market out of doors and giving a start to that of the new market house. But that is another story.

Thus far this sketch has had to do with the market on State street. It was so long the whole thing that at no time until its demise would the term "the market," be taken to apply to anything else. And yet there were others. Parade street was ambitious. As the oldest thoroughfare in the city it was time it should stand forth for its rights.

It did so when there was a market to be got and won out March 28, 1890, an ordinance having been passed creating the Parade street market and appointing one day in the week when that street was to have the monopoly of the business in that line. The triumph was short lived. It went down when the ordinance of March 21, 1895, was adopted, abolishing markets upon the public streets.

But they were not abolished without a struggle to retain them in existence. For many years there had been complaints and protests. The dirt and discomfort of the open market in the street; the litter and untidiness that it left; the obstruction of the thoroughfare and the generally objectionable nature of such an establishment in the principal business streets of the city, all were presented from time to time in communications to the papers. The people were represented as crying out for a market house, and more than once benevolent citizens came forward with plans—to be carried out at the public expense.

At last private enterprise supplied the declared long felt want. But immediately upon the declaration of a purpose to abolish the market, people forgot the unpleasantness of the old institution, they ceased to remember the street dirt on the butter; the stream of water running down the back of one's neck from the umbrella of a near-by fellow-marketer during a rain storm while both had stopped to dicker; the blue and sickening appearance of the rainsoaked meat as it lay exposed on the rough market bench; the muddy wheel of the baby carriage propelled regardless through the crowd; the snow and sleet and biting cold of winter and the stinging fingers with which we tried to pick out the necessary change; in short, the thousand and one things objectionable were forgotten, now that the market was about to be lost, and instead of the vigorous demand for reform and improvement there was the vociferous cry against its removal.

But it went, just the same. Progress was in the air. True enough the farmers do not now come in in such numbers to attend market as they used to. There can be little doubt, however, but that the produce finds its way into Erie just the same.

The first market enterprise to be realized was that of the Central Market Company, the result of which is the splendid market house at Sixteenth and State streets. The capacity of this house, in stall room is almost equal to that of State street from the Park to the railroad. If, therefore, at times it is not filled—if there are some stalls unoccupied,—let those who remembered the street market consider how often it occurred that the attendance was but small; how few times in fact the market reached the bridge. Those days of the greatest markets were autumn days; they were harvest markets that were of such remarkable extent.

The opening of the Central market set the fashion or started the craze. Parade street followed quickly with two similar enterprises.

A fourth, and architecturally perhaps the finest of all, was located at Fourth and State streets.

Now there are but two doing business. The Parade street market, at the corner of Tenth and Parade streets, has been remarkably successful. It has paid dividends regularly, proof that a large amount of business has been done there, and within the year an important enlargement has been effected.

The Second Ward market at Twelfth and Parade, and the People's market at Fourth and State have been devoted to other purposes, the latter having in 1902 been leased to the Modern Tool Co., now one of Erie's principal industries.

But there is another market, and one has to think twice before being sure he can locate it, for it has had many a flitting in its time. It is like the dray stand, everywhere by turns and nowhere long. That is the hay and wood market.

The market of wood is not now what it was in the olden time. It used to be that wagons or sleighs by the score sought the market, there to patiently await a customer. But the advent of fuel gas ruined this agricultural industry, if indeed it may be lawful to call it agricultural.

The marketing of hay is, however, carried on on quite as large a scale as ever before—no pun nor play upon words intended here, notwithstanding the scale goes with the market. Originally it was a part of the general market, located in the rear, in West Park, and a little later, established on the south side of East Park opposite where the postoffice and library now are. At length it was voted to be a sort of nuisance, and was got rid of by sending it to Seventh street near Peach, opposite where the city hall now stands.

In 1876 it was moved to Twelfth street, at first occupying the square between State and French, but later the other side of State street. On August 22, 1893, it was moved from Twelfth street to Parade between Thirteenth and Fifteenth streets, and on June 10, 1897, to the northwest corner of Parade and Eighteenth, finally removing it from the street. There is nothing of sensation or horror attaching to Erie's haymarket as was the case with Chicago, nor is it especially picturesque or romantic. It has not ever attained the dignity of being a landmark, so fugitive has been its character. But it has nevertheless a place in public affairs and its share of attention from the city's lawmaking powers.

Erie lost a picturesque civic feature when the street market went out of business, for it had long been one of the sights and a leading object of interest here. It had its uses to the householder who obtained the family supplies from its benches. It was useful to the seek-

er after amusement in a sight-seeing way. It was valued by the politician for the opportunities it presented of meeting friends from the country. It was of benefit to various lines of trade for the facilities of trade it presented; and not a few of the merchants on the principal street regarded it as an important aid to the trade and business of the stores.

But it was not an artistic institution in any sense of the word, and never suggested a full grown, well developed city. No matter how much of interest a stranger might find in a tour of the market he would not pronounce it a feature worthy of adoption by his own home city.

It left the street in a state of sad disorder, and at least two days in the week it could not be said that State street was looking its best. It had therefore, a bad moral effect upon the city as a cultivator of untidiness. Viewing the State street of the street market days and the State street of today, even making due allowance for the difference the pavement effects, the change is so radical that it may well be doubted whether anyone desires a restoration of the old order of things.

CHAPTER IX.—ERIE'S INDUSTRIES.

Smelting Iron from Bog Ore.—The Old Furnace and the New.—Engine Building Begun.—Development into Many Lines.

Mingling with the evensong of the thrushes among the tall hemlocks that bordered each side of the road just beyond the boundary of what was then the town of Erie; accentuating the music of the wind sighing through the stiff foliage of these trees that dominated the forest for long distances upon either side of the flat, low ground that is now State street at the junction of Turnpike, comes the tinkle of bells, that is momentarily becoming more distinct. Presently the call of the driver is heard and the crack of his whip and pretty soon there swings into view a splendid team of six horses, driven by a Jehu, whose expertness with the reins and skill with the long-lashed whip proclaim him an old hand at the business. The two leaders of the team of six are provided with open-mouthed bells that hang below the collar and make music as the cavalcade proceeds and, standing by the roadside until the outfit has come opposite us, we can satisfy ourselves what manner of vehicle it is. The wagon is an old-time freighter. It is stout of build, and empty would alone be a pretty good load for a span of horses. The box is, like the rest of the wagon, strongly built, and it is rather deeper than the ordinary wagon-box of the present. With its diagonal braces on the sides and its flaring top and canvas cover, it proclaims at once the substantial qualities it possesses and its capacity. It is on its way toward the city and if we could climb high enough to see over its edge we might make note of some of the contents. These would be found to consist of various cases, casks and bales—in short, a general assortment of the heavy merchandise of the time, for this wagon was engaged in the freighting trade which was conducted between this city and Pittsburg.

During the first years of the century the carrying of freight between Erie and Pittsburg was a very important business, the chief commodity for a long time being salt, which was conveyed at the start by ox-teams, from the harbor of Erie to Waterford, where quite extensive warehouses and landings had been constructed to accommodate the business. The salt was made at Salina, New York, reached Erie by way of the lake upon small vessels, was teamed across

to Waterford and there loaded upon flat-boats that conveyed it down the streams to Pittsburg. This trade continued for many years, at length—between 1812 and 1815—beginning to diminish by reason of the discovery of salt springs in the vicinity of Pittsburg, until at length it ceased entirely.

The business of freighting, however, did not cease with the discontinuance of the trade in salt. The period of the six-horse teams was a good many years subsequent to the epoch of salt. A more important commodity had replaced salt as the chief item of freight, and the team that swung into State street from the Turnpike road was engaged in the transportation of this newer and more important product.

This particular freighter had for its outgoing cargo pig iron, and the iron was shipped from Erie to Pittsburg! Nor did these wagons laden with iron always stop at Waterford. As the country developed the stage of water was not always to be relied upon; and, as business grew, there also arose a demand for service more prompt. Delays, tolerated in the olden time, began to be looked upon as irksome and therefore it became necessary to drive farther in order to find a more constant and dependable means of transportation; one that even in the summer could be relied upon. Therefore, for a time the teaming was extended as far as to Franklin, where the Allegheny river ensured better boat service. Our driver with the long whip and the belled horses was coming in from Franklin.

But how about the pig iron that Erie was shipping to Pittsburg? That was made in Erie.

The first furnace established at this place was set up by a firm styled Hinkley, Jarvis & Co., who came here from Westfield. That was in 1833, and the works were erected on State street, near the corner of Eleventh, the land occupied extending from about where the Claus block now stands to the corner of Eleventh and back on the latter street three-fourths of the way to Peach street. At first it was a small affair, and consisted of one or two frame buildings. The power employed was obtained from one blind horse that walked in a circle, turning the main driving wheel.

They smelted iron in those days, and it was obtained from ore mined in this county. The ore was of the kind known as bog ore and was got near the head of the bay, on the Laird farm, now one of the Scott properties. The mining, quarrying or digging of this ore was a very considerable industry for a time, and it is recorded that a material amount of the ore was loaded on lighters or flat-bottomed craft at the head of the bay and in that way carried down to the landings at the foot of Peach and French streets. Most of it, however, was teamed in.

It was this bog iron that was convedted into pigs and shipped to Pittsburg and in process of time the trade amounted to considerable. It is not known today how long the pig iron trade continued. Perhaps not more than two or three years. But the business of the furnace steadily grew. There were changes at various times, and when the pig iron trade was at its best the firm was known as Lester, Sennett & Chester. Afterwards, by various transitions the business passed through the hands of Sennett & Co., Sennett, Barr & Co., Barr & Johnson, Johnson, Black & Co., Black & Germer, until it has become what is known today as the Germer Stove Co.

In its early days the "Old Furnace," as it came to be known, made castings of every kind that there was demand for, but the principal product was stoves and plows. From time to time changes and betterments were added, until at length the whole area was occupied with buildings and in time—that, however, not so very long ago—a new site was chosen beside the railroad where the great industry of today is located.

There was development in another direction from the Old Furnace. It was in the nature of a swarming. In 1840 W. H. Johnson withdrew from the Old Furnace company, and, associating with him William and David Himrod and B. B. Vincent, organized what came to be known as the New Furnace. This concern went across State street and one square further up town, establishing itself in the square between Eleventh and Twelfth, east of State street. Like its progenitor, the New Furnace grew and prospered and raised up children to succeed it. The original firm was succeeded by Vincent, Himrod & Co., Tibbals, Shirk & Whitehead and at length the Chicago & Erie Stove Co., the last named at length going out of business.

But from the New Furnace, as from the old, there sprang a giant. An offshoot from the New Furnace was a firm that engaged in a new line of manufacture, that of engines, and in this Liddell, the Seldens, Col. Bliss, Joseph McCarter and others were engaged, one outcome being the present Erie City Iron Works, and another the old Erie Car Works. The Erie Engine Co. is also a pretty direct outgrowth of the New Foundry, and even the big Nagle industries are not improperly in a measure traced back to the common origin, the Old Foundry.

In the days when Lester, Sennett & Chester smelted bog iron and freighted it by six-horse team to the river on its way to Pittsburg, there was one very important factor, necessary to the proper and convenient conduct of business, entirely lacking. That essential factor was money. There was none. They employed a force of skilled artisans and laborers—the men who mined and teamed the ore, the furnace men who smelted it, the moulders who worked it into form, the finishers and fitters who put the work together—these had all been

hired and their wages were due them. But there was no money. How, then, were they to be paid?

There was only one way, and that was to provide a substitute for money. This the employers were compelled to resort to, and they therefore paid their men in a sort of scrip that was exchangeable for goods at certain stores or castings at the foundry. Whether such a system would prove convenient or not needs no guessing. It was not convenient. It was a hardship of the worst kind and was endured only because there was no escape from it. Skilled labor might have found employment elsewhere, but how was skilled labor to effect its escape with no money to pay for its passage? In some instances men did tramp the long distances necessary to reach other points where work might be obtained, but the trouble was they were not sure they would be any better off elsewhere than in Erie. Money was scarce everywhere and what was to be had was, after all, not much, if any, better than the scrip in use in Erie, for it was not current anywhere else, much of it of no value in another part of the same state and practically none of it of any use in another state.

In Erie there were men who worked year after year for a long time without ever receiving a dollar of real money. The late Matthew Barr used to relate an incident that occurred in the office of the Old Furnace. The bookkeeper came to Mr. Chester, then the treasurer of the firm, one day, and, representing that one of the hands needed money to pay taxes on his farm, asked if it should be given him.

"How much does he want?"

"Six dollars," was the reply.

"Oh, no," said Mr. Chester, "we cannot give him so much as that at one time."

The bookkeeper, however, who had promised to do his best for the man, urged the claim, saying that he had not had any money since he had been serving as bookkeeper. This made an impression on the treasurer and the man was called in. As Mr. Chester handed the six dollars to the man he inquired:

"How long have you been working for this firm?"

"Ten years," was the reply.

"And how much money have you received in that time?"

"Just what I hold in my hands this moment. This is the first money I ever received for my work."

Think of it! Six dollars in ten years. All the rest of the time he, and all his shopmates were compelled to dicker and trade with the shinplaster substitutes for money that had been issued, squeezed and shaved wherever they undertook to trade, and no remedy in sight. What wonder the scrip came to be generally known as "Blue Ruin!" which was its popular cognomen.

But there did come a change, and from a source that serves to prove the Old Furnace was not the sole offender in the matter of putting home-made money into circulation. The state legislature passed an act making it unlawful to issue these paper substitutes for money.

Probably the act was passed with the purpose of affording relief to the working people, who ought each man to receive his full wages for the work he performed and receive it in lawful currency of the country, and the act no doubt was to compel the employer to pay his men in money. But if there was no money! This was the real situation of affairs. The best there was, the notes issued by the state banks, was only a shade better than the "blue ruin" of the Old Furnace, and there was mighty little to be got of even the state bank notes.

Therefore, while the new law put a stop to the issue of the scrip, it paved the way for another medium, which the New Furnace at once began to issue. It had something the appearance of coins, was of various denominations, the pieces being of as many different sizes as they were of professed value. They were made of some metallic composition of which lead was a large part, and the new currency was promptly dubbed "pewterinktum." Almost immediately it became the principal substitute for money and did not stop its travels when, having been paid out to the furnace hands for wages it was by them paid to the grocer, the butcher and the tailor. It came back in change, it passed from the merchants to the farmers, to the laborers about town, to the mechanics in other trades, and, of course, back to the furnace whence it had been originally issued to be again set in motion. Great was "pewterinktum," and the one advantage it had over the "blue ruin" that had been retired from its nefarious business was that it looked a trifle like real money and had something of the feel of genuine ducats.

But "pewterinktum" was only a part of the abomination of the times. They had then the "company store." Now don't think too harshly of this mercantile side-show of the furnace business of those days, for you must remember the merchants of Erie were not all enthusiastically in favor of "pewterinktum" pay. Most of them looked at it askance, and nearly all would accept but a limited amount. At the company store, however, it was different. It had to be. But, on the other hand, the company store had the advantage of being in a position to charge higher prices than the other stores did. The men paid in the bastard coin had to trade there, no matter what the prices.

But conditions improved. The times were not always hard times nor the money forever of uncertain and unsatisfactory character. Moreover, in the general development of the country, gates and avenues were opened up so that Erie emerged from its isolation in its own particular corner of the great American forest and came to touching hands with other towns that had emerged from their cor-

ners. They all came to be a part of the big world instead of each a miniature self-contained world. Railroads had come, and railroads worked a revolution. Erie had made a splendid break toward opening up the world when it shipped salt and pig iron to Pittsburg. But that was as nothing when the railroad revolution came. Erie had, in the iron business, been making stoves and plow points or an occasional pot or sap kettle, and these had been exchanged for the produce of the farm, and dicker had been the rule in business. Now the world outside was in communication, and the wants of the world outside became known, and instead of making a few castings for home use, the furnaces became engineering shops, and the New Furnace, now the Erie City Iron Works, began to build engines.

The real beginnings of the Erie City Iron Works, as has been stated in the early part of this chapter, were in the Old Furnace established at State and Eleventh streets by Hinkley, Jarvis & Co. Distinctively, however, it came into being in 1864, when the business was purchased from Liddell, Selden & Bliss by George Selden and J. H. Bliss, and was given the name of the Erie City Iron Works. At that time it was located at the corner of State and Twelfth streets, and its business was the building of steam engines, boilers and sawmills. For a time the foundry business was separate and was called the Erie City Foundry (it was organized in 1868), and its owners, Bliss, Selden, Cleveland & Son. This dual arrangement continued until about 1880, when, for need of more room and better facilities, a tract of land was bought on both sides of East avenue at the railroad. The same year buildings were erected there and occupied. Growth was rapid in the new location, and the history of the concern has been a record of constant additions to the plant. The Erie City Iron Works was incorporated in 1894. Two years ago the extensive plant of the Stearns Mfg. Co. (built in 1888, the company organized in 1855) was acquired by the Erie City Iron Works. In 1909 the plant of the latter company occupied a space of 23 acres.

For a good many years Erie has been known as the center of the engine and boiler manufacturing industry—more boilers and engines are built in Erie than in any other city in the United States, and some say than in any other city in the world. The engines and boilers, too, are of high grade, Erie engines for several special uses being regarded as superior to any others.

The first builders of engines in Erie were Stearns, Clark & Co., of the Presque Isle Iron Works on East Tenth street. This concern was organized in 1855, and was incorporated in 1872, and built engines, boilers and sawmills. Its shops extended along Tenth street from Holland to German, occupying half of the square at length. In 1888, to obtain more room and better facilities a new shop was erected on Wayne street at the railroad, where the business was continued until

1905. Large interests in the stock of the corporation had changed hands, and the capital was from other cities, and in the year named it was decided to wind up its affairs. The extensive real estate, including the large shops, was purchased by the Erie City Iron Works. The business, consisting of the patents, patterns, good-will, etc., were secured by others in Erie, so that out of the old there was organized a new Stearns Co., that has taken the shop formerly of the Ball Engine Co., at Twelfth and French streets, and besides the Heisler Locomotive Works, located, with the Globe Iron Works, on Sixteenth street west of Myrtle. Both of these concerns were chartered in 1907.

The third manufactory of engines in Erie was started in 1865, by Charles H. Lovrein and named the Bay State Iron Works, for Mr. Lovrein was from Massachusetts. It began business when the oil boom was at its height and prospered immediately. Soon afterwards L. H. Hall became a partner and in 1868 or 1869 Orange Noble bought the Lovrein interest. The business grew to large proportions, but, by the death of the principals, changes came upon the concern that brought about its dissolution. The shops at Third and Peach were closed in 1900. The business had, however, been bought, including patterns, by E. L. Burch, who, retaining the name of the Bay State Iron Works, opened up in 1903 at 319 State street. The Bay State Iron Works of today was chartered in 1905.

The Skinner Engine Company had its origin in 1873, when L. G. Skinner moved to Erie from Chittenango, New York, and taking a corner of the small Liley machine shop on State street near Fourteenth, began the manufacture of portable engines. His machinery, built on honor, by a capable engineer, soon came to be known, and in a short time, to obtain more room, the shop of John Coates farther down the street, was taken and a partner as well—T. C. Wood. Skinner & Wood erected the frame machine shop, with foundry addition, at the corner of Twelfth and Chestnut streets, in 1880-81, and began to build larger and special service engines. In 1905 the Skinner Engine Co. was incorporated; and in 1904 the first large brick building was built; a second brick building was built in 1906, and a third was added in 1909.

The beginning of the very extensive Nagle industries was the frame shop on the corner of Sixteenth and Holland streets, built by T. M. Nagle in 1879. Mr. Nagle had been superintendent of the Erie City Iron Works, but in the year named decided to engage in business on his own account. His business has had a marvelous growth. A foundry was built on Sixteenth street in 1883. Two years later a large machine shop and boiler works, occupying two-thirds of the square opposite were erected. Then, on the east side of East avenue a spacious brick building was erected. The Pennsylvania Boiler Works, another immense structure, was built on the extension of Twelfth

street in 1890. In 1907 the very large brick shop on the southwest corner of Twelfth street and East avenue was erected—the Standard Sawmill Machinery Company building adjoining on the west, being a Nagle industry. In 1909 still another great addition to the plant was made at the eastern end of the property beyond East avenue, making the length of that series of shops more than an eighth of a mile. The Nagle Engine & Boiler Works was incorporated in 1896.

The Erie Engine Works, incorporated in 1893, is the legitimate successor of Cleveland & Co., founders, at one time connected with the Erie City Iron Works and occupying the building at Twelfth and French streets that was altered over into the electric light station. Cleveland & Co. was organized in 1868. The engine building concern was known, before the charter was obtained from the state, as Cleveland & Hardwick, and their shop was erected on Walnut street alongside the railroad.

The Ball Engine Co. was organized in 1881 and incorporated in 1883. The original Ball engine was the invention of F. H. Ball and for a time was built by the Stearns Mfg. Co. in their Tenth street shop. Upon the organization of the Ball Engine Co. a capacious machine shop and foundry was built on French street, extending from Twelfth to Thirteenth. Increasing business compelled a change, and in 1907 one of the finest shops in the city, located on Twelfth and Cranberry streets, built expressly for the company, was taken possession of. Almost immediately an enlarged foundry was built and in 1908 an extensive addition was made to the machine shop.

The Erie Manufacturing & Supply Co. was organized in 1890, doing a large mercantile business in mill and shop supplies at 1215-17 Peach street. In 1901 a machine shop was erected on Raspberry street south of the railroad, where, besides other machine work, engines for special service are built. It was incorporated in 1894, and is a prosperous and growing industry under the management of energetic and capable young men.

The Union Iron Works was established in 1890, for the manufacture of steel boilers. Its principal promoters were members of the Skinner Engine Co. and the Erie Engine Works, neither of these concerns having previously been in the business of manufacturing boilers. In 1893 a large shop was erected alongside the railroad at Raspberry street, and in 1908 an addition was built which doubled its capacity.

The direct descendant of the original "Old Furnace," started by Hinkley, Jarvis & Co., is the Germer Stove Co., incorporated in 1902, and today one of the largest manufacturing industries in Erie, while in its line, which is chiefly the manufacture of stoves, furnaces and ranges, it is among the leading in the country. The works were originally at the corner of State and Eleventh streets, and during the period when the firm owning it was Barr, Johnson & Co., the name "Pioneer

Foundry" was applied to it in recognition of its place in local history. It grew with the growth of general business, and by dint of being up to the times. At first its "Morning Glory" base burning stove for hard coal and later the "Radiant Home," became deservedly popular. To obtain more room the large building on German street from the railroad to Sixteenth street was built in 1884. For a number of years the plant of the Chicago & Erie Stove Co. was occupied by the Lakeside Foundry Co., subsidiary to the Germer Stove Co., but in 1908 the extensive property of the American Malting Co., Sixteenth and Parade, was bought and altered over and added to, and in 1909 became a part of the Germer Company's plant, which now covers over five acres of ground, some of the buildings being five stories high.

Chronologically the South Erie Iron Works follows the Germer Stove Co., for it has been doing business since 1858, when it was organized by Adam Acheson and William Henry. In a sense they were pioneers, for they ventured into the business without having had any sort of connection with what had been, and planted their shop a good long distance away in the country from the city of that time. It was in Millcreek township. In 1868 when South Erie was chartered as a borough, Acheson and Henry's foundry took the name of the new borough and was incorporated as the South Erie Iron Works. The brick buildings on Peach and Twentieth streets were erected 1871 to 1891, and a branch on Twenty-sixth and Maple streets in 1885. The latter was abandoned about ten years later. The corporation manufactures stoves, and does general foundry work.

The Griswold Manufacturing Co. is the successor of the "Butt Factory" as it was called, which was started on the bank of the canal west of Chestnut street in 1868, by J. C. and Samuel Selden and Matthew Griswold. The product was a separable door-butt—which was the specialty—and other articles of light hardware. In 1873 it had become known as the Selden & Griswold Mfg. Co., and its force of employes numbered twenty. When the closing of the canal had effected the opening of the streets, the Butt Factory was on Tenth street, but it had ceased to be called by that name for its product was greatly diversified, and in the course of time building succeeded building until the plant extended to Walnut. In 1897 there was a reorganization and the Griswold Mfg. Co. was chartered. In 1903 the old plant was abandoned and the building that had been the manufactory of the Shaw Piano Co. was taken possession of, and numerous other buildings added, the plant now occupying an entire square bounded by Cascade, Twelfth, Raspberry and the railroad.

The National Foundry Co. was incorporated in 1899, but it is the legitimate successor of the Erie Car Wheel Works, organized by W. R. Davenport and John Fairbairn about 1866 or 1868. The same firm was interested, with others, in the Erie Car Works organized in

1868, and at one time the principal industry in Erie. It was burned in 1894. The manufacture of car wheels was discontinued when the car works of Davenport, Fairbairn & Co. ceased business, but the foundry business continued; the Davenport interest in it continuing and being at the present time represented by Charles W. Davenport, a son of W. R., and president of the National Foundry Co. In 1906 plans were perfected for the manufacture of steel castings by the open hearth process, and a large addition to the plant was built.

One of the largest manufacturing concerns in the city and one that, under a single name, though with some variations upon it, has been continuously in business longer than any other that ever did business in Erie, is the Jarecki Manufacturing Co. The corporation manufactures brass and iron goods for plumbers and steamfitters, radiators, and goods of that kind, and the brass works of the Jarecki Mfg. Co., if not the largest in its line in the country, is one of the largest. The business was founded in 1852 by Henry Jarecki, who in the directory of a year or two later advertised his place on State street between Eighth and Ninth streets (it is a Greek confectionery store now) as an "iron fence, brass foundry and gun shop," and catalogued his specialties to be: "Iron fence, railings, fire-proof doors and shutters, awning frames, etc. Keys made, locks repaired and bell hanging attended to. All kinds of blacksmith work done in rear of the foundry." Evidently he was the handiest man in Erie at that time. The discovery of oil came shortly afterwards. The discovery of Henry Jarecki occurred at about the same time, for his was the nearest manufactory of brass fittings to the Oil Creek field, and brass fittings were demanded. In 1865, the style of the manufactory was different, and the advertisement read: "Petroleum Brass & Iron Works, Henry Jarecki & Co., Ninth and Holland, manufacturers of drilling tools (a superior article). We are using the best charcoal hammered iron for the jars; the best Norwegian iron for pins and sockets, and the best English steel for drills and rimmers, all of which are made by first class workmen. Gas pipe and fittings; seamless brass chamber oil pumps; plunger rods with stuffing boxes and tees, and quite a catalogue of brass pipe fittings." That first shop is still standing—added to and built upon, but still discernable in the great collection of buildings, filling most of the square, that compose the brass department of today. Large additions were made in 1872 and 1888, and repeatedly, up to the present time, new construction has been added. In 1886 an iron foundry was built at Twelfth and Chestnut, extending to the railroad and occupying half a city square, while in 1909 another large addition was begun. In 1873 the Jarecki Manufacturing Co., Limited, was organized, and in 1897 a new charter for the Jarecki Manufacturing Co. was granted by the state.

In 1868 the Erie Car Works was organized out of a car-building concern, started as a branch of the Erie City Iron Works at State and Twelfth streets. At first a shop on Sassafras and Twelfth, afterwards the Erie & Pittsburg railroad shops, was used, but immediately a new site was selected at Cascade and Sixteenth streets where, in the course of time, thirteen acres of ground was covered by the plant, nearly 1,000 men were employed and twenty box freight cars were completed in a day. William R. Davenport was the president and manager, and W. A. Galbraith secretary and treasurer. During the panicky times of the early nineties it was shut down, and on the night of September 24, 1894, it was completely destroyed by fire. Mr. Davenport had died suddenly at Buffalo in 1888. The Erie Car Works, Limited, did not resume after the fire. However, there was a resurrection. Two members of the original force, foremen named William Hamilton and Julius C. Knoll, though with a limited amount of capital at their command, embarked in the business, undertaking repairs for the railroad companies as well. Their courage and faith won out. The business steadily grew. Shops were erected on the next square, directly west of the old car works, and enlarged from time to time. New labor saving devices were introduced and new lines taken on, to be in keeping with the developments of the day, and at the present time the Erie Car Works is one of the leading industries of Erie.

The Erie Forge was an outgrowth of the original Erie Car Works, but a separate enterprise. In the manufacture of car axles it found no small item of its business for a number of years. It was devoted to the manufacture of heavy forgings. It was organized in 1872, through the efforts of John P. Harrington, and located on the site of the present Forge, on Cascade street, then alongside the canal. The works were burned in December, 1879, but were at once rebuilt on a much larger scale. Business was continued by the old corporation until 1903, when a reorganization was effected and a new charter obtained for the Erie Forge Company, of which Robert F. Devine is president. A second fire, in May, 1903, destroyed a large part of the works, and again, upon rebuilding, the works were much enlarged. In fact expansion became continuous, the corporation in 1909 adding, besides other facilities to increase the capacity, an open hearth furnace for the conversion of scrap metal into steel to be employed in the manufacture of steel forgings.

The Erie Malleable Iron Co. was organized in 1880, by Prescott Metcalf, John Clemens and others and engaged, with success from the very beginning, in the manufacture of malleable and gray iron castings. The original shop on Cherry street, extended from Twelfth street to the railroad, occupying, with its grounds and outbuildings, probably a quarter of the square. Additions and enlargements have, however, been so numerous as to be regarded almost as a regular

thing, until at the present time the entire square is practically under one roof, while a considerable portion of the square west of Cherry street is already occupied by buildings. From the time of its inception it has had a Metcalf for president. In 1900 there was a reorganization, when the Erie Malleable Iron Co. was chartered with George R. Metcalf as president, C. A. McSparren secretary, and B. J. Walker vice-president and treasurer.

In 1871 there was organized in Erie a manufacturing concern called the Derrick & Felgemaker Pipe Organ Co., a large building was erected on Twenty-fifth street near Ash, and the business was begun, the plant or the principal part of the outfit being brought from Buffalo, where Messrs. Derrick and Felgemaker had been in business. The Erie enterprise fell through, however, by reason of someone's mismanagement probably. At any rate Mr. Felgemaker withdrew and set up for himself at No. 1313 State street. He was successful, and continued to be so. In 1888, more room being required, a lot was bought at the corner of Nineteenth and Sassafras and a building was erected the same year. The Felgemaker church organs are well known north and south, and the middle west is in a sense filled with them. The A. B. Felgemaker Erie Organ Co. was incorporated in 1905, Mr. Felgemaker having died that year.

The Henry Shenk Co. was incorporated in 1901, but the business was begun by Henry Shenk in 1863. He first came into prominence by securing the contract for erecting the State Reformatory at Huntingdon, in the construction of which he introduced methods that proved to be innovations in the building line, and notwithstanding he underbid the rest of the state, made a handsome profit. When they grew to manhood his sons, trained in every detail of the business, became his partners, and at length it was decided to form a corporation. Among the many large buildings built by the Shenks are the P. & L. E. station, the Carnegie library, the Hotel Schenley, the Jos. A. Horne building and many other large and costly structures in Pittsburg. The mill at the corner of Twelfth and Sassafras streets furnishes all the finished woodwork for any contract undertaken. It was built in 1887.

In 1866 Andrew Voelk & Co. opened a small machine shop in a frame building on State street above Twelfth and called it the Humboldt Iron Works. From time to time there were changes in the firm, and at length Mr. Voelk retired and Capt. Davis and Ezra Diefendorf were at the head of affairs. Finally in 1886, it became the property of Leonard D. Davis, son of the captain, and in 1891 there was formed the Davis-Farrar Co. (C. W. and W. T. Farrar) that built a shop on Front street near State. In 1900 there was a reorganization, when the Erie Pump and Engine Co. was chartered. In 1908 the Erie Machine Shop was consolidated with the Pump & Engine Co.

The Brown Folding Machine Co. organized as a limited copartnership in 1884, engaged in the manufacture of newspaper and book folding machines in what had been the foundry building of Black & Germer on West Eleventh street. The machines manufactured were from patents obtained by Mr. Brown, and Wellington Downing was manager, his father and he being large stockholders. Mr. Brown severed his connection with the firm in 1894. In 1903 the Brown Folding Machine Co. was chartered by the state. In 1908 a new and very complete shop was erected on the corner of Eleventh and French streets.

The Hays Manufacturing Co. was incorporated in 1898, but dates its beginning back to 1865 when G. and F. Jarecki began the manufacture of brass goods on Eleventh street between State and Peach. The Messrs. Hays were admitted to the firm in 1870, when the name was changed to Jarecki, Hays & Co., which continued until 1887, when the name Hays Manufacturing Co. was adopted. The business grew steadily until in 1898 a charter was obtained from the state after a reorganization had been effected. In 1907, to meet the demands for more space, new buildings were erected at the corner of Twelfth and Liberty, and these were materially enlarged in 1909.

The flouring mills of today, with one exception, date back into the misty past, for the milling business as it is commonly understood, was one of the first necessities of the early settlers. The first of the flour, or grist mills was that built by John Cochran in 1801, and what remains of it and its reconstructed buildings still stands at the corner of State street and Eliot avenue, near Glenwood Park. It became known successively as the Eliot mill and the Densmore mill, and the Densmore name is still associated with the milling business in Erie, Fred Densmore, a son of the original (William) Densmore, being engaged in milling at Sixteenth and State, in the old Erie City mill, his company chartered in 1907 as the William Densmore Co. The Reed mill, near Fifth and Parade, and the Robert Large mill, Eleventh and French, long ago passed from existence. In 1834-5 the Fairmount flouring mill, on East Eighth street was built by E. D. Gunnison and Abraham Johnson, Jehiel Towner being long chief miller. This mill was bought by P. & O. E. Crouch in 1859, and has been operated successively by that firm, J. B. Crouch & Co., H. L. Crouch & Co., and now by N. Seymour Crouch. The Hopedale mill, still standing on State street and Hill road, was built in 1850 by Henry Gingrich, operated for a time by Oliver & Bacon, who left it to become owners of the Canal mill on Myrtle street (torn down in 1908), and then was again operated by Mr. Gingrich and later by W. H. Gingrich and J. J. Omer. It is now idle. The Merchant mills on Holland street and the railroad was built in 1858 as a feed mill. It was converted into a flour mill by O. E. and Phineas Crouch in 1873. The mill was twice burned, in

1868, before the Crouch Brothers were makers of flour, and again in 1891. It was rebuilt in 1893. Crouch Bros. & Co. became a corporation in 1892.

The brewing industry began in Erie in 1815, when Major David McNair began to make beer on the Turnpike near where the railroad was afterwards built. Soon after the Germans became an important constituent of the population Jacob Diefenthaler began the brewing business and later sold to John Knobloch. It was located on French street between Third and Fourth. A Mr. Jacobi started another brewery hard by which was sold to G. L. Baker, who converted it into an ale brewery, when, in the sixties Jacobi built a large brew-house on Fourth street, west of Cherry on the edge of the big ravine. The Eagle brewery on State street near Twenty-second, was started by Fry & Schaaf in 1846, and later sold to Henry Kalvelage; the National on Fifth, near Parade, in 1848 by Jacob Fuess, and the present F. Koehler brewery about the same time by Jacob Dietz. In 1867 there were eleven beer breweries in Erie with an average capacity of 200 barrels per day. The mutations of business have changed matters, so that there are now in operation six, if the Vogt brewery is included, though two of them do little, if any, business. Of these breweries three were united under one corporate management, the Erie Brewing Co., chartered in 1899, including the National brewery of C. M. Conrad, the brewery of Fred Koehler & Co., and the Eagle Brewery of Jackson Koehler & Co. The Consumers Brewing Co., incorporated in 1899, which in 1907 changed its name to the Wayne Brewing Co., was the direct successor of Downer & Howard, ale brewers, and that succeeded Alfred King, who for years conducted the business at Seventeenth and Parade.

Allied to the brewing business was that of the manufacture of malt, the pioneer in which was Alfred King. It was begun in 1841, and introduced the cultivation of barley in Erie county, which was engaged in to a very large extent for many years. The first large malt house built by Mr. King still stands, a picturesque ruin on Parade street near Eighteenth, and another owned by him that stood on the canal near the weigh lock basin, was burned in 1865. Men and firms prominent in malting in the past were Birdsall & Parsons, J. S. Riddle, and Jacob Weschler, the latter operating two large houses, on Ninth street, built by the side of the canal and the other on Parade street at the railroad. Both of these last named passed under the control of the American Malting Co., and were abandoned about 1906.

Erie's development is due almost entirely to manufacturing. Already the history of those that have endured for a generation or more and that have attained to great proportions has been reviewed. It would be impossible within a single volume to take up separately the

numerous and diversified industries that flourish in Erie today and present them as they each deserve. It is not well, however, to ignore any of them. Many of them are yet small, but, looking back at the beginnings of those that are today great, scarcely one can be named that did not have a modest beginning. It may be so with scores of enterprises that today in Erie are in their novitiate, and may in the course of time take rank among the largest in the land.

No enterprise could have had a more modest start than the big Watson Paper Mills. When the late H. F. Watson, in 1874, without capital began the business of distilling coal tar, the most optimistic seer would not have ventured to prophesy the result. From tar, to the treatment of paper for roofing, and then to the manufacture of the paper; later to making different kinds of paper and for varied uses; to combining asbestos with paper, and then to meeting every demand along the particular line he had opened up, adding building to building until a full square was occupied, and then extending to other squares —there is an example in this of what the small things of today may grow to be tomorrow. The latest addition to this mammoth concern, built at the harbor in 1902, is itself a large manufacturing plant, though but a fraction of the whole.

Another example is the Lovell Manufacturing Co., started by M. N. Lovell in 1879. Then it was spring beds that were made—"the best bed on earth," he called it—and the workshop was on two floors of a building on Cheapside, as French street at the Park used to be called. In 1883 the first building was erected on Thirteenth street near French, and the manufacture of clothes wringers was begun, and the business developed so that a large addition was made in 1889; another and larger, extending to French street in 1899, and yet another, almost doubling the shop space in 1909. It is today the largest manufactory of wringers and rubber rolls in existence, is entirely independent of the "combination," and sends its product to every part of the world.

There are a few exceptions in Erie to the rule of small beginnings. For example, there is the Hammermill Paper Co.'s mills, in which more than a million dollars is invested in the manufacture of writing papers out of wood. The company was organized in 1898 by Ernst R. Behrend & Co., who had learned the business in Germany, where the father of the Behrends was one of the leading paper manufacturers of Europe. The business in Erie was started on a large scale, but in ten years it had increased to five times its original proportions and in 1909 steps to double is capacity were taken.

The United States Horse Shoe Co., incorporated in 1904, is another example. Its large mill on East Lake road was opened in March, 1905. During the winter of 1908 the plant was doubled in size. In 1907 the Federal Mfg. Co., which might be considered a subsidiary

concern, was chartered, and manufactures toe-calks for horse and mule shoes. The horseshoe works had the advantage of having in Mr. L. A. McElroy, its president and manager, a man experienced in the particular line of business engaged in, and especially in the practical details.

A third example of an enterprise starting in "full panoplied," is the Perry Iron Co., incorporated in 1906. The blast furnace of this corporation was built on the eastern end of the "pike ponds," utilizing in the construction of the buildings for the cement work, material from the old "sand beach," land once thought to be of no practical use. The furnace was lighted in June, 1907, operating a single stack, but, within a year, business pointed toward enlargement. The same interests organized the Erie Coke Co., incorporated in 1907, to manufacture coke and other coal products, and secured land for the plant, but were halted by the "panic." This concern, also, has the advantage of practical men in Mr. Clark and Mr. Williams.

These came from without. They came because of Erie's position in the world of manufacturing, and also because of its advantageous situation with reference to railroads and the lake. It was the same advantage which prompted the General Electric Co., to select Erie as the base of future operations and to secure by purchase a tract of 800 acres just east of the city, in 1908. This tract of land, one and a quarter square miles in area, extends from the shore of the lake to the L. S. & M. S. Railway, and plans for its occupancy already prepared, it is said, involve the expenditure of $10,000,000. The last named has to do with the future of Erie. The city of today was built up out of smaller things that originated within Erie itself, and these, being legion, in the aggregate of their efforts amount to other millions invested and millions expended in wages every year, that go toward the upbuilding of the city. The story of these is the history of the building of a city. Those that have been but now are not may have a chapter of their own. Those that still are, and continue their good work cannot be passed over without a place in the lists.

The tanning industry was one of the earliest here. As early as 1805 there were two, one built by Ezekiel Dunning on Holland street near Fifth and afterward known as the Sterrett tannery, the other by Samuel & Robert Hays on Eleventh near French. In 1820 William Arbuckle established one on Eighteenth street near Myrtle, and soon afterward Luther P. Searle built one on Ninth street, known for years as the J. J. Fuessler tannery. In 1840 John H. Walker built a tannery on Eighth street near Holland that was burned down in 1859, and in 1862 Joseph Richtscheit built one on Eleventh street near German. All of these were long since discontinued. Of the tanneries now in existence the Gunnison tannery, built in 1857 by C. E. Gunnison & Co., was enlarged in 1886, and continued under the original firm name un-

til 1897, the longest business period for any firm in Erie, and is now operated by Charles Gunnison & Co., sons of one of its founders. The Streuber tannery was started by John Streuber in 1861, greatly enlarged during the seventies, and is still operated, under the management and ownership of Emil Streuber.

The business of building vessels and boats dates back to the time of the Reeds and Richardses, when many of the large steamboats of the time were built here. In later years W. W. Loomis was extensively engaged, and in 1866 John D. Paasch began the business, at the same time conducting a boat livery. Mr. Paasch was succeeded by Paasch Brothers, his sons, in 1893, and they, greatly enlarging their scope, are now the principal builders of boats and vessels in Erie, being equipped with a mill and dry dock.

The manufacture of clothing was begun in 1869 by the Levi Brothers in a store room on State street in Wright's block on State street. There have been since that date several changes in the firm, the present style being Jacob Levi, Son & Co., doing business as the Standard Mfg. Co., and after various removals to meet the demands of a growing business, the Second Ward Market house property, corner of Parade and Twelfth was bought and occupied in 1907. The Straus Manufacturing Co., now in the Schlosser block on State street, in the same line of business, was founded in 1882 at 510 and 512 State street by Neuberger & Straus, removed in 1898 to 1307 State and in 1902 to their present location.

The manufacture of bricks was first undertaken in 1803 by Isaac Austin and B. Rice, but the most famous of Erie brick yards was that of Emanuel Goodrich, which, started at an early date, continued until the seventies, and until the immense excavation that composes so prominent a feature of the landscape near Twenty-sixth and Peach streets was effected. There were many others that endured but for a time. Of those that remain, the Dudenhoefer yard was opened in 1872 in the vicinity of Kearsarge. H. C. Dunn engaged in business first in the Walnut Creek valley, but in 1892 moved to the East Lake road at Lighthouse run, and in 1895 set up extensive works on the extension of Twelfth street, beyond the city limits, the business being continued after his death by his daughter Jessie M. Dunn. Thomas J. Paradine & Son in 1892 opened a manufactory of pressed bricks from shale on the Waterford road near Glenwood Park.

The Exhibition Show Case Company, started by P. Henrichs in 1877 at Eighteenth and Peach streets built the new factory on German street and the Nickel Plate Railroad in 1892.

In 1878 the Reifel Pump Works was established and in 1888, built a large factory on West Twelfth street. At present the works are located on Twelfth street at the P. & E. railroad crossing.

In 1880 the Keystone Carriage Works were established by Harrison & Leemhuis, and in 1876 the firm became Leemhuis Bros. Other carriage manufactories are Fries Bros., established in 1891, and H. M. Totman in 1893.

In 1885, the Erie Machine Shop of P. W. Dietly, manufacturer of steam engines and road rollers was established, the shop on Thirteenth and Peach erected in 1894. N. A. Watson, manufacturer of steam specialties, began business in 1885, and opened the new shop at 2016 State street in 1904.

In 1887 the Johannesen Mfg. Co., manufacturers of fine cabinet work, began business at Eleventh and French, and in 1909 removed to the old Taper Sleeve Pulley Works building on West Twelfth. The same year the planing mill business of Lyman Felheim at Sixteenth and State streets, was begun.

In 1889 the Erie Oil Co. was established for the manufacture of lubricating oils and greases and a refinery was erected on Myrtle street near the railroad. The company is composed of Julius C. Siegel and Louis Streuber.

In 1890 the Hollands Mfg. Co. was incorporated, the line being gas burners and tools. The same year the E. M. Link Machinery Co. was chartered; they make heating and ventilating appliances and sawmill machinery. Adolph Schroeck's planing mill was established in 1890.

In 1891 the Erie Button Works was established by Simmonds & Co., and in 1892 N. A. Watson became proprietor. This was one of several manufactories of pearl buttons started in Erie at about that time, and is the sole survivor. A new and much larger building was erected at 2016 State street in 1904. . . . In 1891 David Schlosser opened his planing mill at Sassafras and Ritner streets. He had been in the same business from 1866, part of the time having L. Felheim as a partner, but after the mill of the firm was burned, the partnership was dissolved in 1887. In 1905 the firm name became D. Schlosser Co.

In 1892 the Metric Metal Co. erected a large shop on Tenth street and Payne avenue for the manufacture of gas meters. It is a branch of the American Meter Co. There have been several enlargements and an improvement amounting practically to reconstruction was effected in 1908-9. . . . Curtis Johnson embarked in the planing mill business in 1892, in the mill that was built by Althof & Siegel in 1890. . . . The George Carroll & Bro. Company, Erie's oldest planing mill and door factory, incorporated in 1892, originated with George and T. H. Carroll about 1866.

In 1893 the Walker Foundry Co., was organized by A. W. & B. A. Walker, and a plant established at Cherry street and the railroad. In 1903 it was reorganized, with George I. Black, president; W. W. Mayo, vice president, and W. Pitt Gifford, secretary and treasurer.

The product is gray iron castings and the capacity a daily melt of forty tons.

The year 1894 witnessed the inauguration of a number of enterprises. The Erie Chemical Co. was incorporated, and built on the Nickel Plate Railroad west of the city limits. It was reorganized in 1905, in connection with F. H. Kalbfleisch of New York. The product is sulphuric acid and paper makers' alum. . . . A. Gottfried & Co., (Anton Gottfried and Henry Kugel) manufacturers of organ pipes and supplies, was organized in Philadelphia in 1890 and removed to Erie in 1894, renting the old boarding house building of the first Erie Car Works; in 1904 the fine new brick shop at Nineteenth and Myrtle was built. . . . The Dispatch Printing & Engraving Co. was organized in the year 1894, being the formation of a company separate from that engaged in the publication of the newspaper, and taking over the job printing business of the *Dispatch* The Lejeal Cycle & Mobile Works, begun in 1894, at first builders of bicycles, later of automobiles, engaged in the manufacture of marine gasoline engines in 1909. . . . The Reno Mfg. Co., their product neck-yokes, and other specialties of wood, in 1897 removed into the shop on Nineteenth street near Holland. . . . The firm of Kirschner Bros., organized in 1894, succeeds Sebastian Kirschner, who began business in 1868. In 1892 the firm of S. Kirschner & Sons was formed. Sebastian died in August, 1894, when the present firm came into existence.

The Erie Foundry Company was incorporated in 1895 and acquired for the site of its works a portion of the former fair grounds, on Twelfth street, west of the city limits, engaging in the manufacture of heavy castings and machine work, especially the building of steam hammers. Fire destroyed a large part of the plant in 1908, which was rebuilt immediately of brick, and in 1909 it was in operation on a larger scale than before.

The Lake City Engineering Co. was incorporated in 1897, for the manufacture of pumps and engines, and established itself in a brick shop at the corner of Nineteenth and Peach streets.

The Consumers Ice & Cold Storage Co. was chartered in 1898, and securing the "Reed spring," the source of supply of the old pump-log water works of borough days, engaged in the manufacture of artificial ice. Subsequently it was consolidated with the Union Ice Co. . . . Roths' Cycle Works was founded in 1898, and continues to build bicycles, although the sale, repair and housing of automobiles is at the present time the principal business of the Roths.

In the year 1899 the Reed Manufacturing Co. was chartered, and, building a brick factory on the West Lake road, at the E. & P. railroad crossing, engaged in the manufacture of small tools, which was continued until the corporation was reorganized in 1902. At that time the business was greatly increased through the energetic management of

the Messrs. Wright, of Westfield, who assumed the management. In 1908 the shop was doubled in size and in 1909 steps were taken to still further enlarge. . . . During 1899 the Erie Brewing Co. was chartered, and the Consumers—later the Wayne Brewing Co. . . . Constable Brothers Co. became a chartered corporation in 1899 and built an extensive planing mill and shop at Fifth and Sassafras streets, continuing the business founded by John Constable in 1849. The original mill, built alongside the canal, was burned in 1888, the new mill taking its place. The new company includes E. W. and Chas. A. Constable and Hon. C. S. Clarke.

The year 1900 was prolific in the formation of manufacturing concerns, many of them rapidly assuming large proportions. The Erie Lithographing & Printing Co., founded in 1883 by Walker & Gallagher in a store room on North Park row and succeeded by Walker & Roberts in 1891, who added lithographing in their new shop on West Fourth street, grew rapidly. On the retirement of Mr. Roberts the company was strengthened and enlarged, until, occupying most of the square with its large plant, it was formed into a corporation, and became a leading and influential part of the Consolidated Lithographing Company. . . . The Odin Stove Mfg. Co. began in a modest way in the nineties, when the old shop of the Forsyth Scale Works was secured, under the able management of J. C. Hofstetter and his son, developed remarkably, and from time to time added large permanent buildings. Its charter was obtained in 1900, and its line of manufacture is gas stoves, hot plates and gas burners. . . . The Colby Piano Co., of the present, incorporated in 1900, is the successor of a company of the same name, formed in 1888, occupying the shop erected in 1871. . . . The Erie White Metal Co., manufacturers of babbitts, solders and linotype metal, was chartered in 1900, and built on Tenth street at the P. & E. railroad crossing. . . . The J. B. Campbell Brass Works, founded by Joseph B. Campbell in 1900, has erected extensive buildings of brick on Cascade and Sixteenth streets. . . . D. S. Milloy, building contractor, in 1900, in 1908 built a large planing mill in connection with his lumber business on Twelfth and Cascade streets. . . . The Erie Gas Mantle Mfg. Co., established in 1900 at the corner of Peach and Fourteenth streets, in 1908 removed to larger quarters in the old Wayne block on French street. Mantles for Welsbach gas burners are the product.

There were a half dozen important industries all destined to be permanent, that came into existence in Erie during 1901. The H. N. Thayer Co., manufacturers of baby carriages, toy wagons and goods of that order, chartered in 1901, is the direct successor of the Erie Chair Co., started in 1874, and changed to the Downing Carriage Co. in 1891. The works were twice destroyed by fire—in 1892 and 1904—and each time rebuilt, the present building being one of the largest fac-

tories in Erie. . . . The Ashby Printing Co., chartered in 1901, was founded by Ashby & Vincent in 1867, and for many years have been extensive railroad printers, stationers and paper box makers. . . . The Modern Tool Co., chartered in 1901 for the manufacture of machine tools and appliances and of machinery in general, located in the Peoples Market building, adding more space from time to time until the whole of the building is now occupied by the plant. . . . The Erie Reduction Co., incorporated in 1901 for the manufacture of fertilizers, built its plant on the lake shore at the foot of East avenue that year. In 1906 the corporation was reorganized. . . . The Cascade Foundry Co., organized in 1901 as the Depinet Foundry Co., changed its corporate name to the Cascade Foundry Co. January 2, 1903. At first it occupied rented quarters on Cascade street, but in 1908 took possession of extensive new brick shops at Nineteenth and Plum streets, the enlargement of which is now under consideration. . . . The Griffin Mfg. Co. (organized in 1899 at Allegheny) removed to Erie in 1901 and purchased from the American Wringer Co., the F. F. Adams shop on Cherry street near the railroad which has been extensively reconstructed and added to. The line is hardware. . . . In about 1891, J. M. Snyder began business as a manufacturer of confectionery. His earliest enterprise in this line was in 1870, when he succeeded Beuer & Burgess, one of the pioneers in sweets, but his business was interrupted by other ventures. Since 1901, the business has grown, and, with him, become permanent.

The Erie Specialty Company was reorganized in 1902, for the manufacture of hardware specialties, many of the articles made being from patents of E. Walker. It was originated by Brown & Thomas in 1889, given new impetus by Z. T. Brindley and E. Walker in 1892, and the final change took place in 1907, when Mr. Brindley retired. . . . The Williams Tool Co., manufacturers of plumbers' and pipe fitters' tools, was chartered in 1902. . . . The C. L. Chapman Cream Separator Works was established the same year. . . . The American Mfg. & Novelty Co., its product wooden ware of a diversified character, began business in 1902, and has its plant on Cascade street at the Lake Shore railroad crossing. . . . The American Sterilizer Co., was formed as the Hall Brothers Co., in 1902, and incorporated as the American Sterilizer Co. in 1904, when possession was taken of the new shop corner of Eighth and Holland streets. The new shop on Twelfth and Plum was built in 1909.

The year 1903 witnessed the addition of a quartette of new industries, among them two that took position at once among the large concerns. The Continental Rubber Works, including among its corporators T. R. Palmer, and members of the Jarecki family, secured the extensive Tribune Bicycle Works, then idle and converted it into a manufactory of bicycle and automobile tires and other rubber goods.

In 1909 a large addition was built. . . . The Erie Silk Mills date from the same year. The stockholders are principally of Erie. The large mill on the corner of Twenty-sixth and Cascade streets was built in 1903. . . . The Lippold Valve Co., established in 1903, built first on Eighth street east of the P. & E. Railroad, but in 1908 erected a brick shop west of Erie on the line of the Nickel Plate Railroad. . . . The Stratton Mfg. Co., manufacturers of bone cutters, formed in 1903, occupied their shop on Twelfth and Cherry streets first in 1908.

In 1904 the principal industry established was the U. S. Horse Shoe Co., of which mention has already been made. The same year the Eriez Stove Co. was formed and erected buildings on Twentieth street between Holland and German, a large brick shop being added in 1908. . . . The Erie Stamping & Manufacturing Co., chartered in 1904, engaged in metal stamping, nickel plating and brass founding, began business on West Twelfth street. . . . The Erie Printing Co., incorporated the same year, is composed of the German printers and publishers of Erie, but their product is not confined to that language. . . . The Erie Burial Case Co. had a reorganization in 1904, but there had been others, for it was founded in 1881 and the "coffin factory" built out on the Edinboro road in that year. The company was reorganized in 1884, when Dr. A. K. McMullen came into it. The reorganization in 1904, was when the McMullen interests were withdrawn on the closing up of his estate. This concern is now under the control of Mr. T. W. Walker. . . . The American Boiler Works, foot of State street, boilers and marine engine repairs, was established in 1904.

The Morse Iron Works was incorporated in 1905, and the extensive shops of the corporation on Gaskell avenue between the Lake Shore and Nickel Plate railroads was begun immediately. It is a purely local corporation, undertaken, however, with ample capital to establish it upon a footing that will enable it to enter the lists on even terms with older concerns in the same line of business, which is pipe fittings, tools and castings. . . . In the same year the Bury Compressor Company was chartered. The new corporation was the reorganization of the Herron & Bury Mfg. Co., established in 1902. The product is air compressors, either combined with steam engine, or separately driven. The large shop at the corner of Seventeenth and Raspberry street was more than doubled in size in 1907. William Hamilton, president of this company, is also president of the Erie Car Works and of the Morse Iron Works. . . . The Urick Foundry Co. was established in 1905, and its foundry for the manufacture of gray iron castings was built the same year on Cherry street near Huron. . . . The Erie Baking Co., grew out of the Firch bakery at Fourth and Walnut streets, and was incorporated in 1905. It secured the Weschler malt house property on Ninth street between Chestnut and Walnut, which was altered

over into a bakery for bread and other bakestuffs. . . . Another bakery dating 1905, is the Harry A. Sands bread bakery at Fourth and French streets, but the beginnings of this were away back in borough days. It was started in 1842 by E. Goodrich, and bought by F. F. Adams about 1860. Mr. Adams brought W. J. Sands from Buffalo to look after practical details, and in 1865 or thereabout, Mr. Sands became proprietor and introduced steam machinery. It was then a small place near Fifth and Sassafras streets. Eventually a large building was erected on Fourth street between State and French and the manufacture of biscuits, crackers and gingersnaps begun on a large scale. The building was enlarged and extended to the corner of Fourth and French streets in 1894, and next year the business was sold by W. J. Sands & Sons to the United States Baking Co., which operated the plant until the National Biscuit Co. was formed. The Erie plant being closed down, it was bought by Harry J. Sands in 1905, and put in operation as a bread bakery. . . . The Noyes Brass Works, opened in the shop on Twelfth street now occupied, in 1905, began thirty years ago, when E. S. Noyes opened a brass foundry on Eleventh street. There were a number of changes, the firms of Noyes & Rahn, Noyes & Bostwick and the Keystone Brass Co., succeeding, until 1890, when Mr. Noyes removed to Akron, Ohio. He returned in 1902 and opened a shop on Twelfth street between Cherry and Poplar, which was vacated for the present shop in 1905. On the death of E. S. Noyes the business was continued by his son and daughter, Alfred R. and Helen B. Noyes.

The Burke Electric Co., incorporated in 1906, is the successor of the Keystone Electric Co., organized in 1890 by Messrs. Sturgeon, Platt, Downing and others. The first shop was on Peach street near Fourteenth, from which there was a flitting to Fourteenth and State streets, and then, in 1893, the large shop on the corner of Twelfth and Cranberry streets was built. Soon after the Burke people assumed control fire destroyed a large part of the works, but the loss was replaced by buildings of much greater capacity. The product is electric motors, dynamos and other electrical appliances. . . . The Perry Iron Company was chartered the same year as noted previously in this chapter. . . . Schaffner Brothers Co., pork and beef packers, incorporated in 1906, established an extensive abbatoir and packing house at 641-651 East Fifteenth street the same year. . . . The Washburn Mfg. Co., woodenware, 1116 West Eighteenth street, was chartered in 1906, as was the Tellers Organ Co., builders of church organs, at 2421 Holland street. . . . The Greif Cooperage, a Cleveland corporation, established a branch at Erie in the old pail factory plant, for the manufacture of slack cooperage, in 1906. . . . The Herald Paper Box Co., originally a department of the Herald Printing & Publishing Co.'s business, was bought by E. J. Neiner and P. C. Reidel, and established on the two upper floors of the Braggins building on Twelfth street. In

1909 a new three story brick building was erected on West Nineteenth street. . . . The American Beauty Stove Co., reorganized and incorporated in 1896, was first established in 1888 to manufacture the patents of the late Chas. H. Miller, and was known as the Miller Gas Stove Co. Later it was entered as the American Beauty Stove Co., Limited, by J. I. Town and others, and in 1905 was taken over by the interests that a year later took out a new charter. The product is gas stoves and hot plates and the works on Fourteenth street between State and French. . . . The F. D. Schultz Company, manufacturers of and wholesale dealers in confectionery, was first chartered in 1900 as the Erie Pepsin Gum Co., and was located at the corner of Fourteenth and State streets. In 1906 it was reorganized and incorporated as the F. D. Schultz Co., and on March 15, 1907, occupied the fine new building at the corner of Eleventh and French streets, just completed for its use.

The new corporations of 1907, include the Germann Bronze Co., originated as Rahn & Germann, in 1889, at Sixteenth and State, but moved to the corporation's new building on Nineteenth and Chestnut in 1907. . . . The Bay City Forge Co., heavy forgings and machine work, Nineteenth and Cranberry streets. . . . The C. N. Grace Co., machinery repairs, Nineteenth, west of Sassafras. . . . The Erie Leather Co., tanners, established in the old Bauschard planing mill on East Ninth street. . . . The Erie City Mfg. Co., hardware and wooden specialties and sterilizers, the shop erected in 1907, enlarged to more than double in 1908. . . . The Federal Mfg. Co., horseshoe toe-calks, and the Erie Coke Co., both already mentioned. The Bay City Forge Company's plant was burned in 1909, and immediately rebuilt. . . . The Keystone Rubber Co., organized in 1907 by J. G. Moomy, manufacturers of automobile tires and rubber goods generally, making a specialty of rubber corks or stoppers. It is the successor of the Two Centuries Co., the Erie Cork Works, and the Erie Rubber Works. . . . . The Mayo Life Boat Co., manufacturers of metallic life boats, tanks, silos, doors, and furniture, erected a shop on the Nickel Plate Railroad, near the Green Garden road, in 1907.

The Keystone Brass Co., became incorporated in 1908, but its beginnings were thirty years ago, when E. S. Noyes first engaged in the manufacture of brass goods. When C. F. Bostwick, senior member of the company died in 1906, his partner, Louis Mertens, organized a new company which was incorporated with Louis Mertens as president and Augusta Mertens as secretary. . . . The Erie Art Metal Co., incorporated in 1908, manufactures steel specialties—steel waste baskets, trays, etc., at 616-618 West Twelfth street.

The Erie Tool Works, was chartered in 1908, to engage in the manufacture of tools. . . . The Erie Cement Brick & Block Co., chartered in 1908, makes bricks and building material from cement. . . .

The Bell Oil Co., is chartered as a refiner of lubricating oils and greases. . . . The firm of Patterson & Stirling, manufacturers of furnaces, iron cornice, etc., was established by Patterson Bros. in 1868, and took possession of their new shop on East Twelfth street in 1891. . . . The Neilsen Mailing Machine Co., incorporated under the laws of Maine, was removed to Erie in 1908 and acquired the property built thirty years ago for the Keystone Boot & Shoe Co., on the Twelfth street extension east of the city. The corporation, Lauritus M. Nielsen, president, and L. L. Lucas, secretary and treasurer, manufactures Mr. Nielsen's patent automatic mailing and addressing machinery.

The year 1909 witnessed the beginning of operations by the large sawmill of F. W. Burnham, on the Nickel Plate Railroad near Cranberry street; the incorporation of the Mayer Brothers Contracting Co., who make asphalt pavements, and the reorganization of the Sims Co., manufacturers of steam specialties. The last named industry was founded by Henry Sims in 1886, and erected the factory on Holland street in about 1890. The officers of the company are, Henry Sims, president; George A. Sims, secretary, and Harry W. Sims, treasurer.

CHAPTER X.—VANISHED INDUSTRIES.

Oil Cloths.—Firet Blast Furnace.—Candles and Soap.—Silk Growing.—Oil Refining.—Barrels.—Parlor Organs.

In these days of greater Erie, when we point with satisfaction and pride to the gigantic industries that, beginning when the city was in its swaddling clothes, have increased to the mammoth proportions of the present time, and the many others that have since been established here, it may be interesting, if not profitable, to cast a backward glance and note what has been, but forever passed away; to consider some of the enterprises that once had a thrifty existence and that contributed greatly to the wealth of the city for a time, but are now all but forgotten. Some of them were big with promise, and seemed to be an assurance of quick and rapid civic wealth. Some seemed by nature to belong here. Erie was the point where certain interests appeared to logically center, and where they would naturally establish themselves. Proximity, advantages of transportation, desirable sites, adequate capital, advantageous conditions, all combined to favor Erie as the center for certain lines of industry. The beginnings, even, were made and good progress attained. And yet they went out; departed scarcely leaving a trace; are now barely memories, and those only of the oldest inhabitants.

There is, for example, the oil cloth industry. Who of the more than 60,000 people of the present time in Erie remember the oil cloth factories? Only a mere handful. And yet in their day these were among the most important the city boasted of; important because they were the surest money producers at a time when hard cash was a thing so rare that hundreds of workers—in fact the great majority of the employed—regarded themselves especially fortunate if their monthly recompense included so much as a single dollar in cash besides the store pay—the "pewterinktum" and "blue crackee" the necessities of the time substituted for money. Not every industry was of such a character that its product could be sent far enough out into the world to bring back the coin of the realm. The makers of stoves and plowpoints and cast iron kettles disposed of their wares to the people of Erie and round about, and the pay was largely in produce of one sort or another. The money that found its way into the hands of the man-

ufacturers and merchants was barely enough to meet their obligations for necessities that had to be procured from the larger business centers. Therefore barter became a necessity.

But it was different with the oil cloth industry. The product of these factories was not designed for home consumption. It found its way—or rather was carried—into portions of the country where money, if not abundant, was still sufficient in quantity to put the business on a money basis, and the manufacturers and their employes were correspondingly happy. Indeed the blessing was rather more diffused. The entire community was benefited.

The pioneer in the oil cloth industry was J. H. Woelmer. He came to Erie from Hamburg. He had learned the trade of making oil cloths in that German free city, and coming here, with good business instincts saw a promising field. Nothing was known in this part of the country about the manufacture of this kind of goods. As a matter of fact it was a secret. Therefore, when Mr. Woelmer, in the early forties, set up his first factory on Fourth street, near Myrtle, and engaged in the business of producing table covers, he had the field entirely to himself. Besides his ability to make the goods, Mr. Woelmer had the business sense to know how to market them. He enlisted the services of a number of salesmen. At the start there were some who sold on commission; before long each man bought his stock outright and sold it at the best profit he could secure. Thus the business was on a strictly cash basis, for the salesmen, selling by house to house canvass, obtaining the price on the delivery of the goods, was able to pay for what he obtained at the factory.

After operating the factory on Fourth street for a number of years Mr. Woelmer sold it to Christian Schwengel, including with the factory and its appliances, the secret of the craft. Mr. Schwengel, when he succeeded to the Fourth street factory, made a success of the business. Mr. Woelmer, however, did not dispose of his first plant with the idea of retiring from the business. On the contrary, his plan was to greatly enlarge. A farm of twenty acres was taken on the high ground west of Nicholson's hill, and a factory was there set up. Mr. Woelmer had a reason for going out into the country, and a purpose in taking up a considerable tract of ground. The site was chosen in order to get away from the dust and smoke; the large area was taken to afford as much room as possible for the drying process. Mr. Woelmer was very prosperous. He was becoming rich. After a residence of a short time at his farm factory he married a sister of Chris. and George Rilling, and not long afterwards, deciding to return to his German home, sold out his factory to Philip Diefenbach, and departed for Hamburg.

Philip Diefenbach had to learn the craft, just as Mr. Schwengel did. From all accounts he was an apt pupil. It is stated as a fact that

the profits of Mr. Diefenbach's first year's business were sufficient to pay for the farm and factory outfit. For several years Mr. Diefenbach continued to make oil cloths on the farm, but at length decided to move into town, where he set up a factory on the square between Sassafras and Myrtle and Twenty-first and Twenty-second. It is only proper to state that the site chosen was at that time no part of the city, and that Twenty-first street (or even Simpson street, as it was originally called), was not opened until long afterwards. In this new location the factory proved a winner until the oil cloth industry was suddenly wiped out.

When Mr. Woelmer imparted the secrets of his craft to Mr. Schwengel it was the beginning of a spread of human knowledge far beyond what he had any idea of. Like every other secret; once let escape there seemed to be no end of its course. In the space of a few years, in and about Erie there were perhaps a dozen manufactories of table oil cloths. Out in the country both Chris. and George Rilling engaged in the business. In Erie there were, besides Mr. Diefenbach, Mr. Buseck, Mr. Schaaf, Edward Camphausen, and Mr. Beckers; and Frederick Curtze, the artist who made the designs, also engaged in the business and prospered. And yet the business was not overdone. The supply did not, as a matter of fact, equal the demand. There was no going out to seek a market on the part of the manufacturer. The trade came to the factory and took the goods as fast as they could be turned out, and, as has already been stated, paid for them then and there.

The salesmen, having decided upon a route, the goods were forwarded to certain points, by steamer generally. The salesmen followed after. Generally his estimate of the amount required for any locality was pretty nearly accurate. If any remained unsold they were forwarded to the next stopping place, and the result was that before he returned the traveling merchant had disposed of all his stock, and sold it for cash. The territory covered chiefly was the south and southwest, as far as St. Louis and New Orleans, and judgment was exercised in choosing the season when money was most plenty. As the south was an agricultural region, the time of financial ease was that of harvest.

Now, as far as appearances went, the oil cloth industry was not of great importance. All the factories in town put together would not begin to make the fuss and stir that one such plant as the Blancon mill did. It is quite likely the Old Furnace, or the New Furnace, individually employed more hands than the total of all the oil cloth factories in town. And yet the making of oil cloths produced more ready money than all the other manufactories of Erie combined. The oil cloth men were the bankers of the time, and many a man won a competence for himself and family out of the modest little plant employing a few hands.

The breaking out of the Civil war was like a blow upon the face to the oil cloth industry. Its first effect was to daze the manufacturers. They were at sea. They dared not hazard a guess at the consequences. Their only course was to wait. Waiting eventually resulted in abandoning the operations altogether.

The oil cloth industry has been forgotten, save by a few Erie people. There are other local industries also relegated to the limbo of the gone before; industries that cut an important figure in affairs in Erie, too. There was the smelting of iron here, that had been mined in this county, for example. To be sure, the iron was "bog" iron, but even at that the statement that such a thing was done as to dig iron out of a swamp and produce good and hard metal from it would be regarded as a romance. Yet it was done here at Erie.

And talking about the smelting of iron, many in Erie have no knowledge of the fact that in the beginning of the seventies there was a blast furnace of fair proportions in Erie, and that it was among the earliest attempts to work out on the lake shore the iron ore from up the lakes, instead of sending it to Pittsburg or "down the valley." The Erie blast furnace was prophetic, but like the true prophet, did not survive to witness the fulfillment of its predictions. Today there are many iron furnaces on the shores of this and other lakes.

The blast furnace stood on the shore of the bay at the foot of Sassafras street. The block of brick tenements on Short street, a little west of Sassafras, is the only relic of that enterprise that remains at this day. The furnace was one of the numerous ventures with which Orange Noble was identified. If ever there lived a man of enterprise and public spirit Orange Noble was one, and entitled to royal distinction along that line. No man of his day did more to advance Erie than he did, and no man profited so little. Mr. Noble spent, or invested, a fortune in Erie. He died a poor man.

At first the iron was produced by the old fashioned method of smelting with soft coal. Later an attempt was made to produce "charcoal iron," the charcoal being produced from wood on the premises in a large collection of mammoth ovens. After being operated a few years the works were abandoned and gradually fell into decay. Twenty years ago much of the original large brick buildings remained. Now the only trace of the enterprise to be seen in Erie is, as has already been stated, that block of tenements at the top of the hill, above where the furnace stood. Besides Mr. Noble, Mr. Rawle, the Delamaters, of Meadville, and some others were interested in the unfortunate furnace venture.

Few iron industries have failed in Erie; the rule has been, on the contrary, that their growth to even mammoth proportions has been steady. Practically every iron works in Erie had exceedingly modest

beginnings, some having started, as the Skinner engine works did, in the corner of a little shop, their whole career being fresh in the minds of many still living. The rolling mill of the Mt. Hickory Iron Company is one of the enterprises of large proportions that went under; that, however, resulting from a disastrous fire.

Among the lines of manufacture that have gone out, leaving not a single trace, is that of making woolen fabrics. For a long time this was a very important branch of manufacturing in Erie, and among the earliest. The first woolen mill stood about where the Fairmount mill now stands, on Eighth street. Originally built in 1810 as a sawmill and a grist mill, in 1822 George Moore took the property and made a fulling mill of it, but in process of time it was again converted and at length once more became a flouring mill, the Crouches having had control of it from 1859 until the present time. In 1822 Alvah Flint established a mill for the manufacture of cloth, on Eleventh street, near the corner of French, and conducted the business with success until 1840. Another woolen factory was that of John Glover, built in 1830, at the corner of Tenth and Myrtle streets and operated until 1840. The fourth of the woolen mills was that in which Thomas Mehaffy and A. W. Brewster were interested. It was a large building, and in its time one of Erie's most important industries. The great frame structure, three stories high, stood until a comparatively recent date near the middle of the square between the railroad and Sixteenth street, east of Peach. When it was in operation the power required was obtained from a mill-race fed in large measure by Ichabod run, a stream at one time of considerable proportions that started near the western limits of the present city, but which now can be traced only by the tracts of peaty soil that here and there are found doing duty as celery gardens. It is related of the installation of the machinery in the Brewster-Mehaffy mill that when it arrived it came piecemeal, and the managers were in despair, as they knew of no one in Erie who could set it up. In their strait Joab Slocum came forward and offered his services. It was not known that he had any experience with such machinery. But he was a pretty clever Yankee, and the need of the hour was pressing, so he was turned loose among the shafts and cogwheels. He proved equal to the undertaking. The entire outfit was set up and worked to perfection, though, when the work was completed Mr. Slocum was free to acknowledge he had never seen machinery of this kind before.

For many years the woolen industry has been dead in Erie. The last lingering effort in that line was Mr. Albrecht's, in the Happy Valley mill. There nothing but a picturesque ruin remains, a memento of once busy days and occasional prosperous times. The manufacture of woolen cloth, with its kindred arts and crafts, contributed much to the

development of Erie at one period in the city's history. But it went out, and the story of that, as the story of the Blancon mill, told in another chapter, itself in its time also identified with spinning and weaving, is the story of what was, but is no more, except in blessed memory.

A line of industry that for nearly fifty years thrived in Erie, but that is now gone past recall, is the manufacture of soap. For a long time there was associated with it a branch that provided the "light of other days," but that branch died early, knocked out by the advent of a new illuminant that relegated the candle of our grandfathers' days to "innocuous desuetude." Today not one in a thousand, perhaps, can guess at the meaning of "sixes or eights," but there was a time when the chandler was a man of substance and his wares one of the principal of household necessities. And the manufacture of candles was always associated with the making of soap.

In remote times all the soap used and all the candles employed for providing a cheerful glow in the evening were of home manufacture. The housewife counted it one of her duties to provide these. Carefully husbanding her wood ashes to obtain lye, and saving the grease of every sort that domestic economy produced, they were skillfully combined to produce the necessary household article. Just as great care was taken to collect the heavier fats—the tallow of beef or mutton—to be converted into candles, either by the process of dipping or by the more modern device of employing moulds, and this feature of the housewife's work continued until communities had attained sufficient size to warrant the work being done by a specialist.

It was somewhere in the '40s that Erie had attained to sufficient proportions to warrant any one to venture into the business of manufacturing what had hitherto been domestic products. Then Frederick Schneider decided to embark in that line and established the first Erie soap and candle factory on Fourth street, between State and French. For a considerable time he prospered, and at length erected the building on the corner of State and Fourth streets opposite his factory. It was a store and dwelling combined. After a time he engaged in the business of a grocer, in which he thrived, but later he left that quarter of town and followed the same business at the corner of Sixteenth and Peach streets, where the Blass brothers are conducting a grocery at the present day. Mr. Schneider was one of the first Germans to settle in Erie and was long one of the most influential of his nationality in the city, a leader in public and church affairs, honored alike by his compatriots and those of the English race.

In 1852 G. F. Brevillier came to Erie from Germany, and embarked in business, his choice being the manufacture of soap and candles. He was a young man, and though he had but little capital he had a large stock of energy, the industry characteristic of his race, and a

liberal measure of patience and sound sense. His first factory was built at the corner of Sixth and Holland streets, a frame structure 18 by 24 feet in size. In 1854 he built a new factory 40 by 52 feet in size, and having bought out Mr. Schneider, was the sole manufacturer in his line in Erie. The profits were not large, but Mr. Brevillier's ability as a business manager was such that he made steady progress. In 1871 he sold out his business to Joseph W. Swalley, and went to his old home in Germany for a visit, which lasted until 1875.

Mr. Swalley continued the business in the old factory for a few years, and then erected the fine brick building on Peach street, near Twelfth, that now accommodates George L. Siegel's seed store. Martin Warfel became a partner of Mr. Swalley in the new location, and for a considerable time there was a large business done, the product of the factory finding its way beyond the limits of the city, and into the general market. Sometime about the beginning of the '90s the Swalley soap factory was in the large frame building at the corner of Eighteenth and Plum streets, built for the Noble Sewing Machine Company, and in the course of a comparatively short time Mr. Swalley retired, disposing of his interest to Wright & Brown. The destruction of the old sewing machine factory by fire in 1894, wiped out this industry that had been a contributor to Erie's business development for half a century. Soap making is among Erie's vanished industries.

Many years ago the white mulberry was a common tree in Erie. It was often met with on the borders of streets, and there were a number of places where mulberry plantations of rather large extent were found. In times gone by there was a mulberry orchard of considerable extent just beyond the canal, extending from Sixth street to Seventh, occupying a considerable portion of the square south of Sixth street and east of Chestnut and extending westward, including what is now Chestnut street, to near the middle of the square west of that street. The trees were cultivated to feed silkworms, and the business of "growing silk" at one time was carried on in Erie to a considerable extent. Somewhere about the year 1840 the state of Pennsylvania, in order to encourage the production of raw silk, offered a bounty to the producers. This course had the effect of stimulating the desire to obtain the state's money, if nothing more. It was the cause of the planting of the mulberry orchard; it accounted for the presence in so many places in Erie of trees of the species morus alba.

But there really was more to the industry of producing silk than the planting of mulberry trees, and there was even a degree of manufacture. And this industry did not have to depend on the state bounty; as a matter of fact in one instance the bounty act was repealed the year after the business was begun, but, depending entirely upon the proceeds of the sales the trade and manufacture were kept up.

The account of this is from Mrs. L. C. Dowler, whose mother, Mrs. Chandler L. Munn, fed the worms, collected the silk, twisted it into thread for sewing, and sold it to the merchants.

Mrs. Munn lived at the corner of Twelfth and State streets, in a house that was surrounded by a piece of ground about a quarter of a square in extent. It was the corner now occupied by the Eichenlaub block, but then all that portion of the square was a garden. Mrs. Munn obtained her silkworms from Miss Jane McNair, who lived at the corner of Sassafras and Eighteenth streets, in a house still standing which has long been a land-mark. Miss McNair had obtained her stock, in the egg stage, from Philadelphia, and had achieved considerable success in the production of silk, having been engaged in the work for some years before Mrs. Munn took it up.

When it was decided by Mrs. Munn to try her hand at silk production, she went about it in real earnest. The front room of the house was appropriated for the purpose, and it was surrounded by shelves or benches that left but small space in the center in which to move about in the work of feeding, these benches being provided for the accommodation of the worms. Upon these fresh leaves were kept and the necessary attention was given to keep the surroundings of the caterpillars clean and the creatures themselves in healthy condition. Upon the walls, when the worms had about reached their maturity, sheets were hung, and into the creases or folds of these the worms repaired when the time had come for them to prepare for the transformation, and there they spun their cocoons. These were properly treated, careful attention being paid so that the silk should not be ruined by the emergence of the moth. Sometimes prevention was effected by placing the cocoons in a hot oven. Again a large number, sometimes as many as a hundred, were placed in hot soap suds. In the latter case the cocoons were carefully gone over by hand so that the ends could be found and then, uniting the delicate fibres from the whole mass into one strand, the silk was wound upon a reel. Later this strand was twisted upon a "swift" into sewing silk, and dyed whatever color was desired. Put up into skeins it was now ready for the market. This was the way in which sewing silk was made in the early days, before the time of spinning by machinery and winding upon spools.

It was not an extensive industry in Erie, but endured for seven years or more, Mrs. Munn finding pretty ready sale for her product at the stores of the town. There is still to be found in Erie, articles made of Mrs. Munn's silk, such as knitted mitts and other things, and many of them are still in good state of preservation, demonstrating the fact that the silk produced in those days was honest goods, well made. The changes that came in methods of manufacture at length displaced the home-made silk thread, and there was not enough demand for the raw material, so Erie's silk industry went out. For a long time the mul-

berry trees survived, and even at this late day a chance individual tree is to be found here and there, remnants of what once was; mementoes of what at one time seemed to be a promise of great things.

Erie had the chance of its history to become great and wealthy in the decade of the '60s, and indeed, made a brave start. But the bottom fell out; the business went flat, and to this day the fact is sincerely mourned by many whose prophetic eyes had once seen the approaching glory of Erie. The factor that was to have so greatly boomed Erie was petroleum, and it is not overstating the truth to say that by only a narrow margin was the chance lost of Erie becoming a rival of Cleveland and Buffalo. For this city was the logical center of the oil industry. It was less than fifty miles from the heart of the original oil region, the territory that for many years was the richest in oil production in the world. It was in the adjoining county of Crawford that the greatest wells then ever heard of were to be found, and it was only natural therefore that to Erie, the nearest city, the business of refining should come. At the time of the great oil discovery, there were no railroads anywhere near the center of interest, which was on Oil creek, a stream that rising near the Erie county line flows southward through eastern Crawford county to the Allegheny river which it joins at what afterwards became Oil City. The nearest railroads were the Philadelphia & Erie and the Atlantic & Great Western. Neither of these approached much closer to the territory that was then being drilled than Union City, and the only means of communication open to it was by wagon and stage over the worst roads in the whole country. At the start the oil in barrels was teamed across country from Titusville, Petroleum Center, Tarr Farm and the various localities that in short space stood so thickly together that there was scarcely room on the map to indicate them all, to Union City, whence it came into Erie. Here it was refined, and converted into the illuminant that was at first known as rock oil and coal oil.

That was in the first years of the '60's. The business of refining petroleum began here very soon after the discovery of oil in the vicinity of Titusville. Undoubtedly the first refinery built here was that started by Harvey Ely in 1860. It was located on French street, near Second. Mr. Ely had been an adventurer in many different lines, and was sorrowfully unfortunate. He, it is said, opened the iron mining industry at Marquette on the south shore of Lake Superior. But he made a business failure, though fabulous wealth has come from that identical place since he was compelled to abandon it. He also engaged in the business of milling at Rochester, operating a mill that turned out 300 barrels of flour a day, it is said; but though he had the advantage of shipping by canal to New York, he failed in business. It was after that failure that he came to Erie, in 1860. He brought with

him Adam Hamberger, now living on West Fifth street. Mr. Hamberger had been employed in an extensive chemical laboratory in Germany and had a pretty good working knowledge of chemistry, and Ely brought him to Erie with the purpose of employing that knowledge in the business of refining the rock oil that had lately been discovered in the adjoining county.

In those early days in the history of oil the process of refining was a secret that was carefully guarded. Strict watch was kept upon everyone who came near and none were permitted to enter the place where the refining was in process except those who belonged there. Few were employed in or about the refinery. In Mr. Ely's plant there were but two besides himself, Mr. Hamberger and a Mr. Steen. It was a small affair, and notwithstanding the high price oil commanded, business did not thrive there. It was the belief of Mr. Ely that the work was done upon too small a scale to yield profits, and he therefore decided to enlarge, and also to find a location nearer a railroad. The site was secured on Sixth street, near the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad—where Wayne street now crosses Sixth—and there two stills were set up and machinery adequate to treat the distilled oil with the acids and alkalies necessary to purify it. Mr. Ely, however, lacked capital. The road to the city was so bad that a team could haul but two barrels at a time: the railroad then boasted but a single track, and being the main line for the passenger and freight station was at the foot of State street, it was not available for loading and unloading. Besides, Mr. Ely's funds were so limited that he could not afford to construct any sort of device that would facilitate either the receiving or the shipping of the oil—then the transportation of both the crude oil and the refined was in barrels. In process of time, and that very brief, Mr. Ely went under.

But he had started an industry that rapidly grew into great proportions. He was succeeded immediately by W. L. Cleveland, a man of splendid business ability, and the refinery that had failed under Mr. Ely quickly grew to great proportions under Mr. Cleveland. At once others were ready to embark in the same line, and it was not very long before Asa Whittier had a refinery on Fifth street, just below the Cleveland plant; B. F. Sloan had one farther down, about where Third street was surveyed—its former site is now a part of the Soldiers' Home grounds—and a fourth, the Parsons refinery, was located at Tenth street on the P. & E. Railroad. Then Mill creek attracted attention, and from Seventeenth street down to Fourteenth the refineries stood as thickly as space would permit, while near the mouth of the creek there was another. It is well nigh impossible at this late day to give the names of all who were engaged in the refining of petroleum on that stream. Among them, however, were Kennedy & Buseck, Murray & Co., W. J. Watkins, David T. Jones, the Thayers, and Henry Stahl.

For a time Michael Liebel, Sr., was interested in oil refining, and the most extensive plant in the city probably was that of Victory M. Thompson, which was located by the side of the canal about where Ninth and Walnut streets now intersect. From first to last there were, it is said, 22 oil refineries in Erie, and at one period 15 were in operation at the same time. There was no other city in the country that then refined as much oil as Erie did.

But why did the business not continue? The railroads killed it, some say. Perhaps. And yet that may be a mistake, although a very peculiar state of affairs is reported. It was this: During the height of the business it used to be the practice of the railroad to announce at frequent periods that no more oil could be received for shipment. For several days at a time, therefore, the refineries either had to shut down or accumulate their product. Then would come the notice that oil could again be received, and one who well remembers the circumstances —Mr. Hamberger—states that it was a spectacle worth going to see when the teamsters by the score crowded to get place at the freight house to unload the barrels of oil that were seeking transportation. Often a single day—sometimes less than that—so congested the traffic that again the avenue was closed and many were compelled to haul their oil away again. Think of such a state of affairs—that a railroad company could not rise to a business emergency such as this. It is scarcely to be wondered at that some arrived at the conclusion that the railroads were disposed to discourage the business. It must not be overlooked, however, that the railroads of that time were not as well organized as they are at present.

The cause of the decline of the oil refining industry at Erie may, however, have been something different. As one gentleman, formerly engaged in the industry, suggests, it may have been the fault of Erie itself. The time of which I am writing was considerably anterior to the rise of Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. The real problem of the time was how to obtain direct connection with the oil field. Then pipe lines existed, if at all, as a dream. Mort M. Moore once stated that he had conceived the idea of pumping oil through pipes from Titusville to Erie, but the people laughed at him. It would have been the salvation of Erie if it had been put into operation. But people had no faith in it. The only plan that commended itself was the building of a railroad. It was feasible. Indeed it was not a very difficult undertaking. A line could have been built from Petroleum Centre to Erie, a distance of only 45 miles, that would have put this city in a commanding position. As a matter of fact the feasibility of the plan was seen and Hon. Morrow B. Lowry proceeded at once to organize a company called the Pennsylvania Petroleum Railroad. The stock was subscribed, the first 10 per cent. was paid in and grading was begun. In Erie excavation of the road bed was pushed up Liberty

street from Eighth to Twenty-sixth street, and work of a similar kind was done on different portions of the surveyed route. Then suddenly the whole project failed. For what reason? Who can tell? Did rival railroad interests interfere to crush the enterprise, or was it for lack of faith by Erie people? Whatever the reason, work stopped and the Pennsylvania Petroleum Railroad died before it even had existence. Meanwhile a direct route between the oil region and Cleveland was established. It was three times as long as the Pennsylvania Petroleum would have been, but it built up an industry that built up Cleveland. It developed a Rockefeller, who in time controlled the entire oil business of the country.

Gradually the refining industry at Erie died out. It was not through the work of the Standard Oil Company either—that is to say, there was no buying up of plants here and closing them. One by one they fell away. It may be true as some say that by this time railroad discrimination was against Erie. It is not to be doubted that there may have been truth in the statement that oil was shipped through Erie from the oil region to Cleveland for less than it would be carried to Erie, for if the Lake Shore Railroad wanted to carry oil at all it would have to do so in competition with the regular Cleveland route. It is said that for a time some refiners had crude oil billed to Cleveland from Bradford and other oil region points and by stopping the cars at Erie by some special arrangement, they succeeded in reducing their freight bills. But there was little of it done, if it was done at all. Finally, in the '70s the last of them went under. They were the refineries of David T. Jones and W. J. Watkins. The story of the oil industry was closed.

Today we can appreciate what might have been. Possibly if there had been more faith and energy and enterprise—if Erie people had had the courage to dare, and mayhap to hazard, there would have been Rockefellers right here. Forty-five miles of railroad might have made many Erie millionaires and built a city of hundreds of thousands—if the people had but risen to the occasion. But they did not, and oil refining is now among Erie's vanquished industries.

And there was another industry, dependent upon oil production, which once thrived in Erie, but is now no more. That was the manufacture of oil barrels. For a time it was of great importance, and large plants gave employment to many men. There were two of especially large proportions. One was located at the harbor, on Front street, between State and French, operated by Finn & Stearns. Another stood on the east side of the canal against the Sixth street bridge. This was the Selden & Bliss factory. There was a third at about the corner of Sixteenth and Sassafras streets, the property of Heitzman & Liebel. I cannot tell what the output of these several

cooperages amounted to during the hey-dey of their existence, but it was very large. The barrels were made of oak with glued seams, and they found a market not only in Erie, but throughout the oil region. It was no uncommon thing for an Erie refiner to give an order for hundreds of barrels at a time, and the constantly increasing demand which made it impossible with hand work to keep up with orders resulted in the installation of machines which took the place of many coopers.

Of course, with the decline of the refining industry in Erie the cooperages suffered. But there were other influences at work. Competition, of course, arose and interfered with the outside market, but in time there came a revolution in methods. Tank cars and pipe lines gave the coup de grace to the oil barrel industry. The Erie factories, however, did not live long enough for that. In 1866, or about then, the organization of the Erie City Iron Works took Selden & Bliss from wood working into the iron trade and they became successors in direct line of the New Furnace, and by steady advance grew to be what this great industry is today. Finn & Stearns survived but a short time.

There are other vanished industries, such for example as the manufacture of starch in which Richard Gaggin was the head, and of woolen cloth (I need not tell about making of hoop-skirts). Each might deserve a chapter. Meanwhile it is worth considering that the people of Erie are rather more interested in securing new and the enlargement of the present industries than in what was, and it is gratifying to note that the prospects ahead are very rosy indeed. Might-have-been is very well, and retrospection is useful in its way. As a rule Erie of today is looking ahead.

For more than thirty years one of the leading industries in Erie, and among the most prosperous was that of the Burdett Organ Co., manufacturers of parlor organs. The acquisition of this industry for Erie was one of the most picturesque in its details of any incident in the history of manufacturing in Erie. The Burdett organ was developed by Riley Burdett, was built in Chicago, and the Burdett Celeste organ advertised in nearly every publication in the land, was known from one end of the country to the other. The factory was destroyed in the great fire at Chicago in 1871. Immediately Prescott Metcalf of Erie got into communication with the burned out Burdett people and made a proposition, which was accepted with the provision that a new shop be built at once. Not an hour's time was wasted. A new company was organized; work was begun on the new building and, notwithstanding the winter season, operations continued even through zero weather, which compelled the masons to keep fires going on their

mortar boards to keep the mortar from freezing. The four-story building was completed early in 1872; in six months' time the force transplanted from Chicago, was at work in Erie. More than one fortune was made out of the Burdett organ factory, which was closed in 1875, when the short-lived Burdett Piano Co. was organized. The old factory gave place in 1907 to an enlargement of the Malleable Iron Works.

In the manufacture of bicycles Erie held a very important position during several years of the period when the popularity of this vehicle was at its height. The Black Manufacturing Co. was organized in 1894 and began the manufacture of the Tribune bicycle. It was from the beginning classed among those of the highest grade, and the business grew with rapidity. Large brick shops were erected on the corner of Liberty and Nineteenth streets, and hundreds of men found steady employment, for the product of the factory found ready sale. In the year 1899, however, there came the organization of what was popularly called the bicycle trust, and of this the Black Mfg. Co. became a part. Within a year the business of manufacturing bicycles in Erie had about come to a close, saved from utter extinction by the Roths, who continued their Pennsylvania bicycle shop, until their automobile business interfering with it in Erie, the "wheels" were made elsewhere.

Other Erie industries, prominent for a time, that have been abandoned, are the Oliver & Bacon flouring mills, the Erie Torsion Spring Co., the Forsyth scale works, the Bauschard planing mills, the Olds and the Gunnison wooden pump manufactories, the malt industry begun by Alfred King in the forties and developed to its height by the Weschlers; the Shaw Piano Co., and the Taper Sleeve Pulley works.

CHAPTER XI.—BUSINESS AFFAIRS.

BOARD OF TRADE AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.—BANKS, OLD AND NEW.—MERCHANTS, EARLY AND LATE.

For nearly seventy years Erie merchants and manufacturers conducted their business affairs entirely independent of one another, and with no regard whatever to general results nor to the welfare of the community at large. Enterprises originated, to be sure, and were forwarded, not a few with success, but there had never been an organization that afforded an opportunity for men to get together to discuss matters of general interest and devise plans for improvements in business or in public matters. In 1874, however, a number of the leading men got together and decided to form an association which, if it did nothing more, would enable its members to occasionally touch elbows and gather together facts with relation to the business of the city that at least would be informing, even if it did not suggest new avenues for business or industry that might be opened. And so the Board of Trade was formed. A lease was made for a suite of rooms on the second floor of the Opera House building on North Park Row, and the Board was organized with William L. Scott as president and John J. Wadsworth as secretary, and about ninety members, including the leading business men of the time. It soon came to be that whatever of a character to interest or affect the city came forward, the Board of Trade took it up in some way or another, at least to the extent of informally discussing it as the members sat around the tables of the board rooms. The city was really benefited from the start by the organization of the Board of Trade.

The first project of any weight to have the attention of the Board was the railroad proposition that after a few meetings blossomed out into the Erie Southern Railroad Company. For many years Erie believed it wanted, and thought it needed, a line of railroad to connect with the New York & Erie, or the Atlantic & Great Western, as it was then called, and the scheme that came up during the beginning of the Board of Trade's career was to effect the building of a branch road from Erie to Mill Village. The company organized and received subscriptions, and part of the money subscribed was paid in, but the

project failed before long, for reasons that at the time appeared good and sufficient. The Board of Trade, however, long ago justified its existence, and became in a multitude of ways useful to the city of Erie. The annual compilation of facts pertaining to the business of the city was, from the very start, popular, and always regarded as highly beneficial. It was looked upon as the periodical reading of the business pulse, and, being perfectly reliable, the greatest dependence was put in it.

The Board remained but a short time in the Opera House building, changing to a store room in the Reed House. This was found to be not altogether suitable, so that when Rosenzweig's block was transformed into the Exchange building, in 1886, a suite of rooms on the second floor of the State street front were taken and furnished. After nine years the board of trade, carried by the tide of business farther up town, became quartered on the second floor of the Penn building that, in 1895, had been reconstructed out of the Noble block. There have been many presidents of the Board of Trade, as many as the years of its existence, for it has been a rule to have this honor passed around. But there have been only two who filled the office of secretary, John J. Wadsworth, elected at the beginning, and continued until advanced to the post of president in 1881, when Douglas Benson was elected and has been secretary ever since.

The Erie Chamber of Commerce was launched March 6, 1902. The originators of this body were James M. Sherwin, Fred. L. Cleveland and F. S. Phelps, who got their heads together one evening and agreed in a week to have a meeting, at which there should be, besides themselves, three persons invited by each. This dozen met on the date appointed, talked the matter over and on March 6, 1902, there was given at the Reed House a Greater Erie dinner, at which 260 sat down. It was a spirited affair, especially the talk-fest after the eating was over. Mr. Sherwin gave an outline of the plans. Mayor Hardwick spoke on "The Needs of the Hour"; D. W. Harper spoke on "The Councils"; George B. Taylor discussed the prospective "Boys' Club," and other speakers were C. F. Hummel, H. N. Fleming, William Walker, William E. Hayes, Willis Brown, Ernst R. Behrend, Joseph B. Campbell, W. P. Gifford and G. W. Brown. The organization of the Chamber of Commerce then was effected by the election of these directors: J. M. Sherwin, J. W. Hardwick, W. J. Stern, Frank D. Schultz, F. L. Cleveland, George W. Brown, C. H. Kessler, M. Liebel, Jr., J. B. Arbuckle, D. W. Harper, E. A. Davis, Henry E. Fish, F. S. Phelps. The board of directors elected J. M. Sherwin president and J. B. Arbuckle treasurer. Subsequently John T. Brew was chosen as secretary. The same year, 1902, the Chamber of Commerce was incorporated.

The place of meeting was on the third floor of the Marks building, which contained a large hall for the general and public gatherings, and business proceeded with a quickstep movement. From the committees' reports and the president's annual message at the end of the first year, a summary showed that the following matters and things had been taken up and moved forward, some of them to accomplishment: A proposal or plan for a sewage disposal and filtration plant, by Mr. Behrend. That from the L. S. & M. S. Railroad privileges had been secured by which Erie passengers might be taken on the 6 o'clock west-bound train, including chair car and buffet privileges. That these conventions had been secured: Odd Fellows, Democratic State Convention, Pennsylvania Press Association, State Bar Association, League of Republican Clubs, Hibernian Convention, Teachers' Convention, Paper-makers; while the State Firemen's Convention had been secured for the next year. The improvement of Cascade Park had been secured. There had been a fitting celebration of the Fourth of July. Others matters begun were: For manual training in the schools; good roads; East Side improvement. A recommendation made was to secure the location in Erie of a blast furnace.

It was a busy year, but interest continued right along, each succeeding annual meeting bristling with reports of business accomplished. The membership grew steadily until it had reached the 1,000 mark. Mr. Brew was succeeded in turn by R. H. Arbuckle, Frank McSparren, H. T. Leasure and the present secretary, Jacob Umnitz. In 1906 two store rooms in the Reed House were taken and the old dining room of the hotel was converted into an assembly hall in which meetings and expositions are held. Among the things accomplished, to the credit of the chamber of commerce, are these: The Perry Iron Co.'s blast furnace plant completed in 1907. The new public steamboat landing at the foot of State street, built by the state and dedicated June 24, 1909. Public playgrounds established, the first one opened in 1908 and the second in 1909. Regular calls at Erie by the Cleveland and Buffalo line of passenger steamers. Besides, work has been begun to secure the abolition of telegraph poles, a chamber of commerce building, the abolition of grade crossings by the railroads, and public comfort stations.

The Erie Business Men's Exchange was chartered October 8, 1900. It was created for the encouragement and protection of trade and commerce, the exchange of useful information, and mutual protection in regulating credits. Its first directors were W. E. Hayes, A. M. Howes, E. A. Davis, E. J. Riblet, P. A. Meyer, L. H. Russell, Conrad Fleckinger, J. H. Birkenkamp and A. H. Knoll.

The Erie Builders' Exchange was incorporated May 2, 1901. Its purpose is the encouragement and protection of trade and commerce;

the exchange of useful information, views and sentiments, and the cultivation of agreeable business relations among those who may become members. The directors under the charter were Charles E. Shenk, George B. McIntyre, P. F. Rastatter, Jacob Malthaner, H. P. Weller, E. R. Carroll, A. Schroeck, James B. Yard, Henry C. Dunn, Robert T. Shank, U. S. Swiegard, John O. Jones, E. W. Constable.

The Retail Merchants' Association of Pennsylvania was organized at Reading in 1899, its declared objects being: To maintain a state association and organize and unite organizations and individual retail merchants, and assist in furthering the aims sought to be accomplished; to reform trade abuses; to disseminate useful information; to influence legislation in the interests of retail merchants; to secure reasonable transportation charges; to assist in the collection of debts; to cultivate a feeling of fraternity among business men; to raise the standards of business methods; to assist in furthering such aims and objects as may hereafter be deemed desirable for the best interests of the retail merchant. Since its organization Archie M. Howes of Erie has been secretary of the association, with offices in the Lincoln building, this city. Connected with this association is the Retailers' Mutual Fire Insurance Co., of which A. M. Howes is also secretary, with his office in Erie. The insurance company was organized in 1903.

In July, 1906, the South Erie Improvement Association was organized. On July 4th of that year the South Erie branch postoffice had been dedicated with considerable ceremony, and that acquisition by the southern part of the city suggested an effort toward the betterment of that section, and a meeting of business men was called which resulted in organizing. The first officers were Morris Schaffner, president; Charles Nick and August H. Schaper, vice-presidents; E. E. Bennett, secretary, and John P. Lorei, treasurer. The declared purposes of the association were, the advancement of the southern section as a part of the city at large, and the motto adopted was "Erie Always." The most important improvement desired was the abolition of the railroad grade crossings, in which, through the prompting of ex-Judge J. B. Cessna, a later officer, aggressive action has been taken.

The first banking enterprise organized here was the Erie Bank, incorporated by the state legislature in 1828, business begun in 1829, with a capital of $50,000. Rufus S. Reed was president; P. S. V. Hamot, cashier; J. A. Tracy, Chas. M. Reed, Samuel Brown, William Fleming, Thomas Moorhead, E. D. Gunnison and D. Gillespie directors. The bank suspended in 1848, but the losses were small, as Rufus S. Reed discounted the notes.

The United States Bank of Philadelphia established an Erie branch in 1836, with Thomas H. Sill as president, Peter Benson cashier;

Josiah Kellogg, C. M. Reed, William Kelley, G. A. Eliot, Samuel Hays, William Fleming, J. G. Williams and H. J. Huidekoper directors. The marble building now known as the Old Custom House was erected for the bank in 1837. Upon the failure of the parent institution the Erie Bank went down, and W. C. Curry was appointed to wind up its affairs. In 1849 the building that had cost $70,000 was sold to the United States government for $29,000, and the cashier's residence for $4,000, less than half its cost.

The Erie City Bank was incorporated in 1852, but suspended in 1857. Smith Jackson was president; J. P. Sherwin, cashier; S. E. Neiler, teller; Bruce Cameron (son of Gen. Simon Cameron), bookkeeper; C. M. Tibbals, W. A. Brown, D. S. Clark, C. Siegel, John Brawley, James Webster, J. H. Fullerton, Ira Sherwin, J. D. Clark, Charles Brandes and J. C. Beebe, directors.

The Bank of Commerce was opened in 1858 and closed in 1860. Benjamin Grant was its president; C. B. Wright, vice-president; G. J. Ball, cashier; A. W. Guild, teller; W. F. Rindernecht, James Hoskinson, B. F. Sloan, Charles Metcalf, A. W. Blaine, G. F. King and J. W. Douglass, directors.

For a period of three years there was no bank of issue in Erie, the business being done by private firms. W. C. Curry, M. Sanford & Co., Vincent, Bailey & Co., Clark & Metcalf and Neiler & Warren, established as bankers and brokers at various earlier dates, filled the gap between the state banks and the national banks, the latter, in fact, being but an enlargement of the scope of as many of the private banking firms that have been named.

The First National Bank organized in February, 1863, with a capital of $150,000, was the twelfth bank in the United States to receive a charter under the act of Congress creating national banks. The real beginning of the First National, however, was the founding of the firm of M. Sanford & Co., private bankers, in 1852. The first president of the First National was Judah C. Spencer, a member of the firm just named from the beginning, and the first cashier, Myron Sanford. In February, 1883, the bank was re-organized with J. C. Spencer, president; J. L. Sternberg, cashier, and William Spencer, C. M. Reed, Matthew Griswold, Wm. E. Marvin, Thomas C. Wood and J. L. Sternberg, directors. J. C. Spencer died in 1885, and was succeeded by his son, William Spencer, who has been president ever since. From its organization until 1886, the bank was located in the Reed House block, corner of South Park Row and French street, when it was removed to 717 State street into a handsome new building erected for its use. This was subsequently enlarged, by extending the building to cover No. 715 State street, and again, in 1908, when an addition was made in the rear to accommodate a large modern vault that had been provided. The latest reorganization was on July 8, 1902, when

the officers were William Spencer, president; J. L. Sternberg, vice-president; John R. McDonald, cashier, and William Spencer, J. L. Sternberg, James McBrier, C. L. Spencer, T. W. Shacklett, Frank H. Payne and John R. McDonald, directors.

The Second National Bank, organized December 12, 1864, with a capital of $300,000, was the successor of W. C. Curry, private banker, who had been doing business since the failure of the United States bank. The first officers were William L. Scott, president; Joseph McCarter, vice-president, and W. C. Curry, cashier. Mr. Curry lost his life February 6, 1871, in a railroad accident at New Hamburg, on the Hudson river, and was succeeded by C. F. Allis as cashier. Mr. Scott was succeeded as president in 1882 by Joseph McCarter; he by D. D. Tracy in 1896, and upon a reorganization the officers were, F. W. Wallace, president; C. F. Allis, vice-president; Harry J. Leslie, cashier, and the directors at the present time are, M. H. Taylor, C. F. Allis, John W. Walker, Alex Jarecki, F. M. Wallace, Frank Gunnison, R. W. Potter, E. G. Germer, Frank Connell, G. R. Metcalf, H. J. Leslie. The bank located at the corner of State and Eighth streets in 1868, and subsequently enlarged its quarters, by additions, both on State and on Eighth streets.

The Keystone National Bank was chartered in the fall of 1864, with a paid-up capital of $250,000, Orange Noble being its first president and John J. Town cashier. In 1866 the building at the northeast corner of State and Eighth street was erected, and immediately upon its completion became the office of the bank. Mr. Town, the original cashier, removed to Des Moines, Iowa, in 1871, and was succeeded by his brother, J. I. Town. The bank was reorganized in 1884, upon the renewal of its charter, when the capital stock was reduced to $150,000. In 1893 Mr. Town resigned as cashier and was succeeded by F. V. Kepler, with F. M. Lamb as assistant. The bank suspended in 1897, and Frank M. Hayes was appointed receiver.

The Marine National Bank was organized March 9, 1865, and was the successor of Vincent, Bailey & Co.'s banking house (organized the latter part of the fifties), opening for business at the corner of State street and North Park Row, in the Rosenzweig block, now the Exchange building, where it continues to do business until the present time. The first officers were B. B. Vincent, president, and F. P. Bailey, cashier. Mr. Vincent died in 1867 and was succeeded by James C. Marshall, C. E. Gunnison at that time becoming assistant cashier. Mr. Marshall died in 1886, and was succeeded by his son, F. F. Marshall. Mr. Bailey died in 1888, and was succeeded by C. E. Gunnison as cashier. On the death of Mr. Marshall, Charles E. Gunnison was elected president, and his son, Harry Gunnison, was promoted to cashier, a position he held until his death in 1902, when William E. Beckwith was promoted from assistant to cashier, which position he

has held until the present, save a period from 1904 to 1905, when Glenn C. Page was cashier. Mr. Gunnison died September 5, 1909, and was succeeded by William B. Trask as president, the other officers remaining as before: Henry Beckman, vice-president; W. E. Beckwith, cashier; Henry Beckman, W. B. Trask, W. J. Hostettler, H. L. Moore, C. L. Thompson and R. E. Clemens, directors.

On April 16, 1866, the Erie Dime Savings & Loan Company was chartered by special act of the legislature, and fully organized June 8, 1867, with Selden Marvin as president and John H. Bliss as secretary. These officers resigned in April, 1868, when L. L. Lamb was chosen president, George W. Colton secretary and treasurer, and Selden Marvin attorney. The office of the company was in the basement of the Keystone bank building until 1876, when it moved into the new building erected for its use on the site of the old American Hotel, corner of North Park and State streets. Mr. Lamb resigned as president December 8, 1873, and was succeeded by William A. Galbraith. Mr. Colton was followed as secretary and treasurer by George E. Barger, and he by F. F. Curtze, who, in turn, was succeeded by F. H. Schutte. In 1902 the bank was reorganized under the name of the Erie Trust Co., under a state charter dated August 25 of that year, with J. F. Downing as president; F. H. Schutte, secretary and treasurer; F. E. Mosher, assistant treasurer, and J. F. Downing, Davenport Galbraith, F. H. Schutte, H. L. Moore (all of Erie), Joseph A. Langfitt, Roland H. Smith, Jr., and Charles L. Netting (all of Pittsburg), directors.

The private banking firm of Ball & Colt was organized in July, 1867, and successfully conducted business until 1908, when the death of Mr. George P. Colt, the surviving partner, brought it to a close. Mr. P. H. Ball, who died in April, 1907, at the age of 94 years, was believed to be the oldest man in the state actively engaged in business. The capital of the firm was $50,000, and no financial concern ever held the confidence of the people in greater degree. For many years Mr. Colt was treasurer of the school board. Upon the death of Mr. Colt, November 5, 1908, John S. Goodwin was appointed, with Otto A. Koenig, bookkeeper of the bank, to close up the business, which was successfully accomplished within a year of the closing of the bank.

The Security Savings and Trust Co. was chartered October 3, 1903, with Robert J. Moorhead, president; W. C. Culbertson and E. D. Carter, vice-presidents; A. B. McDonald, secretary and treasurer, and E. D. Carter, R. J. Moorhead, W. C. Culbertson, A. W. Walker, Isaac Baker, M. Liebel, Jr., and W. J. Sands, Jr., directors. The quarters occupied by the old Keystone National Bank, at State and Eighth streets, were fitted up for this new banking institution, and business began with immediate evidences of popular favor.

The People's Bank of Erie was chartered by the Commonwealth in October, 1905, with a capital of $200,000, and the following officers: John W. Little, president; Byron A. Walker, vice-president; Glenn C. Page, cashier. The first board of directors were: John W. Little, Hon. A. L. Bates, Z. T. Brindley, W. S. Calderwood, F. L. Cleveland, O. E. Crouch, J. Davis, E. J. Howard, J. C. Hoffstetter, J. Miles Hall, Maxwell G. Mayo, H. A. Niemeyer, M. W. Shreve, Benj. J. Walker, Byron A. Walker. A handsome banking office was fitted out at Nos. 811-13 State street, in the Penn building, and from the start it was favored with evidences of public confidence.

In February, 1903, the bankers of Erie organized a clearing house for the better dispatch of business, a provision to meet what had, in this instance, been a "long felt want." The first officers were, C. F. Allis, chairman; John R. McDonald, manager.

Banks organized under state charters that have failed within comparatively recent years are: The German Savings Institution, incorporated in 1867 with $200,000 capital, that erected the building now occupied by the Western Union Telegraph Company, but which failed in 1885; The Humboldt Safe Deposit & Trust Co., which did business from July, 1869, at the corner of State and Ninth streets, but became insolvent in 1885, and the Erie County Savings Bank, Fourteen and Peach streets, organized in 1871, but failed in 1884.

The Erie County Mutual Fire Insurance Company was incorporated March 26, 1839, and continues to do business.

The Farmers' Mutual Insurance Co. of Harborcreek, was chartered May 6, 1857. Under its charter it was required to have $100,000 of insurance before issuing any policies. This condition was complied with, so that in August, 1858, the first fire insurance policy was written. In 1894 the company decided to accept risks on town and city property, and this business policy continues, the company being regarded as sound and solvent.

The German Insurance Company, organized in 1867, and the Alps Insurance Co., founded in 1868, were both stock companies, and started life with high prospects. Both failed in 1874, due to losses incurred principally in the conflagrations of a few years previous at Chicago and Boston.

It would be an endless task to give anything like a detailed history of the mercantile enterprises of Erie, many of them important in their day and the source of wealth to those engaged, the great majority long since gone out of existence. Nor is it possible in the space available in a single book to even give a list of the merchants of today—that, the annual directory will furnish. But there are some mercantile houses that, still prominent in business affairs, have a history worth

glancing at, and those that have endured for thirty years or more are entitled to place. The only reliable source of information is the city directory, but that, extending no further into the past than 1853, after all, puts an unfair limit upon some.

An example of this is found in the business of the Erhart Saddlery house. It was founded by Stephen Erhart. He was one of the first German immigrants to Erie—came here in 1832—and it is reasonable to presume, embarked in business not long afterwards. He was among the leading merchants in 1853, and the business is still continued without a break, by Joseph Erhart.

The next oldest house in Erie is Warner Brothers. In the case of this also the date of the beginning is in the hazy past. The tangible beginning was in the firm of Cadwell & Bennett, that in 1853, in the Empire Stores, now Isaac Baker & Son's block, sold dry goods, hardware and crockery. In 1853 W. S. and Edwin Warner were clerks in that store. In 1857 the successors were Griswold, Warner & Co. In 1860 W. A. Griswold succeeded, moving to the Moore building, where Henry Beckman & Son's grocery now is. In 1861 John Moore succeeded and in 1862 Wm. Bell, the Warners serving as clerks. In 1864 the firm of Bell & Warner was formed and in 1867 Warner Brothers, which has been the name of the firm ever since, their location gradually moving uptown from the "Marble Front" to Tenth and State streets.

The name of Walther has been as long on the business rolls. Jacob F. Walther in 1853 began in the American Hotel building—where the Erie Trust Co.'s building now stands—and in 1867 was moved into the Walther block at Eighth and State. In 1871 F. G. Walther was a partner until 1875 when he set up for himself in the Noble block, and his brother took for a partner Emil Streuber. F. G. Walther moved to Peach street above the railroad in 1877, and died in 1899, but the business is continued by his daughters.

Valentine Ulrich began the harness and saddlery business in South Erie in 1860.

The Mayo house, in the same line of business, was begun in 1861 by Lantz & Mayo, and continued by Henry Mayo in 1862, Maxwell G. Mayo of the present time being the successor of his father.

In 1853 William F. Rindernecht was in the grocery business at Fifth and State streets, and in 1865 took Henry Beckman as a partner. In 1867 Henry Beckman succeeded to the business, which continues to this day, the present firm Henry Beckman & Son.

The business now conducted by John Shields, over in Jerusalem, is the legitimate continuation of that begun on the Public dock before 1853 by Jacob Dreisigaker. Removed to Fourth and Myrtle, in the seventies, it was turned over to his son-in-law, F. A. Sawdey, who

admitted John Shields as a partner, and he became sole proprietor on Mr. Sawdey's death.

P. A. Becker engaged in the grocery business in an old frame building at the corner of Sixth and French streets in 1854. It was the southern boundary of Cheapside, and having one of the town pumps before the door, was an excellent stand for a grocery. A brick building replaced the old one in 1871, but from 1854 to the present the name over the door is P. A. Becker, his sons Emil and Otto continuing the business.

In 1856 Neuberger & Baker were clothing merchants in Brown's Hotel building, but in 1860, Mr. Neuberger having retired, B. Baker continued the business, and when the Cadwell building, the Empire Block, was vacated, he became its owner. His son Isaac became his partner (J. Ostheimer for a time was also a partner) and upon his death Isaac succeeded. Now Isaac Baker and his son Alfred continue the business founded in 1856.

Peter Minnig began business as a retail grocer in 1857, and for a time had a store at the outlet lock of the canal. For a while John Banyard, an Englishman, was his partner in Wright's block, but in 1865 he engaged in the wholesale grocery business at 419 State street, where the P. Minnig Company is still located.

In 1861 Herman T. Jarecki began business as a jeweler, the partner of A. Drodzewski, which has been continued since about 1864 by Mr. Jarecki himself.

William Nick, a graduate of Dr. Carter's drug store, began business for himself at Seventh and State streets in 1862 and to this day there is a Nick's drug store in Erie, conducted now by William F. Nick, his son.

The Carter drug business has been conducted in Erie ever since this became a chartered city. Dr. J. S. Carter had for a time as a partner J. B. Carver, and in 1883 G. W. Brown was associated with him. When Dr. Carter retired, two years later, Mr. Brown succeeded to the business but at length gave it up to engage exclusively in the manufacture of the Doctor's medicines, which he continues to the present, in the Carter building on North Park Row.

J. F. Decker, long the leading grocer on West Eighteenth street, began business in 1860, and the Decker stores, still doing business, are under the management of his son, Charles F. Decker.

Jacob Strauss was a merchant in 1862. His sons are still clothing merchants on State street.

A. J. Mayer & Sons came into existence as a firm in 1895, but the house is the legitimate successor of C. Engelhart, begun in 1865, Mr. Mayer the senior, becoming a partner of Mr. Engelhart in 1867.

Christian Kessler first engaged in business at Fourth and State streets, the present Kessler store, in 1865.

The real estate business of W. P. Hayes & Son began in 1865, under the name of Hayes & Keplar.

The Dickinson drug store of the present dates from 1866 when Dr. S. Dickinson & Son opened in the Perry Block.

A. Simon, clothier, began in 1867.

Sell's bookstore was opened in 1868 by May & Sell, and continued under Mr. Sell's management to 1909, when J. Marcus Stearns became proprietor.

The firm of Marks & Meyer began business in 1868, and the partnership, continued until 1883, when, upon dissolution, C. S. Marks and P. A. Meyer engaged separately as clothing merchants.

Solomon Loeb, jeweler, first began business in one of the small stores of the original Wittich block, in 1868.

Byron A. Smith started in business at the corner of Eighteenth and Peach streets in 1874.

John C. Mackintosh, the druggist, opened at 730 State street in 1879.

The firm of Trost & Lacey dates from 1904, but the business was begun by J. Adam Eichenlaub in 1867 on Ninth street between German and Parade. A year later he was at 628 State street; in 1878 he built at 828 State and removed there; in 1895 admitted Mr. Trost as a partner, and upon his retirement the present firm was organized.

The Jacob Haller wholesale grocery house began in 1873, when Minnig & Haller opened a retail store at 624 State. In 1874, having parted company with Mr. Minnig, he opened at 1235 State street, and, in 1887, occupying his own building, 1225 State, worked into the wholesale business now under the management of his son, C. J. Haller.

The C. A. Curtze wholesale grocery house was begun in the Becker building on Cheapside by Curtze & Rice in the year 1878. Burned out when the Mayer block was destroyed by fire in 1908, the new fire-proof building on Sassafras street was begun in 1909.

J. G. Krug began business in 1878 on Parade street as the partner of J. A. Eichenlaub (the latter had been in the shoe business from 1867), but in 1879 Mr. Krug, upon the dissolution of the partnership, became sole proprietor. He is one of the oldest and leading merchants on the street, and probably has been longer in business as an individual than any other Erie shoe dealer.

In 1882 J. H. Davie opened a dry goods store at Seventh and State streets which was continued until 1908 when the Davie Dry Goods Co. was formed with E. C. Osborne as manager.

Nathan Cohen began in 1868 as a maker of hoop-skirts; in the seventies dealt in buttons and knick-knacks, as "Cheap John"; in 1880, opened a variety store at 904-906 State and in 1891 occupied his new building 1024-28 State street.

The Trask, Prescott & Richardson Co. dates back to 1868, when Locke & Co. opened at Nos. 6 and 7 Noble block in dry goods and groceries. In 1874, W. B. Trask appeared as partner in dry goods only, and the next year removed to 817-19 State street. In 1878 Mr. Locke retired and the firm became Trask & Prescott, and in 1887 Trask, Prescott & Richardson. Upon the completion of the Downing building in 1892, the firm moved to the corner of Ninth street, and in 1902 the Trask, Prescott & Richardson Co. was chartered.

The Boston Store came to Erie in 1884, when Mellon, Elliott & Quigley opened at No. 1604 Peach street. The firm came from Rochester, New York, but failing to make good, the business was taken over by Sibley, Lindsay & Curr, the principles, who placed E. H. Mack, Jr., in charge. In 1887 the management was in the name of Mack, Humburch & Corbett, who took the store No. 718 State street, in the Olds block, that had just been vacated by Warner Brothers. In 1889 the managing firm was Mack, Spittal & Roy, and in 1890, Mack and Spittal, which has continued up to the present time. In 1902 the management was incorporated under the name of The Erie Dry Goods Co., with E. H. Mack as president, and Robert Spittal, treasurer. Meanwhile the business had grown so that it fronted upon State, Seventh and Eighth streets, including new buildings built and purchased.

Other merchants who have been in business for 35 years or more are R. Beer, Sixteenth and Sassafras; Wm. Beckman, Fourth and Cascade; John Demuling, West Twelfth; Jacob Fritz, Peach and Seventeenth; Blass Brothers, and A. Foht—organized as Melzer & Foht.

CHAPTER XII.—ELECTRICITY ENTERS.

When the Telephone Came.—Rival Interests.—Mutual Company Chartered.—Electric Light Companies and Manufactories.

The culminating discovery of the Nineteenth century (perhaps it should be said, series of discoveries) was that which led up to the management and utilization of the force or energy we know as electricity, so that it could be applied to the useful arts. The electric telegraph was in use for a long time before it came to be appreciated that out of the same force there might be derived light, of a degree of fixedness sufficient to be serviceable as an illuminant. And when the announcement was made that by the aid of electricity and wires it was possible, by the use of an instrument, for two individuals widely separated to converse, there were more skeptics than believers. It is interesting to know, or be informed, that Erie was among the first communities on the continent to become believers in all the innovations in which electricity played a part—for the transmission of speech, for lighting, and for supplying power, either by stationary motors or for vehicles—for Erie was among the very first to have practical demonstration, and that in a matter of business. In the chapter on the trolley car service the facts with relation to that particular application of electricity to the needs of the age are set forth.

The telephone came in at the beginning of the last quarter of the Nineteenth century. It was a novelty about which the people had begun to talk during Centennial year. In 1878 a telephone company was organized in Erie. It was one of the first companies formed in the world in that interest—perhaps there were not more than three or four earlier telephone companies in existence when that of Erie was formed. The real beginnings of the telephone in Erie were in the efforts put forth by George W. Moore, at the time employed as telegraph line repairer for the Pennsylvania Railroad. Let it be stated right here, that then, as now, there was telephone rivalry. It appeared that two men or more had independently invented the instrument, and directly afterwards there were set up priority claims, contentions about infringement of patents, and disputes about proprietary rights. All of these came into Erie with the telephone. Mr. Moore's connec-

tion was with the Gray and Edison telephone, and the development of his business in Erie was by the American District Telegraph Co. There was an organization under this name in Erie that included in its membership William Spencer of the First National Bank, Charles M. Reed, George W. Moore and others, and the Western Union Telegraph Company was also interested. About the same time the Bell interest obtained a footing through J. S. Scobell, then superintendent of telegraph for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at Erie, who was made agent of the Bell Telephone Company for the counties of Erie and Warren in Pennsylvania and Ashtabula in Ohio. Both companies proceeded with installation as rapidly as the circumstances would allow.

The telephone of that day, compared with what is now in use, was a crude affair. The receiver and transmitter were not then separate, the telephone being passed from ear to lips during conversation, and, the application of the current being then of a rudimentary character, with no devices to overcome induction from contiguous wires, the service obtained left a good deal to be desired. Moreover, the best that could then be done was to connect two points on one wire and these stood independent and alone. Mr. Scobell relates that when he undertook to interest the late Capt. J. S. Richards in the telephone, the Captain very promptly declined, saying he had no use for such a toy—and it is interesting, also, to relate that when Mr. Spencer, of the other local company, writing to his business correspondents in London, stated that he was engaged in introducing the telephone, so that conversations might be had with people at a distance, received a reply almost identical with that of Capt. Richards, the statement being that the telephone could never be anything more than a toy.

However, the business went on in Erie, and here there was a remarkable thing occurred. Mr. Moore was a practical electrician. He was at the head of the A. D. T. Co.'s business, and in his office, where the few telephone lines of the day centered, conceived the idea of effecting connections between two separate lines, and successfully carried the idea into practice. In short, he really invented the telephone exchange. It was a device until that time unknown to either of the parent companies; at least, it was no part of any equipment or system provided by those higher up; but, once it was introduced at Erie, it quickly became known and was immediately adopted. In Erie it was a considerable while later before the Bell interest established an exchange, although Mr. Scobell, as the agent or manager of the Bell Telephone Co. established exchanges at Warren and Corry.

After a time the Bell interests set about supplanting the other company in Erie. The stockholders in the A. D. T. Co. were induced to dispose of their holdings, and Mr. Scobell also yielded to circumstances that had arisen and was succeeded by men who had come on

from New England to develop the business of the Bell Telephone Co. He was not out of the telephone business, however, but, becoming connected with another company, served for years as president of what came to be known as the Union Telephone & Telegraph Co. The Bell Telephone Company immediately set about establishing itself. As rapidly as improvements were made in the instruments and apparatus they were introduced in Erie; an exchange was established in the Noble block (it is now the Penn building) and patronage increased.

This condition of affairs obtained until 1897, when, the belief being prevalent that the charges were too high, a company was formed to enter the telephone business, and it was chartered as the Mutual Telephone Company, in February, 1897, with these directors: F. F. Adams, William Hardwick, W. B. Trask, J. F. Downing and J. P. Metcalf. P. H. Adams, of Baltimore, was called in consultation and in the early fall of 1897 work was begun on the construction of the Mutual Telephone Co.'s exchange, W. S. Paca, of Baltimore, being consulting engineer and John Z. Miller, also of Baltimore, engineer in charge of installation. In November, 1897, the first subscribers were connected up with a 400-drop switch board that had been set up in the company's exchange on the fourth floor of the Downing building. In six months an additional 400-drop board was installed, and in April, 1899, the capacity was increased to 1,000.

On the first of November, 1899, ground was broken for the Mutual Telephone Co.'s building on Ninth street east of State, and the building was finished, with a multiple switch board for 2,000 telephones, and with the subscribers all cut over on October 27, 1900. Eventually the capital stock was increased to $500,000 and the capacity of the exchange to 6,400 telephones, the building having been enlarged in the meantime so as to afford accommodations for whatever increase might be demanded in years to come. In addition to all these increases and enlargements there had come improvements in the instruments and apparatus, bringing about better service and more satisfactory results.

During all this time the rival company was not idle. The advancements in electrical science were not unknown to the Bell people nor refused to their patrons. A fine new exchange building was erected on Ninth street between State and French streets and pay stations in every section of the city extended the convenience of telephony to transients, whoever or wherever they might be.

Let it not be understood as vainglorious boasting when a statement is made in this work that Erie, in new inventions or new discoveries, has always been among the leaders. It is only a statement of fact when such an assertion is made, and the dates will serve to verify the statements. As it was with the telephone and the trolley

car, so it was with electric lighting: Erie was in line with the very first when lighting by electricity was introduced. Electric lighting followed close on the heels of the telephone. It was at the time when the decade of the seventies was fading into the eighties that a stir was made in the world by the novel and spectacular illumination of the city of Cleveland, effected by the aid of electricity. Numerous lofty masts had been erected from the tops of which were hung groups of lamps that shone out in the darkness of the blue heavens like so many new constellations, and it was said, rather extravagantly, that night had been turned into day in the Forest City. Erie is a neigboring municipality, and Erie came to know about this new illumination in the beginning. The effect was—electrical. At once a number of the most prominent citizens, to whom the subject was broached, decided that Erie could not afford to be behind the times, and prompted chiefly by public spirit formed a company to provide electric lighting for Erie. The company included John C. and George Selden, W. L. Cleveland, George V. Maus, J. F. Downing, Matthew Griswold, C. C. Shirk and others. George V. Maus was president and C. C. Shirk secretary and treasurer. A contract was made with the Brush Electric Co. of Cleveland, and a power plant, consisting of a Ball engine and one dynamo was installed in a corner of the old Erie City Iron Works, at the intersection of Twelfth and State streets. A contract was secured with the city for a limited number of lamps, and these were in due season swung in place and Erie took its place as the second or third city in the country to be supplied with the new method of street lighting.

It was not long before it became evident that the equipment was not equal to the demands, so a power house was erected on or near the side of the railroad between Chestnut and Walnut, probably where the foundry of the Erie Engine Works is now located, and two dynamos instead of one were provided to furnish the current. And so the work of lighting the city proceeded. But an unpleasant feature of the business developed. It was found that the supplies of every kind required were exceedingly expensive, and that, bought from the Brush Co., they cost more than they could be obtained from others. And then another discovery was made: that the Erie company was tied hand and foot to the Brush Co. The contract with the city was at a high figure, but it was, even at that, entirely inadequate to meet the expenses. Even public spirit has its limit, and the limit was reached at length.

Now it was with electric lighting just as it was with the telephone business. There was a rival in the field, and this rival had a decided advantage. By the Brush system the lighting was through the medium of arc lamps, and it was practically useless for commercial purposes or for dwellings, individual converters being required to make it serviceable for house use. On the other hand, the Edison system of

incandescent lamps, with a lower tension current, commended itself where the Brush system was not available. And the Edison system was standing knocking at the door. It did not take long for the Erie pioneer promoters of electric lighting to reach a decision. They had fully made good to the citizens all they had agreed to, and they could not reasonably be expected to continue to reach down into their pockets. When, therefore, they decided to retire, it was a retreat in good order. They disposed of their holdings at a loss of fifty per cent of what had been invested, and cheerfully yielded the ground to their successors.

It was on March 23, 1892, that the original charter to the Erie County Light Company was issued and the names that appear on the charter are R. D. McGonnigle of Allegheny City, S. A. Duncan of Pittsburg, W. B. Rodgers of Allegheny, D. W. Nason, W. E. Hayes, Joseph Henderson and David A. Sawdey of Erie. The Erie gentlemen named above were brought in later, principally to furnish the sinews of war, the incorporators from Pittsburg representing the Brush interest. It was found afterward to be necessary to have a perfecting charter issued, for the reason that the manufacture and sale of electric energy was a new business, and not within the knowledge of those who framed the corporations act of April 29, 1874. The new perfecting charter was granted to the Erie County Light Co. on August 14, 1889, in accordance with the new enabling act of May 8, 1889. This company obtained from the city the necessary franchises for the use of the streets to the extent of erecting poles; and also had a contract awarded for furnishing light to the city. Electric street lighting was then a new thing. There were no precedents—unless the use of towering masts, as had been the case in Cleveland, might be taken as such. It was therefore a sort of makeshift to plant a pole upon each of two diagonally opposite corners and swing a lamp midway. It was crude, but effective, and really became the established method by becoming adopted in most of the cities of the Union. For four years the Erie County Light Co. continued to furnish electricity as an illuminant to the city.

On the 8th of February, 1886, the Edison Electric Light & Power Co. of Erie was chartered by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania by act of April 29, 1874, upon the application of Marius Duvall, Jr., Henry Tibbals, Chas. H. Strong, Henry A. Clark and M. H. Taylor, all of Erie. A perfecting charter was granted the same company by the commonwealth on August 14, 1889, under the act of May 8, 1889. It was the Edison E. L. & P. Co., that, acquiring control of the Erie County Light Co., by the purchase of interests the stockholders in the original electric light company were quite ready to dispose of. On July 12, 1886, the Edison Company bought a piece of land, 50 feet on Peach street by 120 feet deep and erected a central station building on it,

on the east side of Peach street between Tenth and Eleventh, where the first Edison dynamos were installed, run by Ball engines. This Edison Company was one of the first incandescent light companies operated in the world, being fifth or sixth on the list.

After the organization of the Edison Electric Light & Power Co., and the installation of some few incandescent lamps in the stores and houses of Erie, on October 15, 1886, the majority stock of the Erie County Light Co. was purchased by stockholders of the Edison E. L. & P. Co., and, as a matter of economy and convenience, under contract dated October 25, 1887, the two plants were moved together and operated from the central station building of the Edison E. L. & P. Co., on Peach street.

On August 16, 1892, the Edison Electric Light & Power Co. purchased the property on the corner of Twelfth and French streets, formerly owned by the Erie City Iron Works, which had then just been vacated for the new iron works plant on East avenue and the railroad. Previously, however, on June 15, 1891, under temporary lease, the Edison Co. moved into their new quarters at Twelfth and French, where the central station and offices of the company, and the company succeeding by the consolidation and merger of the earlier organizations, have operated ever since.

On May 16, 1892, the Erie County Light Co. was acquired by the Edison Electric Light & Power Co., by purchase of its franchises and property, real, personal and mixed, and became consolidated and merged into the Edison Electric Light & Power Co.

On October 3, 1898, the Erie County Electric Company was chartered to operate an electric light and power plant in Erie county, Pennsylvania, the incorporators being W. C. Readio, William E. Brown, William S. Carroll, William G. Reed and Fred Einfeldt, by application dated September 24, 1898. This Erie County Electric Co., on September 6, 1902, by charter granted October 17, 1902, by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, under the name of the Erie County Electric Company, became merged and consolidated with the Terminal Street Railway Company, a corporation chartered on November 19, 1900, to construct and operate a terminal street railway in the city and county of Erie, Pennsylvania.

On June 13, 1903, the Erie County Electric Company became merged and consolidated with the Edison Electric Light & Power Company under the corporate name of the Erie County Electric Company, which is the corporate name under which all the several light and power companies previously named are now known, the charter being granted by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania on June 30, 1903.

These details are furnished through the kindness of Mr. C. H. Strong, president of the company, and are printed because it seems to be of sufficient importance to know what the legal developments lead-

ing up to the present status have been. Mr. Benj. P. Diffenbaugh, chief engineer at the power station of the Erie County Electric Co., was the first engineer of the Erie County Light Company, and has served from the beginning until the present, and from him have been obtained some interesting facts with reference to first things in electric lighting in Erie. The first president of the Erie County Light Company was W. L. Cleveland; the second, J. C. Selden, and the third George V. Maus. The first power station, in the Erie City Iron Works plant, consisted of one 9x12 engine and another 10x12, with one 30-light Brush dynamo, and one 45-light dynamo. The street lights were first turned on September 2, 1884, and the territory covered was State and French streets from Twelfth to the Parks. The first private lighting was in the stores of James Carney, Frank Neubauer and W. J. Sell. The machinery of the first power station was installed by a Mr. Lewis of the Brush Electric Light Co. In the year 1885 the plant was removed to a building which is now part of the foundry of the Erie Engine Co. In 1887, the plant was moved to Peach street and consolidated with that of the Edison Company.

A second company for the manufacture of electricity was organized in 1894. The Merchants and Manufacturers Electric Light, Heat and Power Company was chartered by the state with E. D. Carter, Louis Streuber, John S. Rilling, E. C. Siegel and J. B. Arbuckle as corporators, and the power plant was established at the foot of French street and immediately equipped. In October of that year the lights were first turned on, and the company having secured a contract to light the city for a term of years, the M. & M. Co. became first known to the citizens in connection with street lighting. However, that was only a part of what the new company purposed doing. Lighting with incandescent lamps was to be a part of the business, as was also the furnishing of power.

In 1896 the Home Heating Company was chartered, the corporators being E. D. Carter, J. S. Rilling, Louis Streuber, C. W. Lawrie and M. J. Campbell. This company was organized to supply steam for heat to business or mercantile buildings and dwellings, and a franchise was obtained that permitted the use of the streets in which to lay pipes. In 1899 the Home Heating Co. was consolidated with the Merchants and Manufacturers Electric Light, Heating and Power Co. under the name of The Erie Company.

About the same time a controlling interest in the Erie Gas Company was purchased by the stockholders in The Erie Company. The Erie Gas Company was organized in 1852 and obtained a state charter in that year, as well as a franchise from the city that enabled it to lay pipes in the city streets. It was also awarded a contract for lighting the streets, upon the agreement that the rate charged would not

be higher than that of any other company performing a similar service in any municipality on the south shore of Lake Erie. In the course of time many amendments were made to the charter in order to meet developments brought about by the constant advances being made in science and business, so that it was kept in line with the progress of the times. While under the control of the company engaged in supplying electricity, however, the Erie Gas Company was maintained as a distinct and separate corporation. In 1906 the shares of the Erie Gas Co. were disposed of to Philadelphia parties, who continued the business of furnishing gas to patrons and are steadily increasing and extending the service.

Meanwhile the use of electricity steadily grew, until in a great measure it has become indispensible. The use of electricity for lighting is well-nigh universal in the business section, not alone in stores and offices, but outside where, in the form of signs and other devices, it plays a prominent and important part in illumination. It has, in the city, displaced the steam engine for power, not alone where a small amount was required, but in many instances in establishments operating large numbers of machines. In the printing houses, and other plants, it has became invaluable because it can be directly connected, doing away with belts and shafting, not only effecting economy but greatly reducing the danger attendant upon the old methods of transmitting power. Electricity is now an important factor in Erie in the operation of some of Erie's largest plants, for the propulsion of machines, the operation of cranes, in the work of hoisting, and on the docks is supplanting many of the old devices by which power is obtained, preferred because it is less cumbersome, and also because it is an ever ready and adequate power.

There has also come to the city of Erie the new lines of manufacture and mercantile trade that are the natural outcome of the use of electricity. The extensive works of the Burke Electric Co., where motors and dynamos of every grade and condition are made and the product of which finds a market anywhere and everywhere in the United States and Canada, have grown from very small beginnings into one of the leading industrial plants in Erie. Out of it has grown another, started by C. J. Sturgeon, who was one of the founders of the present Burke Electric enterprise. This, known as the Federal Electric Co., occupied the old Canal Mills on Myrtle street for several years, but removed to North Girard in 1906, where it has become a well established and prosperous industry. Not the least important factor in the development of Erie—though that is a matter of the future largely—is the great plant of the General Electric Co., which by reason of the fact that 800 acres of land has already been actually purchased, is assured. Already the General Electric Co. has begun its operations in Erie, by establishing here, in one of the buildings vacat-

ed by the Stearns Mfg. C., at Wayne street and the Lake Shore Railroad, a shop for the making of patterns. This shop has been in operation for a considerable time. The tract east of the city was secured by options in 1907, and by actual purchase in 1908.

Besides, there are the electric equipment houses, where all that is needful in connection with the use of electricity may be procured. Electroliers (a Twentieth century addition to the English vocabulary), with their embellishments that render the facilities for illumination of the present so much superior and more artistic than those of the past; the electric fan, the motor for the sewing machine, and for domestic uses, the flat-irons and ranges and cleaning devices and inventions that need not here be catalogued but are fast becoming a requisite of every well regulated home—all this is a part of the Erie of the present, which, being progressive, keeps itself in the van of the procession.

CHAPTER XIII.—BY TROLLEY ROUTE.

ELECTRICITY SUPERSEDES THE MULE.—THE EVOLUTION OF STREET RAILROADING.—ERIE ELECTRIFED.—SUBURBAN SERVICE.

Erie's street car line dates back to 1867, and came up through the usual tribulation. It is highly entertaining and perhaps a trifle instructive to peruse the oldest of the documents that have come down to us from the beginnings of this enterprise. It was worked into form by Mr. Edward J. Cowell. In those days the word "promoter" was unknown, but that is what Mr. Cowell was, and he was a most industrious and intelligent one. This is proven by the character of the leaflet that was used to make conversions among the Erie people. It was headed: "The Street Railway! Will It Pay?" Seven pages were employed to demonstrate what the experience had been in Philadelphia. In this work Mr. Cowell set forth the fact that in the city of Philadelphia there were at that time twenty-one street railway companies, and, notwithstanding the strong competition that necessarily existed they all paid a large percentage on the cost of construction after paying liberal running expenses. The tables furnished are highly interesting in this era of electricity; the estimates of the cost of road; of cars; of horses and harness, and other expenses. It was calculated that a mile of road would cost $8,000, and horses were put in at $150 each. The estimate of what was necessary to pay for setting the Erie street railway on its feet and complete it in readiness for operation was as follows:

7.714 miles of road	$61,712
Eight cars	9,600
Forty horses	6,000
Stable	5,000
Total for building and equipping	$81,312

Then followed an estimate of the earnings of the new road, which it was stated would amount to about 8½ per cent after paying all running expenses. Of course there was another calculation, with reference to the effect the new road would have upon real estate. It was an excellent stimulus toward the accomplishment of the enter-

prise. Directly the organization was effected, and the list of subscribers included the following, which is an admirable roster of the business men of the time: G. F. Brevillier, William S. Brown, John Berst, Conrad Brown, M. R. Barr, Dr. Charles Brandes, A. P. Burton, William Bell, John H. Bliss, P. A. Becker, W. C. Curry, J. S. Carter, Newell J. Clark, Milton Courtwright, D. S. Clarke, William M. Caughey, Joseph D. Clark, W. A. Crawford, E. Camphausen, Edward J. Cowell, John W. Douglass, Ezra Diefendorf, W. W. Densmore, Wm. R. Davenport, John Eliot, F. F. Farrar, Azro Goff, Jonas Gunnison, A. H. Gray, J. R. Graham, George W. Gunnison, W. A. Galbraith, Fred Gingenbach, John Gensheimer, Henry Gingrich, John B. Gunnison, Emanuel Goodrich, James Hughes, William Henry, O. G. Holt, M. Hartleb, August Jarecki, Heman Janes, John Kuhn, Alfred King, B. F. H. Lynn, Walter J. F. Liddell, William Loesch, Alex. McD. Lyon, John McCloskey, Selden Marvin, Dr. W. E. Magill, Prescott Metcalf, Joseph McCarter, L. A. Morrison, Orange Noble, Richard O'Brien, Chas. M. Reed, H. C. Rogers, W. F. Rindernecht, Henry Rawle, C. Siegel, F. Schneider, Valentine Schultz, James Skinner, Sherburne Smith, E. E. Stuerznickel, H. C. Shannon, W. L. Scott, John C. Selden, Judah C. Spencer, James Sill, G. W. Starr, F. Schlaudecker, Andrew Scott, V. M. Thompson, C. M. Tibbals, A. L. Tyler, B. B. Vincent, W. C. Warren, Benj. Whitman, Dr. W. M. Wallace, J. H. Walker and Thomas Wilkins. Those who remember Erie as it was in the end of the sixties will not recall many names of any standing in the community not included in the above list.

The company was organized with a capital stock of $100,000, consisting of 2,000 shares of $50 each, and had authority to mortgage the road and franchise when it should be deemed necessary.

The original route, in accordance with the charter and franchises obtained from the city was: From the corner of Second and Holland streets, west on Second to State, and south on State, Turnpike and Peach to Twenty-sixth, with three branches, one on Eighth from State to Raspberry; one on Eleventh from State to Parade, south on Parade to Fourteenth, and east on Fourteenth to Wallace; a third branch from Peach on Eighteenth (it was then the Buffalo road) westward to Brown's avenue, to the Ridge road. It was required that the road should be begun on or before April 1, 1868, and completed from Second and Holland to Buffalo street within one year, the branches to be finished within five years.

Now there was an interesting condition in existence at the time the street railroad was built. There was another candidate for public patronage as a carrier of passengers. This was the omnibus line. It existed by virtue of a charter from the state, and William Loesch was its manager. It was engaged in the passenger business and had a patronage liberal enough to make it a paying investment. The route

of the busses was from the Parks to Federal Hill by way of State, Turnpike and Peach streets, and it is no exaggeration to say that this bus line and its equipment was a decidedly picturesque feature of old Erie. It was musical as well. The driver perched away up on top of the vehicle carried a long tin horn, and like the postboy of the old stories blew periodical blasts upon his instrument. "Bill Loesch's band," was what the boys of the town called it, and there can be no denying that the tooting of the horns and the rumbling of the old carryalls up and down the street, over the cobble stone pavement, contributed a decidedly civic atmosphere to the place. They were not swift, these Federal Hill omnibuses, but they were considerable of a convenience, for then it was a much greater distance from Eagle Village to Erie than it is today from Twenty-sixth street down town.

But this bus line was a thorn in the flesh of the new passenger railway company. The charter of the omnibus company gave it the right to use the streets that had been appropriated by the street railway company for its main line. Therefore the street railway people desired to be rid of it. They were not well enough heeled, however, to take over the bus line, and Mr. Loesch didn't propose to go out of business just to accommodate a hated rival. Instead he exerted himself to win a firmer place in public favor. But something happened. Something generally happens where two strong rivals are striving with one another.

It was a condition of the charter held by the omnibus company that if it ceased to make regular trips every day its rights under its charter would be forfeited. It was this condition that threw it down, for it happened one morning that Manager Loesch found every horse in his stable dead. It was like the passage of the destroying angel in an Egyptian plague. Not a beast was left alive. They were poisoned, Mr. Loesch declares to this day. The occurrence was certainly open to that suspicion; and yet who could have poisoned the omnibus steeds?

It might be said though this might have the effect of temporarily embarrassing the management of the transportation company, and even of crippling it, there could be a way found out of the difficulty. Of course that could be done. But it required a day or two to do this. For one day there were no omnibuses running on the regular line. That was quite enough to cause a forfeit of the charter. As a matter of fact the business of the omnibus line terminated there and then.

It is only proper to state here that there are other versions of the horse trouble that came upon Mr. Loesch and his enterprise and compelled its abandonment. The epizootic is by some declared to have been the cause of the trouble. Whether it was or not is still an open question in view of the fact that at least one, namely, Mr. Loesch, adheres to the theory that his stock was poisoned.

The reader will note that the route of the street car line originally started at the corner of Second and Holland streets, and it may occur to him that that was a peculiar starting point. So it was. The company's choice was the corner of State and Second. The actual point of starting was the choice of Senator Lowry, who, then a member of the upper house of the state legislature and the owner of pretty extensive real estate on East Second did not fail to see that the charter when granted by the legislature of which he was a part, should be right in accordance with its relations to his interests. He wanted whatever benefit there was in the street railroad occupying the street upon which his property fronted.

It was in 1868 that the "main line" of the Erie Passenger Railway Company was built. It extended as far south as to a point beyond Twenty-sixth, where the stables and car barns of the company were located. That building has for many years been known as the South Erie Turn-hall. In those days Erie did not extend farther south than Buffalo road, and Twenty-sixth street had no existence by that name. It was called the Ridge road, and the locality at the corner of that street and Peach was generally spoken of as Federal Hill. Earlier it was Eagle Village. It is presumed the station was located up beyond Federal Hill in order to escape city taxation.

The cars were running in 1868, and they were the attraction of the hour. Car riding for a time became a sort of a fad, and the "local" of the *Dispatch* was moved to remark that it was remarkable how many South Erie people wanted to attend church downtown and how many downtown people were moved to worship on the hill. The fare was seven cents, but by investing enough in tickets it was possible to ride for a nickel. For a time business seemed to prosper, but in a little while patronage fell off, until it became necessary to retrench. After a term of ill success the expedient was adopted of reducing the fare. While it may have increased the number of passengers carried there was no better result in the net earnings. Even a five cent fare could not save the day. The novelty of the thing had worn off and people did not seem to care to ride.

At this juncture, Mr. Cowell again appeared on the scene. Having organized the company and set it in operation, he had in the pursuit of his vocation as a promoter, gone to other cities and secured for them street railway facilities. When he returned he found that the State, Turnpike and Peach street line cars were all there were in operation. At once he took hold of the matter. At that time he was only a plain citizen. He had no office nor authority in the Erie Passenger Railway Company, but he became active at once. The franchise given the railway company was on the condition that the main line should be built within one year from March 1, 1867, and the branches within five years. What Mr. Cowell demanded was that the branches should be built at

once, and his demands were set forth in quite vigorous fashion in the columns of the *Dispatch*.

The company at once stood on the defensive, pleading lack of funds and arguing that it was too expensive an undertaking to be thought of. They pointed to the fact that the main line had been steadily losing money. This was no argument at all to Mr. Cowell, who replied that of course it was losing money, because the branches that were to be feeders had not been built. It was from the residence portion of the city that patronage was to be got.

The officials were not convinced. No argument that could be advanced seemed to be of any avail. Thereupon Mr. Cowell tried another tack. He demanded that the branches be built or the charter and franchises surrendered, stating at length that he would take legal steps to have the charter annulled if the conditions were not at once complied with. It brought about the desired result. Then there was an awakening. The officials engaged in the exercise of "kicking themselves" because the side lines were not built before.

However, the system was not improved. The management seemed out of joint. The rolling stock was poor, the service abominable, and there was neither expedition nor regularity, in running the cars. Conductors had long before been dispensed with, and a device employed by which the passengers performed the conductor's duty, paying their own fare as they entered the car into a contrivance where the driver could see it before he pulled the trap that dumped it into the cash box. The horses became poor and worn out and little mules were substituted that jogged along at a dog-trot, the bells on their collars tinkling. After a time bob-tail cars were tried, and every sort of a device for effecting economy, until at length the entire institution appeared to be terribly down at the heel.

Meanwhile, the Erie City Passenger Railway Company attained its majority though no one could say that by doing so it had acquired the vigor that that age is associated with.

It was at this juncture that the late William W. Reed became connected with the company and his administration was distinguished by a movement in the direction of transforming the entire system and of substituting electricity as a motive power for the horses and mules that had for so long been in service. It was not accomplished at once, but at length the interest of Mr. Casement of Painesville, was enlisted and on October 1, 1888, the Erie Electric Motor Company was organized. Its progress was swift. Before a year was up it had cars propelled by electricity, and again for a time the street car became a fad. The first cars bought were summer cars, dinkey little affairs they seem to us today accustomed to the fine large commodious vehicles of modern times. Those little affairs where the passengers sat back to back, with knees constantly interfering, brilliantly lighted, seemed palaces

on wheels, and nightly for a considerable period they were crowded with people who rode to the end of the line, just for the novelty of the thing. Plenty of people in Erie remember those first days of electric transportation, and the evening trolley trips. Of course the electric cars were novel. Erie was one of the first cities in the country to have electric cars, and led many far larger cities in adopting this modern method of propulsion. Her people were therefore pardonable in their enthusiastic reception of the new order of things. None of them —or very few—could boast of having seen it or had experience with it elsewhere.

There was a picking up in business from the start. People could now "get there," and though now and then the cars became balky, or something occurred at the power station which stalled every car on the entire road at times, the general results were so great an improvement over what had been that the change was welcome and appreciated.

Progress seemed to be the watchword of the new company. The trackage of the entire system was relaid. Not once, but twice, and even oftener, were rails put down, in order to ensure firm, smooth running. At brief intervals new equipments of rolling stock were provided, each new outfit better than that which preceded it.

The Erie Electric Motor Company was aggressive. They laid a network of street railways all over the city. Fourth, Sixth, Twelfth, East Eighteenth, East and West Twenty-sixth, Parade, up into Warfeltown and beyond, and away out into the country in every direction the lines of the motor company extended.

But the end of the enterprise of the motor company was not at the city's boundary nor the lines running east and west beyond. The enterprise extended farther. The motor company drove away the pleasure steamer, for so many years a picturesque feature of Erie bay and such a delightful mode of transportation. However, it was an inevitable outcome, and there was after all more public spirit and enterprise in the motor company, and why, then, should it not win out. At the start, the trolley cars entered the list as competitors with the steamers for the patronage of pleasure seekers at Massassauga Point. It was in 1891 that a lease of that resort for ten years was effected by the motor company, and the line built down through that picturesque ravine and across that long inclined trestle to the picnic ground. It did not take long for the cars to win in the competition. Their victory was immediate. It was complete.

During the period of the lease the business steadily increased. At its termination, however, a change was decided upon. The trolley company became the owner of the forest grove on the lake shore. It was known as Hoffman's Grove. No finer specimens of the chestnut, red or black oak, cucumber magnolia or hemlock spruce are to be found anywhere. As they stand today they are of almost inestima-

ble value. There are trees centuries old, vigorous yet. It was always, so far as the memory of man goes, a magnificent grove, and it was a delight to know it when its only steady visitors were the birds, or the plant forms that visit it in regular procession as the seasons come and go. They were not different, either birds or plants, from what are to be found in other woods, but more plentiful, for it was an asylum that offered better protection than is usually found elsewhere. Some plants that in other localities are rather rare grow here almost in abundance —the coral root for example, the only parasitic orchid of these parts. And the beech-fern and common polypody—these were among the children of this wood. Down below in the little pond spanned by the high bridge, the water lily came first into these parts, for there it was found before it had become established in the peninsula ponds. And there too were found a splendid variety of interesting sedges, two or three species of bladderwort, the rose mallow and a showy aquatic joint-weed that now unfortunately has been crowded out by the growth of willows and alders at the upper end of the little lake.

It is a good old grove that the motor company bestowed the very appropriate name of Waldameer upon, and with more soul than any corporation has credit of possessing, they cherished it with a care and consideration that commands universal applause. Especially is this true when it is considered that Waldameer has been dedicated to the public. Waldameer, with its magnificent grove and matchless vistas —views of beach and heaving breakers, and expanse of shining blue water; the placid surface of the bay, the timbered stretch of the peninsula, and the forest covered shore away to the west—Waldameer only increases in popularity from year to year.

But there is more than that of Waldameer. The cars, leaving the lake road, take a course directly across what was formerly farm lands. These grounds are sloping lawns of beautifully trimmed turf with here and there a clump of trees or a mass of shrubbery, placed apparently at random, but yet with so much of landscape art that it commands applause. Here, topping a green knoll, is to be found a group of maples, planted, but not stiffly placed, seemingly a choice remnant of the woods. There may be seen a gnarled and twisted old orchard tree, the trunk distinguished by knobs and knots and tufts of suckers, but picturesque in the highest measure, framed as it is in the green that is a carpet and a background. Bordering the driveway, approaching the tracks, filling in the odd corners or depressions, and flanking the long columns of sumachs that grow along the little water course whose long pinnate leaves have a tropical suggestion—a hint of the palms—thousands of shrubs are to be seen. By a long loop the track passes through this splendid park, one of the finest to be found anywhere.

And this is the Ultima Thule of the railroad enterprise that began in 1867 with the question "Will it Pay?"

It is only in line with the mutability of all things human that in the electric railway business, too, there should be change. The reason why there should be a change in the management or ownership of the Erie street railway system is not so important or interesting as that that change did occur. On April 13, 1906, the ownership of the railroad properties and franchises of the Erie Electric Motor Co. was transferred to the Buffalo & Lake Erie Traction Co., and the new corporation entered upon the management of the business at once, not a turning of a wheel being effected at the time of the change. The extension of the interest, or related interests of the local and suburban lines is given an account of further along in this chapter.

Suburban trolley car service for Erie first took practical shape in 1891, the charter for the first of the lines that center at Erie being dated April 22, of that year. The company that was then incorporated was known as the Erie Transit Company, and its purpose was to build and operate a line of railroad between Erie and Edinboro and Cambridge Springs. It was the outcome of the initiative of the late Hon. Perry A. Gibson, an Edinboro boy, though for years a resident of Erie. Mr. Gibson was naturally a promoter. Nothing was more to his liking, and it is not stating more than simple fact that in initiative he was talented to a degree. The first meeting in the interest of this enterprise was held April 17, 1891, when the following Erie men were present: J. F. Downing, Perry A. Gibson, Jacob Fritz, C. W. Davenport, J. F. Walther, Wellington Downing, John Doll, Samuel M. Brainerd, Christian Kessler. The organization effected was: President, Wellington Downing; Vice President, Perry A. Gibson; Secretary, R. P. Chapin; Treasurer, John Doll; Directors, C. W. Davenport, S. M. Brainerd, J. F. Walther, J. F. Downing, Jacob Fritz, P. A. Gibson, John Doll, W. Downing, Christian Kessler. Depository, the Erie Dime Savings & Loan Co.

One of the first measures to be secured for the new corporation was a franchise by city ordinance for the use of certain city streets, and the meeting at which the draft of this ordinance was made was held May 14, 1891. This measure requisitioned a right of way on Twenty-eighth street from about Cherry street to Myrtle; Myrtle street to Sixteenth and Sixteenth to Peach, the plan being to establish the Erie terminus of the line in proximity to the Union Railroad Station. This route was allowed by the city council, though it is well enough to state right here, the company was prevented from ever coming farther down Myrtle street than Nineteenth because the Nickel Plate Railroad (N. Y., C. & St. L. Railroad Co.) refused to permit its track to be crossed at grade.

Suburban trolley lines at the time the Erie Transit Company entered the field were new and untried enterprises, and this proving to be a heavy undertaking it became subject to the rule that "all large bodies move slowly." It was not until 1898 that the corporation was ready to get down to the business of realizing its purpose by building the railroad line. There was a meeting of the company on November 3, 1898, at which a resolution was adopted authorizing P. A. Gibson "to complete a contract forthwith in the name of the Erie Traction Company with some responsible company to build the road from Erie to Cambridge Springs." In pursuance of this resolution there was submitted at a meeting held Feb. 20, 1899, the proposal of C. H. Lawrence of the International Construction Co., of Detroit, to build and equip in first class manner an electric railway line between the city of Erie, via Kearsarge, McKean and Edinboro, to Cambridge Springs, by way of the old Plank Road to Silverling's Corners, thence the Creek Road to Cambridge Springs, 25 miles in length, for $275,000, $110,000 in cash, bonds at 85 cents for the remainder, i. e., $165,000. Work was begun March 6, 1899, but the proposal of the International Construction Co. was not formally accepted by the Erie Transit Co. until April 8, 1899.

The way was not clear, however. On May 27 of that year it was found that the consent of all the property owners on the line had not been secured, whereupon a resolution was adopted that work should be indefinitely suspended. The next month a fresh start was made. At a meeting held June 12, 1899, it was voted to issue first mortgage bonds for $400,000, secured by the property and franchises of the company, and 5,100 shares of capital stock of the par value of $50 per share. At a meeting held ten days later, June 22, a mortgage bond for $500,000 with a deed of trust was given to the New York Security & Trust Co., and this was accepted by the International Construction Co., of Detroit, and the acceptance was received and acknowledged by the company.

But even now the sailing was not smooth. On the 29th of May, 1900, W. C. Culbertson of Girard, came in on the purchase of 1,000 shares of stock, and July 19, 1900, a reorganization was effected with Frank May of Girard, F. F. Curtze, W. C. Culbertson, David Schlosser and J. F. Downing as directors. W. C. Culbertson was elected president; Frank May, vice president; F. F. Curtze, treasurer; David Schlosser, secretary, and Frank May, general manager. The reorganized company took over the road, and finding it not fully complete, completed it and put it in operation under Frank May. Cars began to be run regularly on the Edinboro line in September, 1900.

On February 14, 1901, the property was sold at sheriff's sale and was bought by W. C. Culbertson and F. F. Curtze, when a second reorganization was effected, with W. C. Culbertson (president), F. F. Curtze, Adolph Curtze, William Spencer, T. A. Lamb and Frank May

as directors; F. F. Curtze, treasurer; D. Schlosser, secretary, and Frank May, general manager. A new charter was obtained, dated April 16, 1901, for the Erie Traction Co. On August 25, C. M. Hatch was elected treasurer and director.

W. C. Culbertson died early in 1906, and on June 12 of that year his son, J. A. Culbertson, was elected president of the road, but early in 1907 the Culbertson interests were sold to F. F. Curtze, to date from January, 1907, and from that time on the controlling interest in the road has been held by Mr. Curtze. Mr. May was succeeded as manager by A. A. Culbertson, who held the position from October 1, 1901, until February, 1904. Frank Leland was in charge until June, 1904, when F. A. Austin and C. M. Hatch came in as joint managers until September 1, 1905, from which date Mr. Hatch has been sole manager.

The terminal station of the road was located at Myrtle and Nineteenth streets, with a connection with the Nickel Plate Railroad from the time the trolley service was opened, September, 1900, until June 1, 1906, when it was moved down town, to North Park Row, a connection with the city trolley lines being made at Myrtle and Twenty-sixth streets. On November 1, 1907, the company was enabled to lay its line straight out Peach street to the curve at the Coffin Factory, and then the use of Myrtle street was abandoned and the track removed from the street. The power station of the Erie Transit Co. is at McLane, and the mechanical station a short distance south of the city line at about Cherry street.

It was not unnatural that with the interest in suburban trolley lines awakened in Erie the grape belt and the populous Buffalo road section should invite attention. The remarkable thing in connection with this trolley route is that it did not invite earlier action. Unfortunately, however, the enterprising men who enlisted in this venture were to encounter their troubles and grave troubles they were too. But that may be shown in the narrative.

Early in the year 1898, a half dozen prominent Erie men came together and, after the preliminary meetings at which the subject was discussed, decided to organize a company to build a line of electric railway from North East into Erie. They were L. J. Chase, J. W. Little, H. C. Yard, E. T. Moore, W. E. Hayes and B. A. Stewart. Application was made for a charter, and on June 21, 1898, the Erie Rapid Transit Street Railway Co. was incorporated. At once the company set about procuring the necessary franchises, on the Buffalo road and in the city of Erie. In the course of time franchises were obtained from the city councils for the use of Twenty-first street from East avenue to Peach and Twentieth street westward, and also for French street from Twenty-first street to the Park, it being the intention of the company

to have the terminal station of the road at some available location on the public square.

The start was most encouraging, the funds necessary to construct the road were provided for and a contract was let for the work, to a Philadelphia firm, Smethurst & Allen. The work was progressing favorably, the road had been graded and part of the track laid, when difficulties of the most serious nature arose. These grew out of the city franchises. Strenuous opposition was made, and the corporation was given to understand that the road must terminate at the city limits or there would be a fight on. This proposition was promptly rejected. But the opposition were not easily driven off. They were determined to accomplish the defeat of the new enterprise. In the course of a few days it was learned that the source from which the money necessary to prosecute the work was being procured, had been cut off, and also that their right to pass certain properties in the country had been denied. It is stated that a well known Cleveland electric railway promoter had succeeded in closing the financial doors in the eastern cities; at any rate the sources from which it was expected to obtain funds failed the company. Then came injunctions and the enterprise was effectively tied up.

Soon afterwards representatives of a Philadelphia financial concern came forward and proposed a reorganization, a condition being that they be let in, and, there appearing to be no other solution of the difficulty, as good a deal as could be made was made. The agreement was that all the old stock was to be retired and the new company was to issue new stock, each of the members of the old company to have an amount in the new company equal to that they had held in the old. The stock certificates, it was stated, were to be lithographed so that they could be put on the market. In the new organization two of the old directors were to be retained, and the rights and privileges of the original promoters were to remain. The deal was not all that could be desired, but was entered into. Poor as it was when it was consummated, it quickly turned out to be in a short time much worse, for the new stockholders immediately crowded out the old. Not a share of stock, it is said by a member of the original company, was ever issued to the old stockholders.

However, the line was built. It was turned over to the Vandergrift Co., who pushed the work to completion and equipped it, and then proceeded to extend the road to Westfield. It is probable the cost of building the line was greater than had been calculated. At any rate the road became bankrupt and was for a time operated by the receiver. It was never built into Erie, but had its terminus at the P. & E. Railroad on the Buffalo road, doing a strictly suburban business. This continued until the bridge over the Pennsylvania Railroad lines was built when a connection with the East Eighteenth street line of the

Erie Electric Motor Co. was made, and the cars of the North East, or Lake Shore Fast Line, as it was called, came into Erie on the street railway tracks, ending their run at the Park.

In August, 1906, the North East line was purchased from the receiver of the Erie Rapid Transit Co. by the B. & L. E. T. Co. which had in April of the same year come into possession of the Erie street railway system. This new owner was interested in other railway ventures, not the least important of which is a road, or series of roads, from Buffalo west, paralleling the L. S. & M. S. Railway. At the time the North East road was acquired, there remained a considerable gap to be filled before continuous travel by trolley between Buffalo and Erie could be accomplished. The Buffalo end extended only to Fredonia; the Erie end to Westfield. Work was pushed, however, and on January 1, 1909, the road was open through, and the two cities, Buffalo and Erie, were connected by electric road, all under one management.

The power station of the North East line was located on the Buffalo road at Six-mile creek, where the tracks are curved to pass under the Lake Shore and Nickel Plate railroads. There is a possibility that before long the electric energy necessary to operate the road will be derived from Niagara Falls, and that not only the suburban lines east of Erie, but the city service itself, will be supplied with power from the great cataract.

The Conneaut and Erie Traction Company was organized in January, 1901, by John R. McDonald, H. E. Fish, J. Spencer Van Cleve, Charles E. Shenk and John S. Rilling, for the purpose of constructing and operating a street railway in Erie county, from the west line of the city of Erie, at or near Weigeltown westwardly through Millcreek township, Fairview township, Fairview borough, Girard township, Girard borough, East Springfield borough, and Springfield township to the Ohio state line, and thence to Conneaut, Ohio.

As soon as a charter was obtained the original incorporators interested the well known banking house of R. L. Forrest & Company of Philadelphia in the project. The road was surveyed; the main obstacles to the construction being the crossing of the large ravines in Walnut Creek, Elk Creek, and Crooked Creek valleys. By making detours these were crossed at easy grades without any high level bridges.

Franchises from the several municipalities were obtained and the necessary rights of way were also obtained from the individual property owners; it being necessary at that time to acquire the consent of every foot of property along the highway, as street railroad companies then did not have the power of eminent domain that is now vested in them. Wherever private right of way could be secured this was done,

and about one-third of the entire road was constructed on private right of way.

The road generally runs along the highway known as the Ridge road, excepting in Fairview township where it crosses Walnut Creek valley, and in Girard township where the road extends northwardly so as to pass through North Girard, formerly Milesgrove. The entire length of the road is about thirty-one miles.

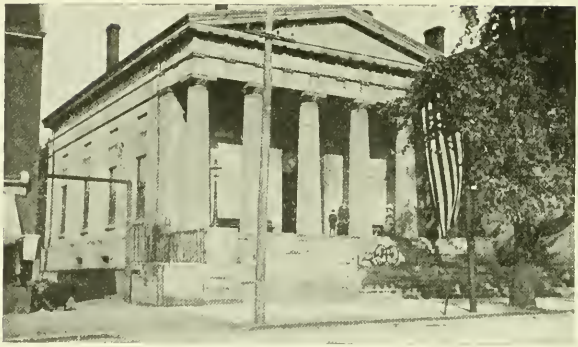
At Conneaut, Ohio, it is constructed over a high level bridge by virtue of a franchise acquired over the same from the company constructing and operating it. The Conneaut & Erie road connects with the electric street railway system at Conneaut, Ohio, that extends westward to Cleveland, Ohio.

The construction of the road was done by the Lake Construction Company, a corporation organized for that purpose. The first car passed over the line in June, 1902.

The large and well equipped power house was constructed at Elk Creek on the Nickel Plate Railway, and terminal facilities were acquired whereby the cars were operated into the City of Erie over the City lines. The three suburban electric lines occupy a union terminal station on North Park Row, Erie.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



COURT HOUSE, ERIE.

OLD CUSTOM HOUSE.

CHAPTER XIV.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Several Court House Buildings.—Old Custom House.—Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.—Federal Building.—City Hall.—Hospitals, Homes and Institutions.

Landmarks in the onward progress of the city, the public buildings may be considered, not alone as to the dates of their construction, which mark the passage of years, but the fact of their having been built, for this circumstance furnishes evidence that local development had reached such a stage that they were demanded. The town was growing, the population increasing, the needs of the community becoming multiplied, business required it. The first public building erected in Erie was the courthouse in the public square, erected in 1808—for the log jail on East Second street does not count as a public building, because it was erected for a dwelling and bought and converted into a jail by the county commissioners. The courthouse of 1808 was therefore the first public building in Erie. The town was small and the county very sparsely populated, so the state rendered efficient aid by voting an appropriation of $2,000. The first courthouse was of brick, and stood until 1823, when on Sunday morning, March 23, it was destroyed by fire. Its successor was built in 1824, upon the site of the house that had been burned, and, as the former had been, became the most useful building in Erie—a public building in every sense of the word. It was two stories high, surmounted by a belfry, in which was the bell of the British ship Queen Charlotte, taken as a prize in the victory of Commodore Perry in 1813. That bell served all sorts of purposes—just as many as the courthouse did. Sometimes it called to court; at others it was a church bell; again it proclaimed a political rally or convention; at another time it announced a lecture. All sorts of doings were permitted in the courthouse—even the strolling players had access to the temple of justice, and when the Rippers and the Shanghais contended it was the center of attraction, but not at the time in a judicial sense.

When the transition came that made Erie a city, there also came the demand for better courthouse accommodations, and in 1852, the year after the city had been incorporated, the county commissioners set about providing them. The county had acquired a piece of ground on

West Sixth street. There had been a jail erected there some years previously. Upon this lot it was decided to build. Plans were procured from a Mr. Porter of Philadelphia, and in 1852 contracts were awarded for the new building. John Hill of Erie was the master carpenter and supervising architect and William and James Hoskinson the master masons. The new courthouse differed from the old in the particular that offices for the commissioners, the prothonotary, sheriff and other officers were provided in the same building, and, remembering the serious loss by fire of 1823, the construction was made fireproof, the method still apparent in the vaulted ceilings of the first story of the original part. The building was completed and dedicated in May, 1855, and the cost was $60,000. The architecture is of the Corinthian order, and, barring the disfigurement of a tower, which seemed necessary to accommodate the courthouse bell and the town clock, was a fine example of the classical in art. All the material employed in the construction of the building was the product of the county. The lumber, the brick and the stone were all obtained here. The cut stone, including the tile floor of the first story, was obtained from the Howard stone quarry, in Franklin township; the other materials were found nearer at hand. In 1889-90 an addition was made to the building, which nearly doubled its size, providing an additional court room, a place for the law library, chambers for the judge and roomier offices for the clerk of courts and the prothonotary, while from time to time necessary changes have been made in the furnishing and equipment, the heating and ventilating system, the plumbing and the lighting, even the unsightly tower was removed. Judge John Galbraith presided at the dedication in 1855, and his successors have been Hon. Rasselas Brown of Warren, Hon. Samuel J. Johnson of Warren, Hon. Lansing D. Wetmore of Warren, Hon. John P. Vincent of Erie, Hon. W. A. Galbraith, Hon. Frank Gunnison, and Hon. Emory A. Walling

Quite in keeping with the courthouse architecturally is the Old Custom House on State street between Fourth and Fifth, which is of the Doric order of architecture, the columns, front and steps of white marble. It was built in 1837 for the Erie branch of the United States Bank, acquired by the United States Government, used as a postoffice and custom house, and now tenanted by the Grand Army of the Republic, serves as well for a bonded warehouse, to which the basement is devoted. As a marker of time it stands for the period of the boom that visited Erie when the canal was projected and the prospects of the lake terminus of that big state enterprise were taken to be so rosy.

In 1867, Hon. Morrow B. Lowry, representing Erie in the State Senate, secured the passage of an act incorporating the Marine Hos-

pital Association, appropriating $90,000 for the purpose of building a hospital for the use and benefit of sick and disabled sailors of the great lakes, and transferring to the Marine Hospital Association the Garrison tract, the property of the commonwealth. Work was begun at once and prosecuted for several years, additional appropriations being made for a number of years. At length work on the building was discontinued and it remained unfinished for a long period, part of it occupied for a time by the Home for the Friendless, and a keeper of the building being maintained by the state. It developed that the Marine Hospital was simply a political job. But out of the job good came in the end.

MAIN BUILDING, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS HOME.

On June 3, 1885, a bill was introduced in the State Legislature creating a commission to establish and maintain a Home for the disabled soldiers and sailors of Pennsylvania, and the Marine Hospital at Erie, being a property of the commonwealth, available for the purpose, the commission, consisting of Governor Pattison and ten other prominent citizens of the state, wisely decided to make it the Home which the act of the Legislature was designed to supply. Located in a most desirable spot, with a tract of more than 100 acres of ground about it, and, moreover, construction upon a really admirable plan having been carried well along, the commission promptly recognized its availability, and decided immediately upon looking the grounds and building over, to adopt it. The building was completed by the necessary aid of a liberal appropriation and under the direction of capable trustees, a single year being sufficient to make it ready to receive the veterans for which it was intended. Prominent among Erie men who exerted themselves in the work of bringing this institution to Erie were Ma-

jor John W. Walker, representing in a sense the army, and Capt. John H. Welsh in the same way standing for the navy.

The dedication of the Home occurred on February 22, 1887, when the principal address was made by Gen. J. P. S. Gobin of Lebanon, and speeches were made by Governor Pattison and others. Major W. W. Tyson was appointed commander, and a short time afterward Capt. Noah W. Lowell was installed as quartermaster and Dr. S. F. Chapin, surgeon. Major Tyson was a most efficient director of affairs. There were many additions and improvements to be made. A residence for the commander, an infirmary, barns and stabling, a conservatory, and important changes in the building, including additions, were made during Major Tyson's administration, while improvements to the grounds, the laying out and bringing into profitable cultivation of a large vegetable garden, the locating on a quiet hillside of a burial plot for the members of the Home who had answered the last roll-call, and the general embellishment of the surroundings of the Home, all received his intelligent attention and under his able direction were successfully carried out. Failing health compelled his retirement, Richard S. Collum succeeding him in 1900, when he was appointed quartermaster, and resigned in 1906. In 1908 he returned to the Home as a member of the family of comrades, but died the same year. Commander Collum served until 1904, when Commander N. J. Maxwell was installed and continued in charge until January 1, 1906, when Sylvester H. Martin was commissioned, and continued the direction of the Home on the high plane which has distinguished it from the beginning. Charles C. Shirk of Erie, was appointed quartermaster in 1907. The institution is an admirably conducted home for 450 veterans, who are designated members and not "inmates," for all are comrades.

There has been a Federal building in Erie since 1849, and, architecturally handsome though it has ever been, it did not meet nor adequately supply either the necessities of the case or the demands of the people of Erie. The "Old Custom House," besides being too small to accommodate the rapidly growing business of the Erie postoffice, had the misfortune to be located in the rear of the march of progress. In its steady advance the city had grown away from that section of town, and though in the period of the war for the Union the Parks and below were the business center the period of activity that set in about that time rapidly swept business toward the south. Soon after the Noble Block was built, in 1867, the postoffice was moved into the store room at the corner of State and Eighth streets, and, though it was later established in a store of the Reed House block, that change was attributed more to private influence than public demand. There originated early a movement in favor of obtaining a Federal building for

Erie, that more than once threatened to become an "issue," and was something of that nature in the end. It had its result in the fulness of time. In 1882 Congressman Watson secured an appropriation of $150,000 for a Federal building in Erie, and his successor, Hon S. M. Brainerd, procured an increase in the amount to $250,000. The commission to choose a site selected the Reed property at the corner of South Park and State street. It contained at that time the old Rufus Seth Reed mansion and a building originally erected for a banking house, but then occupied by the *Dispatch* printing office. This property was

POSTOFFICE, ERIE.

bought for $36,000, and a contract for the building was awarded to Henry Shenk, Jacob Bootz being appointed superintendent for the Government. The work proceeded steadily and in 1887 it was completed and ready for occupancy, and was assigned, the first floor to the postoffice; the second to the custom house, the collector of internal revenue, and the government engineer; the third story to the United States courts, and the fourth to the weather office. The postmaster at the time the new building was taken possession of was Henry Shannon, and his successors have been John C. Hilton, Charles S. Clarke

and Isador Sobel, the present incumbent. The collectors of customs, who each serve as custodians of the building, were, in succession, R. H. Arbuckle, John M. Glazier, Nelson Baldwin and B. B. Brown.

Nothing in Erie has been of a more itinerant character than the meeting place of the city councils. From Buehler's village inn near the foot of French street, to the city hall, had been a devious path, hard to travel and unsatisfactory. For a long time the city offices were widely

City Hall, Erie, Pa.

separated, the treasurer having accommodations squares away from where the legislative business of the city was transacted, the police station still farther away, the water office apart, and the mayor without an office at all. It was generally contrived that the city engineer and the controller should be handy by, but the other departments, not so numerous then as later, had to be otherwise cared for. With the beginning of the decade of the eighties, however, there was inaugurated a movement to erect a city hall, and it quickly crystallized. Philip A.

Becker was elected Mayor in February, 1883. He was one of the leaders in the effort to build for the city, and forwarded the work with such effect that the corner stone of the new city hall was laid during his administration—on July 31, 1884. The building was not finished immediately. After a portion had been rendered serviceable, providing passable accommodations for the councils and the city departments, work was interrupted, to be resumed in time to complete the second floor in anticipation of Erie's centennial in 1895. In that year it was dedicated. The building, which is in area 124 feet on Peach street, by 64 feet on South Park Row and on Seventh street, is from plans furnished by David K. Dean, and the cost of the building in its still incomplete state (for the third floor is still unfinished) has been $200,000.

Erie, at an early day, felt the need of a hospital for contagious diseases. During its borough days there were feeble efforts made to establish a hospital, but so long as the old block house remained on the peninsula (it was a relic of Wayne's soldiers under Capt. Russell Bissell) there was a place to which smallpox patients could be banished. Soon after the city was incorporated, however, a building for a hospital was erected on a corner of the Garrison tract, at the foot of Ash street. It was a plain structure of the plan of a dwelling, and it was leased as a dwelling with the condition attached that the tenant was to serve as caretaker if it became necessary to use it for hospital purposes. There were several visitations of small-pox, one during the administration of Mayor Scott, when the capacity of the hospital was severely taxed. The situation of the hospital, when it was built, was remote and long continued so. However, with the transformation of the Marine Hospital into the Soldiers' Home, the "Pest House," as it was best known, had to be abandoned and destroyed. No acceptable site could be found for a hospital to take its place until 1890, when a suitable frame building was erected at the corner of the extension of Twelfth street and the Fagan road in Millcreek township. There were good reasons for desiring a change, and Dr. Wright, as health officer, at length secured the adoption of a site north of "Kingtown," and east of the Cedars, at about Third and Perry streets where, in 1902, a brick hospital building, modern in design and equipment, was erected.

For general hospital service the pioneer institution of Erie was St. Vincent's, and enterprise of the Roman Catholic church, from the first, however, undenominational in all but the management of its financial affairs, as patients of all religious faiths were admitted for treatment. It was organized in 1875 and opened for patients in September of that year. Mother Agnes Spencer and her sister companions were the organizers, and Bishop Tobias Mullen donated the ground on Twenty-fourth street between Sassafras and Myrtle. It continued to be an institution of the Catholic church until December, 1894, when it was incorporated, a reorganization having been effected so as to include

citizens of various faiths among the corporators. A brick building three stories high was erected in 1875 at a cost of $7,000, but in the course of time it proved entirely inadequate to the demands upon the institution, and a new building was decided upon by the corporators which was completed and taken possession of in June, 1900. It is located on Sassafras street, and its grounds occupy one half of the square between that street and Myrtle, extending from Twenty-fourth to Twenty-fifth. It will accommodate more than one hundred patients, is equipped with all the modern appliances, is beautifully situated, perfectly ventilated, and heated with steam. The late William L. Scott, shortly before his death, donated $10,000 to the fund for the en-

HAMOT HOSPITAL, ERIE.

largement of St. Vincent's whenever it should be undertaken. The report for 1908 showed that for the year there had been 1,176 patients to receive hospital care, and 499 operations, 266 of them surgical, had been performed.

Hamot Hospital owes its existence to Rev. John T. Franklin, rector of St. Paul's church, who, after months of work upon the enterprise, called upon the owners of the old P. S. V. Hamot homestead, to ascertain if it could be bought or leased for a term of years. Situated on the high bluff at the foot of State street it appeared to be an ideal location. After a careful consideration of Mr. Franklin's plans the owners made a proposition to convey a two-thirds interest in the property to a corporation on certain conditions. It was acceptable to all parties and a deed of conveyance by Mrs. Mary A. Starr, Charles H. Strong and Kate Strong of their two-thirds interest in the property

was made to the Hamot Hospital Association, George W. Starr joining in the deed of conveyance. The conditions of the deed were solely for the purpose of ensuring the firm establishment and perpetuity of the hospital and met the approval of the association from the beginning. The Hamot Hospital Association was chartered February 7, 1881, and the corporators of the first year were: Henry Souther, William Spencer, W. L. Cleveland, W. W. Reed, J. W. Reynolds, G. W. Starr, George Selden, W. S. Warner, C. C. Shirk, F. F. Adams, G. V. Maus and R. T. Williams. The property was accepted at the first meeting, April 5, 1881, by-laws were adopted May 21, and the work of alteration and changes begun immediately, so as to fit the building for hospital purposes. On August 4, Miss Irene Sutliff was made superintendent and during the first year 56 patients received hospital care. In 1887-8 an addition was made which doubled the capacity of the institution; in 1890 a training school for nurses was established; in 1894 the charter was amended to provide a board of thirty-one corporators selected from the city and county, vacancies to be filled by the remaining corporators, forming a permanent and continuous body, and J. S. Richards was elected the first president. In 1895 two important additions were made, the Selden Memorial Hospital, from a bequest of George Selden, and the W. L. Scott Memorial, by the family of Mr. Scott. These were finished during 1896.

A subject that had long been discussed, namely, to provide a home for friendless children, resulted at length in a meeting at the residence of Mrs. J. C. Marshall on October 17, 1871, at which time it was decided to organize. A charter was applied for and granted by the Court of Common Pleas of Erie county, on November 29, 1871, incorporating the Erie Home for the Friendless, with the following corporators: Mrs. Gen. C. M. Reed, Mrs. M. B. Lowry, Mrs. I. B. Gara, Mrs. W. A. Brown, Mrs. W. W. Dinsmore, Miss A. C. Kilbourne, Mrs. W. S. Brown, Mrs. William Bell, Mrs. Henry Jarecki, Miss Laura G. Sanford, Mrs. W. L. Scott, Mrs. J. H. Neill, Mrs. S. P. Longstreet, Mrs. G. W. Starr, Mrs. W. A. Galbraith, Mrs. Bernard Hubley, Mrs. P. Metcalf, Mrs. S. S. Spencer, Mrs. I. W. Hart, Mrs. J. P. Vincent, Mrs. S. A. Davenport, Mrs. J. C. Marshall, Mrs. E. W. Pollock, Mrs. D. S. Clark, Mrs. L. W. Shirk, Mrs. P. Crouch, Mrs. Miles W. Caughey, Mrs. Robert Evans, Miss Parkinson, Miss Sarah Reed. The use of the old Rufus S. Reed mansion that stood on the site of the present post-office was tendered and accepted, until 1872, when the Marine Hospital building being offered the association moved there. In 1875, Hon. Morrow B. Lowry presented the management with a handsome property on the corner of Twenty-second and Sassafras streets, that included the former residence of R. F. Gaggin. This soon proved too small for the family that had been acquired, whereupon an effort to secure funds with which to build larger was put forth by Mrs. Isaac B. Gara, as-

sisted by Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Saltsman, Mrs. W. S. Brown, Miss Kate Mason and Miss Sarah Reed, and resulted most satisfactorily. The addition, a three-story brick building, was finished in March, 1876, and was occupied at once free from debt. Special gifts to the institution were a lot of fifty feet in frontage on Sassafras street by Prescott Metcalf, and an endowment of $5,000 by William L. Scott.

In 1884, to provide a home for aged women, the residence of M. A. Dunning and the lot on which it stood, at the corner of Sassafras and Twenty-third street, was purchased, largely through the efforts of the late Col. F. H. Ellsworth, who secured funds by subscription sufficient to complete the payment on the purchase price. The alterations and improvements were completed in 1887, when the Old Ladies' Home was formally taken possession of. It proved inadequate to the demands, however, and in 1895 the lot on Twenty-third street west was bought and a brick addition erected soon afterwards. Even that enlargement was insufficient. In 1903 steps were taken to erect a new building. Plans were procured from C. P. Cody, a contract was awarded to Enoch Lininger, the work of renovating the old frame building was begun April 12, 1903, and the new structure fully complete was dedicated in May, 1904, the address of the occasion being by Rev. J. Franklin Spalding, of St. Paul's. The building cost $16,000 and was paid for by contributions of the citizens, a part of the fund, amounting to about $800, resulting from the sale of two books written by Miss Sarah Reed, the president of the association.

On Seventh street a little west of Peach there stands hard by what was once a beautiful sylvan dell, a substantial brick building of modernized colonial style of architecture. It was built before Erie was a chartered city, to be the residence of Hon. John H. Walker, and afterwards became the property of the Erie Club. In the year 1905, the title in the property passed to the Young Women's Christian Association, and as the home of this organization it now figures as a feature of the city. This association was organized and incorporated as the Women's Christian Association in 1895, with these members named in the charter: Miss Elizabeth W. Pollock, Mrs. Conrad J. Brown, Mrs. Phineas Wheeler, Mrs. Henry Schabacker, Mrs. W. W. Harper, Mrs. O. E. Crouch, Mrs. L. D. Davis, Mrs. R. F. Gaggin, Mrs. J. C. Wilson, Mrs. W. Barry Smith and Mrs. Samuel Selden. It had a membership of 100, and was subdivided into numerous committees. Its principal purpose was to provide a boarding home for self-supporting women, and immediately a house at 918 French street was leased and fitted and furnished for the purpose. It grew, as all good things well tended will grow, and when larger quarters had become a necessity the old Walker residence, above referred to, was bought from the Erie Club. It required extensive alteration. Architect C. P. Cody was called in, and, saving what was excellent of the old building, provided the new

with a fine auditorium, a gymnasium, a dining hall, kitchen, laundry, and all the facilities necessary, as well as a large number of sleeping apartments, rendering it very complete for the purposes desired. A contract was awarded to W. M. Graham, who had it completed in the fall and possession was taken October 5, 1905. Chartered as the W. C. A., in 1898 an amendment was approved by the court, changing the name to the Young Women's Christian Association, now an established institution in Erie, and influential beyond, as affiliated with it are these Circles: Corry, Waterford, Franklin, Union City, North East, Wattsburg and Cambridge Springs. The Y. W. C. A. building has become a center for women's activity, being the meeting place and headquarters of the Women's Club, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Women's Industrial Exchange and other kindred organizations. In the beginning it organized a movement in behalf of erring women, called the Door of Hope, which grew into the Florence Crittenton Home, and a Boys' Reading Circle, which developed into the Boys' Club.

On Fifth street near Holland, north side, there is a brick building that is a landmark. It was the Brewster and the Kennedy home when Erie was young. Today at the western door will be found the sign, "William Brewster Industrial School for Girls." This it is; and besides the office of the Associated Charities is there to be found. There is a story here. One night in May, 1893, there came upon this region a rain storm of the character denominated a cloud-burst. Every stream was swollen to the proportions of a torrent, and Mill creek, previously regarded as trivial, became a river that carried everything before it, but, dammed by the bridges and culverts of the city against which the wreckage was thrust, spread out into a miniature sea. Houses were inundated and people in their night clothes were rescued on rafts and boats procured for the purpose. Saved from the flood they were nevertheless in distress. At this juncture there was an organization effected at once. A number of ladies, headed by Mrs. William Brewster, formed what came to be known as the Bureau of Charities. A fund, at first intended for a contagious hospital, was diverted to the present pressing need. More money was raised and the suffering was relieved. But the bureau continued. For fifteen years it persevered in its efforts, doing an immense amount of good work by the bestowal of a discriminating and useful charity. Especially in the winter were the efforts of the bureau effective, through the labors of such leaders as Mrs. Wm. Brewster, Mrs. G. P. Griffith (who succeeded as president) Mrs. C. W. Brown, Miss Emma Carroll, and Mrs. F. H. Schutte. One of their most important works was the conducting of sewing schools in which seven teachers were employed every Saturday in as many of the public schools, given by the board of education for the purpose. When William Brewster

died in 1903 he bequeathed the old family home, upon the death of his wife, to an association, to be converted into an industrial school for girls. Mrs. Brewster, however, took immediate steps to bring about a realization of her husband's desire, and, knowing the character and scope of the Bureau of Charities, of which she had been president, effected the transfer of the property to that organization. At once steps were taken to begin work. The new enterprise was provided with a generous start. G. W. Perkins, of New York, a connection of the Brewsters, made a donation of $600 a year for five years; L. M. Little, another connection, presented telephone bonds yielding $250 per year in interest. With the plans already adopted for the school its continued operation was assured. A superintendent was engaged, the school was opened, and soon there was an enrollment of 300 girls being educated in needlework, cooking and domestic science. The headquarters of the bureau were established with the Brewster school. In 1908 the Bureau of Charities was organized into the Associated Charities of Erie, with Frank H. Payne, president; Robert Spittal, secretary, and F. H. Schutte, treasurer, which organization took over the office of the bureau and the Brewster school.

On the southeast corner of Fifth and Holland there is another fine old brick residence that has for many years been a prominent object in that part of the city and was last known as a residence as the home of Mrs. Henderson. In 1905 it became the Florence Crittenton Home, purchased for that purpose by the corporation of that name which had been chartered a short time before. This organization had its inception in the Women's Christian Association, an account of which has already been given in this chapter, a department of the general work, assigned to a large committee being called the Door of Hope. This work was given over to a semi-independent organization with Mrs. Ella Chapman as chairman, in 1896, and a house was rented on Eleventh street. In November of that year Charles N. Crittenton visiting Erie in the interest of that line of work, advised that the Erie Door of Hope become united in the Florence Crittenton Home movement, and this was done, a consolidation being effected with the Home at Butler. Soon afterwards a more commodious house was secured on West Twenty-third street, when the Florence Crittenton Home of Erie became established and remained for several years. Early in 1899 it was deemed wise to separate this organization from the parent, the Y. W. C. A., and this was effected, steps being taken at the same time to strengthen the body. Success was achieved at length, and in October, 1903, the Florence Crittenton Home was chartered by the court, there appearing on the charter the names of 28 women and 14 men as corporators and the following as directors: Mrs. Ella E. Chapman, Mrs. Helen Johnson, Mrs. J. H. Williams, Mrs. G. W. Dawson, Mrs. H. Strong, Mrs. Wil-

liam Wallace, Mrs. S. J. Arthur, Mrs. F. Percy Klund, Mrs. B. E. Briggs, Mrs. C. W. Brown and Miss Alice Walker. In 1905 the old Sterrett homestead at Fifth and Holland streets was bought, and taken possession of and is now, comfortably furnished, become one of the established institutions of Erie. It is in charge of Miss Margaret Small, matron.

Another institution that originated with the Y. W. C. A. and was fostered until it could go alone is the Boys' Club, occupying its own building on Seventh street east of French. It was known when the movement was started by the women in 1895 as the Boys' Reading Room, and was intended for the newsboys and others who frequent the streets. Rapidly it assumed wider scope, but it was no easy matter to keep it advanced to the position it demanded. Rooms were provided at different times on Park Row, on Peach street near the city hall, in school building No. 11, and at Fourteenth and Peach. While it was evident that good was being accomplished there was yet something to be desired. In 1902 the Boys' Club, by which name it had come to be known, was separated from the Y. W. C. A., and in 1903, a reorganization having been effected, a charter was obtained from the court, with these directors: C. C. Shirk, Fred S. Allis, Joseph B. Campbell, Rev. P. M. Cauley, D. W. Harper, George B. Taylor, Rev. F. Spalding, Clinton D. Higby, John C. Diehl, Robert J. Saltsman, 2d, W. Pitt Gifford, Fred C. Jarecki, Otto G. Hitchcock, W. S. Carroll, Rev. Max C. Currick and Henry D. Schoonmaker. The ladies who had so long and faithfully maintained this effort, continued as the auxiliary of the Boys Club, and are still identified with the work, Miss Mary Selden, Mrs. J. B. Campbell, Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. L. D. Davis, Mrs. Frank Low and the Misses Ely being especially active. The building, erected especially for the Boys' Club, was begun in 1904 and completed early in 1905. The ground on which it stands was donated by Mrs. Susan M. and Miss Laura Sanford. Its departments include gymnasium work or manual training room, reading room, game room and baths. Especial attention is paid to cultivating sociability, a sense of honor, and self-government among the boys, and also to training them to the use of tools. The superintendent in 1909 is Frank R. Neibel.

The Young Men's Christian Association is the oldest organization of its kind in the city, having been formed in 1860 and incorporated by the state legislature in 1863. In 1861 rooms were rented in the Beatty block on North Park Row, and there the association quickly became well established. There had existed for a number of years an organization known as the Irving Literary Society, which in its time held a position of considerable prominence. It had acquired a library that compared well with that of any similar organization in the state. At the time the Christian Association came into being the older society had become moribund, and its excellent library or what

remained of it, was turned over to the Y. M. C. A. and became a valued asset. Following the practice of the times, after it had been in existence a number of years, the Y. M. C. A. undertook, with success, the management, each winter season of a course of lectures, bringing to Erie the best that the lecture field afforded and earning for itself a high reputation. In 1867 there was originated a movement to procure for Erie a library of high grade, and early that year the work of soliciting began, and between $2,000 and $3,000 had been secured. At this juncture the late Myron Sanford came forward with the proposition that the fund be made $10,000, and agreed that if by May 25 the sum of $10,000 should be secured he would donate $1,000. It naturally imparted additional stimulus, but the specified date found the goal still distant. An extension of time was granted, but at the expiration of that time the amount was still considerably short, whereupon Mr. Sanford handed the promoters his check for $1,000 and told them to go ahead with the library. The result was that a magnificent collection of books was purchased and made available for the use of the citizens. The prime movers in the library enterprise were Prof. H. S. Jones, A. L. Littell and Rev. A. H. Caughey. This splendid library was placed in the care of the Y. M. C. A., that had now taken rooms on the second floor of the Walther building on the corner of State and Eighth streets. For many years it was extensively patronized.

The association was very much in need of room; had been for years. On March 26, 1879, the old Matthew R. Barr homestead, at the corner of Tenth and Peach streets, was purchased, and with a little alteration was made serviceable. Into this the Y. M. C. A. moved the same year. The epoch of general secretaries in charge of Y. M. C. Associations was now come, and under the efficient management which these rendered the Erie association grew apace. In the course of time new features were demanded and in 1890 a large addition was built to the south of the original building containing a modern high class gymnasium on the first floor and an auditorium of considerable capacity on the floor above. To this equipment was added in 1904 a capacious swimming pool. During later years the association has maintained night schools during the winter months in which are taught mechanical drawing, mathematics and English, drawing a fine patronage from among the workers in the shops and stores. For a long time a railroad branch was maintained, but while the branch organization has been abandoned and the railroad secretary dispensed with meetings are still regularly held at the P. & E. outer depot. A ladies auxiliary was organized in 1885 and has been a most efficient adjunct, and soon afterwards the Junior Y. M. C. A. was established and continues in successful operation. The semi-centennial of the association will occur in 1910, and there is now an

incipient movement on to raise a fund for a new building. Such an effort was undertaken some years ago by the late William R. Davenport, the most popular and beloved president the association ever had, and his subscription list, still preserved, is hoped to be available at least to a large extent.

St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum is the work of the Sisters of St. Joseph, who, in 1864, occupied a small frame building on Fourth street close to St. Patrick's school. In 1866 they opened an asylum in a house on Second street bought for the purpose by Bishop Young, in which they provided care for sixty children at a time. In 1870 land was bought on Third street between Holland and German on which was erected in 1871-2 the commodious brick building at present in use at a cost of about $50,000. It is a three-story brick building with a basement, heated with steam, and had accommodations for about 200 children. Within two or three years, however, it became necessary to enlarge the building. The asylum has been well maintained by the faithful sisterhood, who provide excellent care for their needy charges, educating them as well as providing for their temporal needs. The means necessary for the maintenance of the asylum are obtained by the industry of the Sisters, by contributions from friends and by an annual collection taken in the churches of the diocese.

The same sisterhood established a home for aged and indigent persons that has been of vast benefit to that needy class. In 1884-5 a large three-story brick building was erected at the corner of Ash and Twenty-sixth streets. Complete in all its appointments, and provided with abundant means toward the comfort of those admitted, it is surrounded by handsome grounds, provided with a fine garden, and in every particular constitutes a desirable home in which many people once well-to-do, but reduced in circumstances when old age overtook them are well pleased to spend their declining years.

The youngest of Erie's benevolences, semi-public in nature, is the Lutheran Home for the Aged, which was rededicated to its work of mercy early in the year 1909. It was an enterprise that originated in the congregation of St. John's church, suggested by the pastor, Rev. G. A. Benze. The project had been broached upon more than one occasion in the men's society of the church, but at the fifteenth anniversary of the pastorate of Mr. Benze, in February, 1906, such a presentation of the case was made that the membership became busy at once, and on March 1 of that year the home was opened. The frame building that had been the Dunning residence and in use as the Old Ladies' Home, was, when the new building was about to be erected, moved across the street to the corner of Twenty-second and Sassafras upon leased ground belonging to St. John's church. This building was bought by the committee on property of the Lutheran Home movement, and on March 1, 1906, so energetic had the pro-

moters been, it was opened and twenty-two persons became established in it as members of the new home for the aged. The scope of the institution was presently enlarged so as to secure the co-operation of all the Lutheran churches affiliated with the general council, and a constitution to that effect was adopted. In 1908 work upon a large addition was begun, and finished early in 1909, there was a formal dedication to the benevolent purpose for which it was intended. The enlargement provided for the care of 40 inmates, besides the force in charge of the management of the home.

CHAPTER XV.—THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

ERIE'S EARLIEST DOCTORS.—COMING OF A NEW SCHOOL.—DOCTORS IN PUBLIC LIFE.—A DOCTOR WITH A NOTABLE HISTORY.

The pioneer settlers at Erie came into the wilds of the time with no special regard for ease and without thought of discomfort, or if they thought of it, it was with something like contempt. They expected to rough it in the wilderness, and no doubt the life they led, of which hardship and exposure were the principal ingredients, rendered them hardy and healthy. Doubtless there were ailments that might properly be referred to a physician, but there was no physician during the first few years, so the ailments, if there were any, were left to take care of themselves, and the records that have come down to posterity do not serve to show that an excessive mortality prevailed. The first doctor to come to Erie came not because of the demands of the new settlement; he came, summoned to the deathbed of Gen. Anthony Wayne. He arrived too late. Once here, however, Dr. J. C. Wallace remained, and continued as a useful citizen of the little village down in Erie's first ward, until his death. He came here in December, 1796; he died in 1827.

There were then no "schools" in medicine here. A doctor was a doctor; what the doctor said went for truth and what the doctor prescribed was taken no matter how big or how bitter the dose. Such words as homeopathy, hydropathy, osteopathy or even Christian Science (which some say is nearly 2,000 years old) were a long way from getting into the lexicon of the times. The doctor was a most highly respected member of society, and Dr. Wallace quickly attained to a position among the foremost citizens of Erie when it was very young. For a long time he was the only doctor. In the year 1811 Dr. P. Thayer settled at Eagle Village, but Eagle Village was then a good deal farther from Erie than it is today, so it is only a latter-day consideration that would make him, and his brother Albert Thayer, who came soon afterwards, Erie physicians. In the Erie of the time the second physician to make his home here was Dr. Asa Coltrin, who came in 1815, or thereabout, and remained until his death in 1824. Dr. Peter Christie, who had been a surgeon in the navy, settled in Erie shortly after Dr. Coltrin did, and Dr. William Johns came in

1822, and Doctors Taber and Elijah Beebe in 1825. Dr. Peter Faulkner came in the same year and engaged in practice, but after a few years removed to Crawford county, returning in 1848. Dr. Jacob Vosburg came in 1825, and Dr. Sanford Dickinson, who had been practicing at Wattsburg, came in 1840.

There is no well preserved list of the doctors of the first half of the Nineteenth century who pursued their work of mercy in Erie. But that they had begun to multiply by the time Erie was ready to blossom out into a full-blown city, is shown by the first directory printed. That was in the year 1853, and a search through its pages reveals the names of these practitioners of medicine: Dr. A. Beebe, Dr. C. Brandes, Dr. W. B. Dodge, Dr. Louis Dornberg, Dr. Peter Faulkner, Dr. C. J. Fox, oculist, and perhaps the first specialist in Erie; Dr. E. S. Hammersley, Dr. Rufus Hills, Dr. C. F. Perkins, Dr. Charles Salomon, Dr. Charles Sevin, Dr. B. F. Sibley, Dr. J. L. Stewart, Dr. T. H. Stuart, Dr. W. M. Wallace—fifteen; a goodly array for so early a day. But that was not all, for the druggists were doctors of medicine at that time; so the names of Dr. John S. Carter, Dr. Peter Hall and Dr. Landaff Strong are included in the list. It would not be as easy an undertaking to name the Erie doctors of 1909, and it will not therefore be undertaken.

Several of the doctors who came in with the city lived here for a good many years, several of them to be known by citizens of Erie still living. Along in the sixties their ranks were considerably extended, including Dr. H. A. Spencer, Dr. N. Seymour, Dr. George Bennett, Dr. W. O. Gilson, Dr. Charles Aichner, and Dr. E. W. Germer, for many years Erie's efficient health officer—he was in fact a board of health in one individual.

The first of the dentists in Erie, so far as there is a record, were those of 1853. The titular appendage to the name of each was "surgeon dentist"—sometimes nowadays we hear of a dental surgeon, but we never put it the other way to. The dentists when the city was young were, Dr. W. C. Bunnell, Dr. M. Chapin, Dr. O. L. Elliott, Dr. W. E. Magill.

The doctors of the new school—as homeopathy was once regarded—had for their pioneer, Rev. John Gifford, of Cincinnati, who, in 1842, visited Erie to preach for the Universalists, but having some knowledge of the use of medicines, and, also, having some with him, by the means of the proper remedy relieved Mrs. Oliver Spafford, mother of the present Mrs. Jonas Gunnison, of a severe headache. This introduction of little pills in Erie was pregnant of results. Soon afterwards Dr. Adams of Lockport, N. Y., was engaged to come once in two weeks to prescribe for a sister of Mrs. Gunnison, and then, in 1844, the first of the homeopathic doctors came to be a resident. He was a Dr. Hoyt, from "Down East," and he opened an office in the

book store of "Uncle" Oliver Spafford on Cheapside. Dr. Hoyt did not remain long. The people were too skeptical about the puny pellets. However, in 1846, Dr. Bianchini settled here, and obtained a good foothold. Dr. Nelson Seymour also settled in 1846, and he came to stay. He practiced in Erie until 1894, when he removed to North East, and died September 9, 1897. The Dr. Sibley, of 1853, was of the homeopathic school, and Dr. Peter Faulkner about the same time became a convert from the old school to the new, being a pupil of Dr. Seymour in the latter system. Of two sons, both physicians, Dr. Robert Faulkner was a homeopath.

Dr. Mary A. B. Woods was the first woman to locate in Erie as a physician. She was a graduate of Cleveland Homeopathic College in 1864, came to Erie in 1870 and practiced here for about thirty years, but retired some time ago, and died in 1909. Dr. W. K. Cleveland, who came to Erie in 1869, practiced his profession successfully until 1908, when he retired. Dr. Edward Cranch took up his residence in Erie in 1875. Dr. J. C. M. Drake came in 1881, Dr. J. F. Flint in the same year, Dr. R. T. Marks in 1884, Dr. J .R. Phillips in 1889, Dr. H. C. Galster in 1892, Dr. J. L. Ireland in 1893, and Dr. Edward F. Gifford in 1894. Dr. Marks died in 1905, and Dr. Phillips in 1908. The homeopathic school has furnished Erie with several woman doctors, at the time this is written there being Dr. Adella B. Woods, who began practice in Erie in 1878; Dr. Emily Tefft, Dr. Lucy H. Black and Dr. Katherine Law.

Of the allopathic doctors from first to last the list is by far too extensive to permit an attempt to present it in these pages; even the list of the present-time physicians would prove too long. Nor would it be fair to discriminate, though the mention of such names as Dr. Chester W. Stranahan, Dr. J. E. Silliman and Dr. D. H. Strickland, who have been faithful practitioners for more than forty years, the two latter serving the government in the Union army, may properly be made exceptions to the rule and entered as a sort of preferred list in this scrap of medical history.

The first medical society was organized in 1829, and was officered as follows: President, William Johns; vice-president, A. Thayer; secretary, F. W. Miller; treasurer, A. Beebe; censors, J. Smedley, Jacob Vosburg and A. N. Molton. There is nothing to account for the suspension of this society, so far as any records are concerned, nor any date given to show when it was discontinued—nothing but the records of a successor organized in 1841, which is the Erie County Medical Society of today. The first society, it is evident from conditions, was a feeble affair; the Medical Society of today is strong, influential and a highly beneficial institution.

The doctors of the homeopathic school did not effect an organization until 1891. Prior to that time there was not much out of which

to organize; but the faith was spreading and its apostles multiplying. On July 1, 1891, the Homeopathic Medical Society was organized by these physicians, mostly of the city: Edward Cranch, J. C. M. Drake, J. R. Phillips, J. F. Flint, H. E. Flint, J. S. Skeels, M. A. Wilson, J. T. Sturtevant, R. T. Marks, A. McPherson, W. K. Byron, Mary A. B. Woods. In 1894 the physicians residing in Erie formed a corporation and obtained a charter for the purpose of operating a hospital and free dispensary. The dispensary was started, and for a year was operated in rooms rented for the purpose, but was then discontinued. The hospital project was too heavy to be undertaken then, or since up to the present, but there being no discrimination practiced in the existing hospitals, the demand for one for the homeopaths has decreased to the vicinity of the vanishing point.

Medicine and politics do not mix as a rule, though the politician sometimes has to "take his medicine" in the shape of the bitter pill of defeat. But, though averse to taking a hand in partisan politics, there have been instances where the physician did overcome the ruling principle of the profession by entering the lists as a seeker after office. This was notably so with the late Dr. J. L. Stewart. The Doctor was no seasoned politician nor chronic seeker after office. He was a good citizen, as every member of his honored profession is, and, as every good citizen should be, felt a deep interest in public affairs, and doubtless the animating motive with him was a desire to see carried into effect policies for the public good in which he was deeply interested. Impelled with a desire to seek office with the expectation that he might secure their being put in operation, he decided to stand as a candidate for mayor of Erie. It was in the year 1876. At that time political lines were not as finely drawn as at present. The mode of procedure was to start out with a "call," and obtain as many signatures as possible. This was done by the Doctor. His rival for the office was John W. Hammond, and Mr. Hammond also had a call in circulation. Both calls became very large, and the rivalry became very keen—almost bitter on the part of the Doctor, who, having been longer a citizen of Erie than Mr. Hammond, believed that fact should give him an advantage. It seemed, however, to be disregarded, for he went down in defeat, and in bitterness of spirit he long brooded over his discomfiture.

There was another example of a doctor in politics. Dr. Samuel F. Chapin, while a resident of Wattsburg, entered the lists as a candidate for the state house of representatives, and was elected and served in the legislature for two terms, from 1875 to 1879. Afterwards he was a member of the board of pension examiners and when the Soldiers and Sailors Home was established, was appointed surgeon in chief of the home, filling the position until his death, June 12, 1908.

The earliest example of the doctor in politics in Erie was that of Dr. John C. Wallace. He was the first burgess of Erie, elected in 1806, just after Erie was chartered a borough. He was again burgess in 1810 for two years, and a third time in 1825, for three years. Dr. Wallace's political career extended farther, including the offices of coroner and sheriff. He was elected coroner in 1809. The sheriff, Jacob Spang, resigned, whereupon, under the provisions of the law, the duties of the office fell to the Doctor, who served a year in the more important position.

For a period it became the rule to select for the office of coroner a physician and these have served: Dr. J. E. Silliman, from 1875, for six years; Dr. A. Z. Randall, from 1881, for three years; Dr. L. B. Baker, appointed by the court in 1891, for one year to fill a vacancy; Dr. J. A. Steinmetz, from 1895, for six years.

The physicians who have served the city as health officers have been, Dr. E. W. Germer, who was appointed in 1872, when the office was created, until his death in 1887. During a period of absence from the city, while he was making a visit to his former home in Europe, an epidemic of small-pox visited Erie, when Dr. Peter Barkey was appointed by Mayor Scott to fill the important position, which he did with distinguished ability. Dr. A. A. Woods was appointed in 1888; Dr. H. E. Flint in 1894, and Dr. J. W. Wright is the present health officer.

In 1893 the legislature passed an act creating state boards of medical examiners. Dr. J. E. Silliman was appointed on the board representing the regulars, and at the same time Dr. Edward Cranch was appointed on the homeopathic board, and has continued by re-appointment up to the present time.

About 25 years ago it was my good fortune to be acquainted with a kindly old gentleman who made his abode at the county home. Often—indeed every time my steps led me in the pursuit of my special study, in the direction of what we called the Almshouse woods, up west of the E. & P. dock junction, have I met him. It came in time to be a regular expectation to find him, ere I had finished my trip of the day, somewhere in the woods. He was an aged German, and was usually to be found strolling leisurely about or else seated upon a fallen tree trunk, and generally smoking a pipe of red clay with reed stem. Idling? By no means. He never knew idleness. Alone? No. He was never alone, for he was a naturalist, and the woods teemed with familiar friends. Every tree; every shrub; every plant, even of lowly growth, was known to him. He could call them by name, and visit with them. He questioned them as one familiar with their conduct and habits alone could question them, and watching him, unobserved, I could see him as he slowly strolled through the vistas of

what was then a piece of noble forest, stop to break a twig from some wood-loving shrub, or to dig up the rhizome of some herbaceous plant that thrived in the soft black loam at the foot of the giant liriodendrons or hemlock spruces.

And his tramps took him out into the thickets where the abundance of the alders and willows gave evidence of the constant presence of water. There the rank growth of sedges and rushes of the saururus and symplocarpus; or if it were spring-time of the caltha and water avens, multiplied his acquaintances; while, nearer the woods, when the sunlight sifted through the foliage, the painted trilliums and the mitrewort, the dog violet and the baneberry, the goldthread and various cross-bearers seemed to give answering glances of intelligence to his look of inquiry.

Many a time have I come upon him seated in absolute silence, engaged in nothing but looking about him upon the forms of his friends, listening to the voices of the warblers and vireos in the branches above, or the woodthrush farther away in the mazes of the forest. And then it was a rare pleasure indeed to break in upon his reverie; to share with him in the story he was reading from the open page of the book of nature.

I was not unacquainted with his friends of the vegetable kingdom. As a systematist in the study of botany I knew them all by name and their relations one to another. But his was a wider knowledge, for he knew them as the friends of man, his help in time of sore need. The root of this one, he explained, was a remedy for a certain ill, and the leaves of that a specific for another trouble, while the berries of yet another yielded a valuable medicine. He knew the virtues of every plant and the varied qualities of everything that there grew.

And he an inmate of the almshouse? Who was he?

He was Dr. Peter Wilhelm Mosblech, and his name was rightly adorned with the supplementary letters M. D., Ph. D., M. S. A., for the titles these stand for had all been earned. It is an interesting history, that of Dr. Mosblech. Let me try to tell it.

Dr. Mosblech was a German, born in the Catholic church and educated for the priesthood. Though destined for the church by his parents and being prepared by education for the high office he was expected ultimately to fill, he did not himself favor such a career. His mind sought other channels, and his search after knowledge led him, when he had finished at Bonn University, to select a different career. He abandoned holy orders and removing to Paris studied medicine. Even that failed to completely satisfy him, and he determined to devote himself to the science of philology. In this he made remarkable strides, soon attaining to uncommon proficiency in the oriental languages. He was widely known in literary France, and was made a member of the Society of Asiatics, having the title of

Abbe bestowed upon him. He was upon familiar terms with all the literary lights of Paris, and enjoyed the personal friendship of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas the elder, and their contemporaries.

But there was a shadow upon his life. Having abandoned the priesthood he became possessed of the idea that he had for that reason been marked for punishment, and was being pursued. It was his declared belief that the Jesuits had decreed his death, and neither remonstrance nor argument on the part of his friends could prevail to dispel what had become an established belief.

To escape the shadow, Dr. Mosblech went to London. There he mingled with the leading scientists of the age. He spent much of his time at the British museum, and at the famous botanical gardens at Kew. During his residence in England he became well acquainted with Charles Darwin and with him discussed a forthcoming book. Prof. Darwin gave him an outline of this work, and Dr. Mosblech was free to criticise it and to declare against the theory it put forward and so ably supported. The book was destined to revolutionize the thought of the world. It was the Origin of Species.

After a time the dread of the Jesuits again became too great to permit him to remain in England. Again he determined to flee. He sought a position as surgeon on one of the trans-Atlantic steamships, but upon arriving at New York resigned his post. Following the route of German emigration he took up his residence in Cincinnati, where he engaged in the practice of medicine with success, and after a short time married. It was not long, however, before the shadow of misfortune overcame him. His wife was seized with a mental malady from which she at length died; his practice fell away; his property became dissipated; he felt again the depression that suggested the pursuit of a relentless enemy.

He moved to Wheeling, where he engaged in medicine again, but being offered a position in the faculty of the College at Bethany, Va., (now West Virginia) he became teacher of Greek and Hebrew. This place he filled until the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion closed the college. Meanwhile he had not neglected his philological researches. He became proficient in the language of the Hawaiian Islands, wrote a dictionary of that language, which was in use and an authority until recently (and may still be), and also translated a portion of the Bible into the language of the Sandwich Islands.

When the war closed Bethany College Dr. Mosblech came north, and settled at Warren, where he again opened a doctor's office. For a few years everything went well, but one night his house was burned over his head. There was no other explanation to him but that the enemies who, he believed were pursuing him, had done this evil thing. Again he moved, and his last flitting took him to Erie.

He opened an office in Marvintown and hung out his doctor's sign. But he was now become an old man. Practice came but slowly, and what came he could not hold, for the infirmities of age forbade his attending to night calls and even the ordinary calls could not be responded to with the expedition that was necessary. He found that he could not secure partnership with a young man, as he was unable to bear his full share of the burdens. He was alone in the world; in a strange city, he was haunted by a perpetual fear. What was there left for him? He could see no other course open; so turning over his effects to the county authorities he sought an asylum in the poorhouse.

For about 10 years he was a member of the county's family--not so much of a charge as most of the inmates, for he rendered himself useful as a doctor. During a portion of the time he lived there Dr. A. S. Lovett was physician at the almshouse, and, recognizing the claims of a fellow-practitioner, made him, informally, an assistant; and he won, as well, the fullest confidence of Captain Brown, the steward, both professionally and personally.

Dr. Mosblech was a cultured gentleman. No courtier ever possessed manners more suave or could more gracefully turn a compliment to the ladies. He could step from his quarters in the poorhouse into any drawing room and be as to the manner born. There was scarcely any subject that he could not intelligently converse upon. Graceful as a writer, he was a powerful debater, especially upon any scientific subject. Although he had abandoned the career in the church for which he had been intended, he was yet deeply religious, and as a scientist was never ready to accept any theory that seemed in any manner to controvert the Bible. It was that which impelled him to dispute with Darwin; it was that which prompted him to repudiate the igneous theory of the origin of this world, as he did upon more than one occasion in forcible manner.

Dr. Mosblech had in the late Rev. A. L. Benze, pastor of St. John's Lutheran church, an attached friend at whose home he was a frequent and welcome visitor, and when he died in 1886, Dr. Mosblech was buried in Erie cemetery and his grave is now marked by a modest monument of marble erected by the good minister of St. John's, now also at rest in the same Godsacre. To some it may seem unfit or a pity that one who had filled so high a place in the intellectual world in his life should now rest in that portion of the cemetery called the Potters Field. But let not foolish prejudice miscall a sacred place or give it an evil name. The resting place of God's poor is hallowed ground. When the pauper is laid beneath the sod, he has attained to the same level as the most mighty; and no matter how proud the monument that may mark the grave of the great, he is but

a handful of dust, and his soul is with Him who is no respecter of persons.

But the resting place of Dr. Mosblech is especially happy, associating his memory as it does with what his life had been. Under the giant trees, relics of the primeval forest, he sleeps while the flowers he loved bloom over him each recurring spring, and the choristers of the wood continue to sing the songs he loved while he was in this life. Quiet and retired, more than the better known portions of the cemetery, it is such a place as he would have chosen.

Dr. Mosblech, doctor of medicine, doctor of philosophy, member of the Society of Asiatics, was master of fifteen different languages; he was eminent as a scientist; he was cultured in all that is scholarly, was known the world over, although he died in the Erie County Almshouse. He was a man of no evil habits; a genial gentleman, a loyal friend, and a good, but unfortunate citizen.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE CITY SCHOOLS.

THE LITTLE LOG HOUSE.—PRIVATE SCHOOLS.—ERIE ACADEMY.—PUBLIC SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT.—HIGH SCHOOL.—LIBRARY.

There has been no good record preserved of the beginning of education in Erie. No doubt there were teachers and some sort of school facilities available as early in Erie as in any other part of the county; that among the first settlers there were not a few who desired to have their children given a schooling and that there were also teachers ready to impart instruction who opened their houses and converted them into schools in order that the rising generation might obtain a start. But there is no record that this was so, nor any traditions with regard to it. It is a matter of record, however, that a school building was erected in 1808. It was made of hewn logs and stood at the corner of Seventh and Holland streets, and that piece of ground dedicated to the cause of education at that time has, for the full measure of a century been the site of a school, part of the time occupied by the building in which was imparted to Erie students the highest education the state provides. Today the site is occupied by public school No. 2, one of the most modern of the school buildings of Erie.

The lot upon which the first school was built was orginally purchased from the state by James Baird for twenty-five dollars. That purchase was in 1804. It was sold for school purposes in 1808, Capt. Daniel Dobbins having raised sufficient money by subscription, and when bought it was patented in the name of the Presque Isle Academy. It was a rural school, built of logs and situated in the forest away from the village, which was then all north of Fourth street, with German street about the center of the little town. It was a roomy building, and remarkably well attended. In 1812 it was taught by Dr. Nathaniel Eastman, when it had an enrolment of seventy scholars, thirty girls and forty boys, and that roll is still preserved as a valuable record of the olden time, when education in Erie was just begun. Dr. Eastman afterwards accepted the place of teacher in a school two miles south in Millcreek, when there came to the borough school—for the name of Presque Isle Academy did not figure outside the deed of patent to any extent—John J. Swan, whose teaching experience began two or three years earlier at Girard. He was a mere boy when he

began to teach. He was not yet man grown when he came to the borough school, but his reputation quickly attained to full stature, for he came to be rated among the best of Erie's early teachers, and more than one of the men who afterwards became prominent in affairs in the borough and city proudly acknowledged their indebtedness to John J. Swan.

The Presque Isle Academy continued for a number of years to be the only school in Erie, indeed, until steps were taken to organize the Erie Academy, provision for which had been made by the State Legislature at the time Erie county was laid out. Erie Academy was intended to be for the education of the public, but the free school idea had not yet taken root in the legislative mind, or if it had, was far from the time of fruit. All education at that time was at the expense of the patrons for tuition, books and the necessary supplies. So that while such public institutions as the Erie Academy offered splendid facilities for the acquisition of learning, there yet existed a wide field for tillage by the private or select schools. For a long period these thrived, in many instances drawing their patronage not alone from the village of Erie in which they were located, but from considerable distances. Before a review of the history of the Academy is undertaken it may be profitable to take a glance at passing of the schools of a private character that thrived before the public schools exclusively occupied the ground. This is possible by the aid of the retentive memory of Mrs. Isaac Moorhead, who recounts no small measure of her experience in these institutions of learning.

First was the little school in the Old Yellow Meeting House. This stood at what is now 618 Sassafras street, and was taught by a young law student named Mott, who in the capacity of teacher contrived to eke out enough of the needful to support himself while fitting himself for the legal profession. The next school to which the youthful student graduated from Mr. Mott was Miss Lowry's, in the vestry of St. Paul's, a small frame building back of the church, used as a chapel and Sunday school. Miss Lowry drew her scholars chiefly from families of the church—the Hamots, the Grays, the Babbits, the Jacksons and others. Then came the school of Miss Wight, prominent in the Old First Church. The prestige of the First Presbyterian Church was a powerful aid and her school thrived. It occupied a building on Seventh street near the little stream that used to flow past, a charming locality in those days. Miss Wight was a New England maid of undetermined age, was devoted to the church as well as to her profession, and her school endured for many years.

Jane Wilson, who taught school was a daughter of Thomas Wilson, member of Congress from the Erie district from 1813 to 1816—the same who had been the first prisoner for debt in the little old jail on Second street. In Miss Wilson's case teaching had become a ne-

cessity, but she was an admirable instructress. Her school was held in the basement of the Babbitt residence on Peach street, and that residence too was hard by that beautiful little stream. Miss Polly Coover taught school for several years in the second story of a block on the east side of State street between Fourth and Fifth streets. She was a spinster, but at length astounded the populace by announcing her secret marriage to her cousin Michael C. Kerr. They moved to Indiana, where he, getting into politics, attained to the position of Speaker of the Congressional House of Representatives.

In Mrs. Moorhead's recollection there were, at this time three public schools, one on Ninth street on what is now the Downing lot; one on East Seventh street, which is now No. 2, and one on Second street between State and Peach, and in the third of these the late John R. Cochran was a teacher. The first seminary was located on French street between Third and Fourth streets, conducted by the Misses Field from New England, and many of the leading society women of old Erie were educated under the Misses Field. The Erie Institute conducted by Asa Emerson Foster and his amiable wife, originally from Worcester, Mass., was kept for many years in the house that until recently formed part of the Kimberly hotel, and it became a popular and useful educational institution. In those days it was acquiring an education to learn Latin, and this was the principal study, with some attention to mathematics and accomplishments. Among those who attended were Paymaster George A. Lyon, U. S. N., Geo. P. Colt, Julius Hoskinson and William L. Scott.

Madame Soznoski, a foreigner, made a sudden advent and, attached to the school for young ladies conducted by Rev. and Mrs. Fuller in the old United States Hotel on the bluff at the foot of French street, drew a large patronage. She taught music, French and drawing in the excellent school of the Fullers.

Louisa and Calista Ingersoll came introduced by Rev. Henry Tulledge, rector of St. Paul's. Their school was opened in the marble house on State street, part of the old United States Bank establishment. They surrounded themselves with theretofore unheard-of elegancies, and taught besides the solids of education, painting and drawing; music on the piano, harp and guitar; French, Spanish and dancing. The school proved immediately popular and was largely patronized. The Ingersolls taught many years and were very successful. Calista became the wife of Isaac B. Gara, long prominent in Erie as an editor and politician.

Probably the last venture into select educational work was the Bowman Academy, which, in 1857, advertised itself. It was an institution devoted, as its announcement stated, to education, literature, science and the fine arts. It was accommodated in the upper floors of Moore & Austin's block on North Park row, and the patrons of the

school were C. M. Reid, Dr. A. Beebe, J. W. Douglas, James C. Marshal, I. B. Gara, John A. Tracy, G. A. Elliott, Wm. S. Lane, Dr. T. H. Stuart, S. A. Davenport, Benjamin Grant and A. McD. Lyon. Its lease of life was not long, however. The Academy and the rapidly advancing public schools had narrowed the field in Erie.

The Erie Academy was the first school to make a start with a promise or prospect of permanence before it. The movement to establish the Erie Academy began in 1816, delayed, no doubt, by the conditions existing in Erie during the period of the war of 1812, but, once the matter was taken up, there were no unnecessary delays. An organization was effected and an application made to the Legislature for a charter of incorporation. This charter was granted and approved by the Governor March 25, 1817. Now there had been provision made for just such a movement as the organization of an academy years before. The State Legislature in an act passed in 1799, laying out the county of Erie had provided that in the sales of land, 500 acres were to be held back out of each reserve tract at Erie and Waterford for the use of such schools and academies as may hereafter be established by law, and subsequently fifteen lots in the square bounded by Fourth, Fifth, Myrtle and Chestnut streets were added as a site for the proposed academy at Erie. This was the endowment of the proposed school. The act passed in 1817, provided for "An Academy or Public School for the education of youth in the English and other languages, in the useful arts, sciences and literature, to be under the care, direction and government of nine trustees, namely: Rev. Robert Reid, Rufus S. Reed, Robert Brown, Thomas Forster, Thomas Wilson, John C. Wallace, Judah Colt, Thomas H. Sill and Giles Sanford." These men represented the best there was in Erie at that time. Years afterward, at an academy reunion, a speaker characterized these first trustees thus: "We find the learned and devoted Rev. Robert Reid, a native of Ireland, who had come to Erie in 1811; the energetic Rufus Seth Reed of Massachusetts, one of the first settlers in the town in 1795; Judah Colt, who had come in 1796 from New England; Robert Brown, who arrived the same year from Virginia as a surveyor; the public spirited Col. Forster, who came in 1796 from Dauphin county, and Thomas Wilson, who chose Erie for his home in 1800. United with these were Dr. John C. Wallace, an accomplished physician, a pupil of Dr. Rush and a surgeon in the Wayne expedition of 1794; also Giles Sanford, the merchant, since 1810 a resident of Erie; and Thomas H. Sill, the first resident lawyer, who, since 1813, had made Erie his home." No better board could have been selected from Erie at the time. The act of incorporation granted to the trustees named in the charter the tract of land reserved for school purposes.

All the preliminaries having been attended to the trustees proceeded to organize the school. It was opened October 5, 1819, in a house owned by Col. Forster on French street, opposite the Reed House and Rev. Robert Reid was engaged as principal, with John Kelley as assistant. At a meeting in October, 1819, the trustees decided not to build upon the lots on Fourth and Fifth streets, which were not readily accessible from the village at that time, but to purchase a site at Ninth and Peach from Enoch Marvin, and on May 25, 1820, the Legislature granted $2,000 to the trustees with which to erect a building. A contract was made for the new school soon after the purchase of the lot, and it was completed in 1822. The school was supported in part by the tuition fees, and in part by the rentals of the farm property, the city lots having been sold to pay for the land on Peach street. The original academy was a two-story building, rectangular in form, the broad side fronting on Ninth street. It was constructed of the blue stone of this vicinity and surmounted by a belfry that occupied the middle of the roof. Its cost was $2,500.

During the first few years the English branches only were taught, among the principals being Rev. Dr. Reid, John Kelley, E. D. Gunnison and A. W. Brewster. In 1827 Asa E. Foster was elected principal, when the Academy became a classical school. Mr. Foster continued as principal for nine years, and it may be said that the reputation of the Academy had become established during his administration. The period during which it flourished most was that of the administration of Reid T. Stewart, the enrolment in 1844 having reached 207, including many pupils from a distance, but for long the Academy continued to hold high rank among educational institutions, and for many years it was through its doors that the men and women of prominence in business and society in Erie made their entrance upon the stage of active life. Among the most successful of the principals of the Academy during the ninety years of its existence, were James Park, Reid T. Stewart, J. C. Reid, J. W. Wetmore, Rev. J. Henry Black, Fayette Durlin, Rev. Geo. W. Gunnison, Rev. Lemuel G. Olmstead, Albion W. Tourgee, C. W. Stone, Andrew H. Caughey, H. A. Strong and Alaric Stone.

In 1868 an effort was begun by the board of school directors to obtain control of the Academy property, under an act of the Legislature which authorized such a transfer. But it failed, there being a tie vote of the trustees when the matter came up for decision. It was not the end. In 1875 the matter again came up, when by a two-thirds vote it was decided to transfer the property to the school board. It required the approval of the court, however, to make the transfer legal and binding. This was refused by the court. But the board was permitted to occupy the Academy building with the High School for about two years. This action of the trustees produced a sensation among the

friends of the Academy and brought about a reunion of teachers and alumni in the fall of 1875, that was a notable affair. The addresses were as many of them protests against the proposed change as they were reviews of the former days, and a profound effect was caused by the announcement that J. Frank Tracy had offered to endow the Academy with $500,000 provided it be raised to a college, and that the Marine Hospital property be secured. The result of the reunion was that the attempts to divert the Academy property to the school board were thwarted for the time being. The offer of Frank Tracy was never taken seriously.

In 1878 the Academy building was remodeled in an attempt to improve and modernize it, but architecturally it suffered severely. It was not an improvement in appearance, whatever may have been the gain in room or conveniences. In 1895 an act of the Legislature was approved which provided that the trustees of an academy chartered by an act of the Assembly might select and appoint 30 qualified electors as corporators. The corporators may fill vacancies in their ranks, and appoint from among their members nine trustees. The first board of trustees under the new deal—for there was a reorganization under the act in 1896—were M. Griswold, Walter Scott, W. T. Farrar, John P. Vincent, H. A. Clark, J. C. Sturgeon, M. H. Taylor, H. F. Watson, J. W. Wetmore. In 1909 the school is under the principalship of Travers J. Edmonds, a graduate of Yale.

The public school act of Pennsylvania was passed in 1834, and permitted each district in the state to decide for itself whether or not it would adopt the public school system of education. The city of Erie was one of the first places in the state to decide upon the adoption of the system. In November, 1834, a meeting of citizens was held in the Courthouse at which Dr. William Johns presided and William Kelley acted as secretary. After discussing the subject generally Elijah Babbitt and George Kellogg moved to collect a tax of $1,000 additional to what the county commissioners and school directors raised, so that the system would be properly funded. In 1836, upon the recommendation of a committee that had been appointed to consider the matter, the borough was divided into four sub-districts, and the next year four small frame school houses were erected on leased ground, the houses costing $310 each, the directors deeming it unwise to purchase real estate. There were 340 pupils enrolled.

In 1844, the school buildings having become altogether inadequate to the demands upon them and the directors having in the meantime acquired wisdom of a different shade, a radical departure was decided upon. At that time the borough was divided into two wards, known as the East Ward and the West Ward, and each ward had its own school board, independent of the other in a sense, but working in

harmony. With the condition that had arisen and the evident necessity for some system of grading, it was decided to abolish the small schools, and, purchasing land, erect two large brick buildings. The plan was not carried out, however, until 1848, when there were built the East Ward school, upon the lot at Seventh and Holland streets, where the log school house of 1808 had stood, and the West Ward school on the corner of Seventh and Myrtle. Both were five-teacher buildings, and of much the same plan. The first public examination was held on May 8, 1849. The first school for teaching the German language was opened in 1853 under the German Free School Association.

On the first Monday of June, 1854, a new school law went into effect which increased the number of boards to three, the East Ward, the West Ward, and the Board of Controllers, the functions of the ward boards being to raise and expend a fund for building purposes, while the board of controllers had to do with the teaching and general direction of the schools, and this system obtained until 1870, when a special act was passed creating the School District of the City of Erie, which is in operation to the present time.

In 1855 the East Ward Board decided to build still larger, and obtained plans, similar to those employed in a large Canadian city. It was the general belief that it would be a costly undertaking and for this reason, rather than that a larger building was not required, strong opposition arose, and protests were made to the board. They were to no purpose, for the board was fully decided. The objectors thereupon decided to apply to the court for a restraining injunction, but before getting to the point of laying the matter before the court the opposition weakened, and the directors proceeded with the work of erecting the new school, which was finished in 1860. It was a handsome building three stories high, and regarded as a model at the time. The board of the West Ward pursued a different policy. When their building had been outgrown the directors decided to erect another school, and in 1863 erected No. 3 building at the corner of Sixteenth and Sassafras streets, and in 1864, No. 4 on Fifth street, near Chestnut. In 1865 the East Ward board built No. 5, on Twelfth street near German, and in 1869 the West Ward board erected No. 6, at the corner of Tenth and Sassafras.

The public school system, after twenty years, had begun to assume such proportions that it required a better system of management than had theretofore obtained and the Board of Controllers decided to have a superintendent. At the time Henry S. Jones was principal of the West Ward School. He was educated to be a teacher in the Michigan Normal School and had been principal at Three Rivers and Dowagiac, when called to Erie in 1858, to take the principalship of the West Ward school. The choice of the Board of Control, when in

search of a superintendent naturally fell upon Mr. Jones. In 1865 he was elected to perform the duties of superintendent, and in 1867, the law creating the office of superintendents of schools and defining their duties having been that year passed, Mr. Jones was, in June, duly elected city superintendent. His was a long term of faithful and zealous work. Always abreast of the times, diligent, even-tempered, patient and enthusiastic in his work, he advanced the standing of education in Erie to a point at the very head of American municipalities. He was universally respected in Erie, and by the educational associations of the land was frequently honored. In 1881 La Fayette College at Easton conferred upon him the degree of Ph. D. He served as superintendent until 1890, and was succeeded by Henry C. Missimer, a graduate of Yale, who had been principal of Erie High School from 1873, and who continues as city superintendent of schools.

The Erie High School was established June 26, 1866, and the "people's college," as its friends are pleased to call it, has been popular from the very beginning. It occupied the upper stories of school No. 2, from the time it was opened until 1891, with the exception of the years 1875 and 1876 when the Academy was used. In September, 1891, it was changed to its permanent quarters in the central school, which was in reality built for it, though for the purpose of diverting the opposition to the project the name Central School instead of High School was given to it. The High School was opened in 1866 with J. M. Wells as principal, and an enrolment of 166 scholars. The first graduating class, in 1869, numbered but two. It has had a remarkable growth, however, and an ever increasing popularity. Its commence-

ment exercises in June each year are held in the largest theatre of the city which is invariably filled. Its principals have been: J. M. Wells, 1866 to 1870; William Reed, Jr., 1870 to 1873; H. C. Missimer, 1873 to 1890; John C. Diehl, a graduate of Erie High School and afterward of Yale, 1890 to the present time. As a rule the certificates of Erie High School are accepted as sufficient for admission to all the colleges and universities of the land, and scores of boys and girls have graduated from Erie High School into the colleges. The graduating class in 1909 numbered 107 and the enrolment the same year, 874. The school that at the start was accommodated in three rooms, in 1909 required twenty.

Meanwhile there had been development all along the line. Long ago the use of frame schools had been abandoned, nothing but brick structures being erected. For a time there was a limit to the cost of these, in Dr. Jones's time $25,000 to $30,000 being regarded as the extreme. But as the growing city increased the demands upon them, old buildings were enlarged and new buildings were made of greater capacity than had previously been the rule. The development of sanitary systems called for better methods of heating and ventilation, and of modern and approved plumbing. There were innovations in furnishing that commended themselves to a progressive people determined to keep pace with the advancing times. Devices not only for the comfort and health of the scholars but of their safety in case of fire and panic were provided, and at the present time a school that costs from $60,000 to $75,000 is not regarded as of a high price. The schools of Erie are not surpassed, it is believed, by those of any other city in the land. Erie now possesses eighteen schools of grade below the high school.

The Erie Public Library property belongs in the school chapter, for it is part and parcel of the public school establishment, rated a degree higher than the high school, and, though managed by a board of trustees, it is subject, nevertheless, to the Board of Directors of the School District of the City of Erie. It is unique, the pioneer of institutions of the kind, in that it bears the relation it does to the public schools. It belongs to the people and the people have a pride in its possession for no hint or suggestion of gift or donation that might even remotely suggest charity, is connected with Erie's Public Library. Andrew Carnegie, the great library promoter, had no hand in building it, and his donation of $6,000, given after it was completed, was expended in the purchase of books—albeit the gift was voluntary, without request or suggestion, and accepted as a recognition by the giver, of Erie's good sense, if you please, and his approval of the spirit manifested by the people of Erie.

The Public Library is not Erie's first, for thirty years ago or more, through the liberality of a large number of citizens, and especially of Myron Sanford, Esq., an excellent, though small, library was purchased and made available to the public, subject to the payment of a small fee. This library is alluded to in the account given of the Y. M. C. A. That library was not kept up and gradually dwindled to nothing, and in the course of time the subject of procuring another came to be discussed with increasing seriousness, until at length, upon the approach of Erie's Centennial, those who had the matter most at heart decided that would be an appropriate time to bring matters to a head by having the library project launched as a feature of the celebration. It is interesting to observe that this second movement for a library had its impetus from the same source as the first library had—not in Myron Sanford, to be sure, for he had gone to his fair reward, but in

PUBLIC LIBRARY, ERIE.

the Sanfords that remained. Mrs. Myron Sanford and Miss Laura G. Sanford in 1895 donated to Hon. Walter Scott, mayor of Erie, W. J. Sell and C. F. Allis, as trustees for the citizens of Erie, for library purposes, a lot 60x90 feet on Seventh street, east of French, and on September 10, 1895, the corner stone of the intended public library was laid. A dollar subscription was then started, but the plan failed.

Meanwhile, although interest in the Sanford library project seemed to have died out, the larger project continued. There had been discussion of the subject for a considerable time in the newspapers, and it had been broached to the Board of Education, A. A. Freeman, a member of the Board having from time to time brought it forward in resolutions of one form or another. At length, on December 6, 1894, Supt. H. C. Missimer, as the result of a conference with Benjamin Whitman and A. A. Freeman, Esq., made a very clear presentation of the matter to the Board, explaining the city's need, detailing

what had been done by other municipalities and outlining a plan. He urged the Board to appoint a committee to frame such legislation as might be necessary. The outcome was that in due course an act was drawn by Mr. Whitman in consultation with Mr. Freeman, which provided that the board of school directors of any city or district in the state, except cities of the first and second classes, had authority to provide a place for and maintain a public library for the general use of the residents in the district. The proposed law was approved by the Board of Education, and in due course, through efforts in the Legislature by Senator McCreary and Representative Gould, and throughout the state by Erie friends of the measure, the bill was passed, and became a law by receiving the approval of Governor Hastings on June 28, 1905.

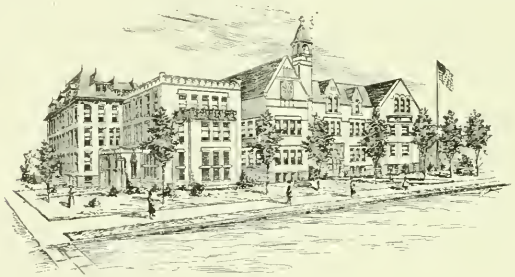
In November following the Board appointed as trustees of the Erie Public Library, Louis Rosenzweig, Esq., Dr. M. C. Dunigan, Hon. J. F. Downing, L. M. Little, Charles Jarecki and Benjamin Whitman. In March, 1896, the Board issued bonds for $50,000, and in March, 1897, bonds for $60,000 more, the proceeds of which, supplementing appropriations from the school fund, went to the erection of the building and the purchase of ground. The lot on French street, fronting on South Park and extending to Seventh street was bought of Dr. Charles Brandes for $13,000, and later 22½ feet additional extending from the Park to Seventh street, was bought for $4,500. On May 6, 1897, the board accepted twenty feet more, a gift from Mrs. Myron Sanford, Miss Laura G. Sanford and others, valued at $4,000. The plans selected for the building were by Alden & Harlow of Pittsburg, being in style of the Italian Renaissance, and the contract was awarded to Henry Shenk January 14, 1897. The building was completed in two years at a cost of $148,587.19, including the surroundings and furniture, and it was dedicated February 16, 1899. Charles E. Wright was the first librarian, and the expenditure for the first year, including books, but excluding salaries, was $15,094.39. The departments grew rapidly. The museum, under direction of Chas. F. Laurie soon filled two of the basement rooms and part of another, instead of being confined to one as had been intended. The art gallery contains a collection of pictures, the principal of them works by leading American artists—paintings in oil and water colors that were purchased from time to time out of art exhibitions given in the public library under the auspices of the Art Club of Erie, the funds for their purchase provided by the Art Club, or resulting from public subscriptions, in most cases. The collection is the nucleus of a permanent collection, and is itself already no mean exhibition, valuable because representing the best of American art procurable; educational, because discriminating taste has been employed and regard has been paid to the inclusion of schools and styles.

The library has been favored with increasing popularity in every department, and most notably in the circulating department. When the library was opened it contained 9,000 volumes; in 1909 there were catalogued 44,049 volumes. After serving one year as librarian Mr. Wright resigned and was succeeded by Miss Katherine Mack, who remained two years. Mrs. Jean Hard, successor of Miss Mack, has ever since efficiently filled the post of librarian.

St. Benedict's Academy on East Ninth street, east of St. Mary's church is in charge of the sisterhood of the order of St. Benedict. The nursery of the Benedictine order in America is St. Mary's in Elk county, this state, and from that place there came to Erie in 1856, five sisters of the order, who attaching themselves to St. Mary's church established a convent. The house occupied at first was a small frame one, and the sisters had a hard struggle for several years, but won out at last. In 1864 they courageously set about establishing an academy for the education of young women and children, devoting to the work a portion of the convent building that had been erected next to the church. In 1870 a large and commodious building for educational purposes was erected east of and connected with the convent building, to which there was added in 1874, another large and handsome building—a chapel for the use of the religieuse and the pupils of the Academy. With this latest extension the Academy was completely equipped, having ample facilities for teaching, for boarding the pupils and for auditorium purposes. It had become necessary, else it would not have been undertaken, and for a number of years St. Benedict's has been one of the most prosperous schools in the city. Though it is under the control of the Catholic church, there are no restrictions with reference to creed or nationality, the results being that the Academy has a large patronage from professors of other faiths than that under the auspices of which it is so successfully maintained.

The Villa Maria Academy is the largest school building in Erie, with the exception, perhaps, of the Erie High School, but is, of course, of quite a different order, being a boarding school for young ladies. It is, architecturally, and with reference to its location and surroundings, the handsomest educational institution in Erie. It owes its existence to the munificence and far-sightedness of the late Father Thomas A. Casey. Always deeply interested in educational matters, and possessed of a large private fortune, he donated the entire square bounded by Liberty and Plum and Eighth and Ninth streets to be the site of an Academy for young ladies, and himself selecting the name, contributed most of the money necessary for the erection of the original building. It was a handsome structure, designed by David K. Dean & Sons, and was erected in 1891, the dedication occurring on May 9, 1892. The building and grounds—the latter beautifully parked

—are owned, controlled and managed by the sisterhood of the order of St. Joseph, acting under the supervision of the Bishop of the diocese. The sisters have no means for the support of the institution other than the funds derived from tuition and such contributions as friends of the Academy may make to the cause. It has been most successful, so much so indeed, that early in 1902 the enlargement of the school became an imperative necessity, and courageously the sisterhood set about providing for the demand. On the 8th of September, 1902, ground was broken for a large addition, exceeding in size the splendid school that had been doing service for ten years. The new part was designed by F. F. Hecker of Pittsburg, and built by Kirschner Brothers, and was planned not only to meet the requirements of the time but to provide for the future. It was dedicated on June 21, 1904. Its cost was $80,000.



VILLA MARIA ACADEMY.

The education covers the usual academical training, and, in addition music, art, deportment and the general culture and refinement that pertain to the sex. It is now five years since the enlargement was effected, but already the sisters are finding that the demands upon the institution begin to call for yet more room. Sister M. Theresa was directress until August, 1905, when she was succeeded by Sister M. Ernestine, who is still in charge.

The first of the Catholic parochial schools of Erie was that of St. Mary's church opened in a small frame building on Ninth street in 1850. When the new church was built in 1855, the old church was devoted to school purposes and served until 1866, when a brick school house was erected on Tenth street in rear of the church. This building was occupied until, having become too small, a handsome new school building was erected in 1898, at a cost of $65,000. The association was necessarily compelled to get into debt, and when the building was ready for occupancy this amounted to $64,000. Steadily, how-

ever, this has been reduced, until the report of the auditors showed that at the end of 1908 it had been reduced to $20,000, an average reduction of $4,000 annually, and a prospect that in five years more it will all be wiped out. "And there are no rich men in the congregation either," was the comment of Mr. John Gensheimer, one of the zealous leaders in the association.

St. Patrick's school was established in 1863 in a small frame building in rear of the church. In 1867 a two-story brick school was erected on Fourth street between Holland and German, and occupied until the present. St. Patrick's Auditorium, the work of the energetic Father Cauley and completed in 1896, is in a sense an auxiliary of St. Patrick's school.

St. Joseph's school was begun in 1867 in a small frame building on Eighteenth street, but later in the same year took possession of a frame building erected on Twenty-fourth street, adjacent to the church. The present handsome school building on the corner of Twenty-fifth and Sassafras was erected in 1896.

St. John's school was established in 1870, contemporaneously with the church. In 1887 one of the handsomest school buildings of the time was erected on the corner of Twenty-seventh and Wallace streets, which in 1905 was doubled in size.

St. Michael's school was opened in 1885 in a brick building adjoining the church on Seventeenth street, between Cherry and Poplar.

The school of St. Stanislaus church, in the Polish colony, was opened in 1888, but abandoned in 1901 for the new brick school built at the corner of Twelfth and Wallace streets.

The school of the Sacred Heart church was opened in 1898. The building is the same that served for Public School No. 16, having been moved to its present location on Poplar street north of Twenty-sixth.

St. Ann's school is the first building occupied by the church of the same name, and devoted to school purposes in 1905, when the new church was dedicated.

The Cathedral school on Eleventh street east of the High school, was built in 1896.

The school of the church of the Holy Trinity (Polish) was begun in the summer of 1909, and when completed will be one of the most costly and largest in the city. It is to be of reinforced concrete construction, modern in plan, and fire proof. It is expected it will be ready for occupancy in 1910.

CHAPTER XVII.—ERIE CHURCHES.

Services in the Court House.—First Meeting Houses.—Beginnings of the Various Denominations and Their Spread.

The people who first settled Erie were mostly of the Scotch-Irish race, many of them from farther east in the state—from the Juniata and Susquehanna valleys. This people may be said to be naturally religious, or rather, generations of training had made them church-goers and professors of religion. It is therefore in a measure to be wondered at that there was not an effort made to establish a church in Erie at an earlier date than seventeen years after the permanent settlement had begun. As has already been related, religious effort started quite early in other parts of the county—at Colt's Station, at North East (or Lower Greenfield) and in Venango, the Middlebrook Presbyterian church having been built in 1801. In Erie, however, there was, according to all accounts, nothing whatever done toward providing for public worship until the prompting came from outside. A large proportion of the people were of Scotch-Irish stock, as has been stated. This people had affiliated with the denomination known at that day as the Associate Reformed Presbyterian church. The nearest presbytery of that denomination was at Pittsburg. In 1811, at a meeting of the Monongahela Presbytery, Rev. George Buchanan was sent to Erie as a missionary "to preach two Sabbaths before the next meeting of the Presbytery." This preaching took place, it is believed, in July or August, 1811. Undoubtedly these were the first preaching services held in Erie. At the meeting of the Presbytery, September 4, 1811, a petition was presented for a "supply of sermons," from "persons residing in Erie and Waterford," whereupon Mr. Buchanan was commissioned to return, and did so the same fall. At the next meeting of the Presbytery a petition looking toward establishing a church at Erie was read and Rev. Mr. Galloway was appointed to preach on the third Sabbath in January, 1812, and to preside the following Monday on the business of the petition. The result was a unanimous call to Rev. Robert Reid, who was installed pastor October 21, 1812. On April 12, 1813, Archibald McSparren, Thomas Hughes, David Robinson and Alexander Robinson were duly constituted elders and James Dumars was ordained a deacon. At the first

communion, October 29, 1813, forty-nine members participated. Services were held in various schools and the courthouse until 1816, when a frame church 33x45 feet in size was built on East Eighth street, which was used until a new brick church was built in 1837. The second served with alterations from time to time, the principal change in 1862, until the fine building now occupied was erected in 1901. Years ago the cumbersome name by which the denomination was known was changed and from thence forward it was called the United Presbyterian church. There have, in the nearly a full century of the U. P. church, been but four pastors in charge: Rev. Robert Reid, installed 1812, died May 15, 1844; Rev. J. H. Pressly, installed August 20, 1844, died November 3, 1874; Rev. J. C. Wilson, installed May 1, 1876, resigned 1909, and Rev. Marvin J. Thompson, the present minister, became his successor.

The First Presbyterian church was organized in September, 1815, through the efforts of Rev. Johnston Eaton, who had become established over a church in Fairview, and he devoted a third of his time to Erie during the first years of the church in Erie. During the beginning of its history meetings were held in the courthouse, but later Judah Colt, one of the first elders, provided a place in a building he owned on Sassafras street between Sixth and Seventh streets, used partly for school purposes and universally known as the "Old Yellow Meeting House." The arrangement made in 1815 with Rev. Johnston Eaton endured for three years, when, in 1818, a new deal was made by which for five years he gave the Erie church half of his time. On October 23, 1824, Rev. David McKinney succeeded Rev. Mr. Eaton and was regularly ordained and installed April 13, 1825. Meanwhile a brick church had been built on the site of the present First church, and it was dedicated in September, 1825. A peculiarity of its plan was that the entrance was by doors on each side of the pulpit, so that late comers faced the entire congregation as they entered. Rev. Mr. McKinney resigned in 1829, and on September 29 of that year Rev. George A. Lyon was installed. He was a young man, fresh from the seminary, and the church at Erie was his first charge. It was also his only charge. After more than forty years of service he died, while still the pastor of the First Presbyterian church, on March 24, 1871. Under his ministrations the church grew mightily in proportions and influence. It was the mother church in Erie, from which sprang every other Protestant church, save one, in which the English language was spoken, until the beginning of the decade of the seventies. Besides his very efficient services as minister, Dr. Lyon was a power toward the moral and social uplift of the community and he and his wife were for years recognized as society leaders in Erie. The corner stone of the present church was laid on June 14, 1859; the building was completed and dedicated February 26, 1862. Subsequently im-

provements were made in the interior arrangements and embellishments, until it was recognized as one of the finest church edifices in the state, while, with the handsome chapel that was added, it was one of the most complete in accessories and equipment. The chapel was erected by the late George Selden as a memorial to his wife, and was dedicated in February, 1892. The pastors, after Dr. Lyon, were, Rev. A. H. Carrier, who had been Dr. Lyon's assistant, April 30, 1871; Rev. T. Chalmers Easton, 1879; Rev. William S. Fulton, 1880; Rev. J. H. Selden, 1889, for a short period, when on December 5, 1889, Rev. Herbert C. Ross was installed and served until March, 1906, when he resigned after a period of more than sixteen years.

From time to time there had been some thought given to the subject of uniting the First and Park Presbyterian churches into one body, and upon several occasions it might be said that it had developed into a project. During the end of the decade of the nineties discussion of the feasibility of such a union became active and for a time it appeared as though it might be realized. Both churches than had pastors and a good organization, Park church being especially energetic and progressive, but in need of better church facilities. Being located so near together it became a question whether it would not be wisest to effect a consolidation, which, besides proving more economical would undoubtedly, by concentration greatly increase the strength and efficiency in religious work of the enlarged church organization. However, after being the subject of talk for a considerable period the project fell through at that time, and Park church was rebuilt. When, however, the resignation of Dr. Ross left the First church without a pastor the consolidation scheme again came to the fore, and developed with rapidity. A majority of the members of both congregations seemed to favor it. On the same evening there were two meetings held, one in the chapel of the First church, the other at Park church, and the ballot at each was by a large majority in favor of the union, which was effected March 28, 1906. A short time later an organization was effected under the name of the North Presbyterian church, and a call was extended to Rev. Dr. B. Canfield Jones who had been pastor of Park church. The call was accepted and the united church started on what appeared to be a career of prosperity and usefulness. Soon, however, there occurred disagreements, chiefly with regard to the disposition to be made of the property, and after a period it appeared as though there would be no satisfactory settlement of the matters in dispute. Accordingly, steps were taken to dissolve the union, and this was effected on April 17, 1907, the Presbytery restoring the First Presbyterian church to its former autonomy, and immediate steps toward a complete organization were taken. Later, the same year, a call was extended to Rev. Robert Clements, which was accepted.

Park Presbyterian church was organized April 29, 1855, when the first service was held in the hall of the Empire block, Fifth and State streets, with Rev. William Wilson and Rev. S. J. M. Eaton in charge. There were thirty persons present. It was a temporary organization which was made permanent at Gensheimer's hall on June 28, 1855, by a committee appointed by Erie Presbytery. From there the congregation moved into Park Hall, on French street, which had been built for their use by Myron Sanford, and was occupied until the completion of a new church on South Park Row—the original of the present church—in the fall of 1857. The dedication took place December 22, of that year. Meanwhile Rev. William M. Blackburn was invited to become "stated supply" of the church, and began his work May 26, 1856. He was an energetic leader, and, efficiently supported, the congregation grew rapidly. On May 27, 1857, Mr. Blackburn was installed as pastor, and, with a fine new church as a home and enduring interest the church continued to grow. Mr. Blackburn served nine years, and was succeeded May 11, 1864, by Rev. George F. Cain. Under Mr. Blackburn the church had increased to 127 members. Growth continued under Dr. Cain until the roll contained the names of 242 communicants. The history of the church seemed to be one of continued prosperity. In 1872 the manse, at the corner of Sassafras and Seventh streets was purchased, and the activities of the church continued unabated. Dr. Cain resigned in 1870 to go to a church in Philadelphia. His successors have been Rev. J. O. Denniston, 1871; Rev. Thomas Fullerton, 1873; Rev. J. G. Patterson, 1886; Rev. J. C. Chapman, 1891; Rev. Benj. Canfield Jones, 1895; Rev. S. H. Forrer, the present pastor, in 1908. During Mr. Denniston's pastorate a mission chapel was built at the corner of Seventeenth and Chestnut streets, which became the Chestnut Street Presbyterian church. In 1877, during Dr. Fullerton's administration, the chapel, fronting on Seventh street was built, due largely to the generosity of Elihu Marvin. In the year 1899 the main church was enlarged and practically rebuilt, and in 1909 the chapel on Seventh street was taken down to be replaced by a new edifice, rendered necessary by the increasing demands of a growing congregation.

Park church was an off-shoot of the "Old First church." The Central Presbyterian church was more directly so. Fifty-four persons, members of the First church, decided to separate, and with Rev. C. C. Kimball, who had been associate pastor with Dr. Lyon, on February 23, 1871, organized a new church which was given the name of Central. The meetings were first held in Walther's Hall, and then, until a building of their own was ready for their use, occupied Temperance Hall, in the Dreisigaker block. In 1872 a lot was purchased at the corner of Tenth and Sassafras and in August of that year work was begun on a church that was planned to be built of stone. The

Sunday school section only was completed for the time being, and that was formally dedicated on June 8, 1873. In the new church growth was rapid, but in January, 1888, the building was destroyed by fire. A contract for a new church was made immediately, and the building was completed November 17, 1889, at a cost of $42,000. Mr. Kimball, the pastor at the time of the organization, served until 1878, and was succeeded by Rev. Solon Cobb. In 1895 he resigned and Rev. Hugh L. Hodge was called, and remained until 1909, when he resigned, to be succeeded the same year by Rev. Dr. George F. Bailey, the present pastor. No small measure of the success of the Central Presbyterian church is due to its excellent Sunday school, which is the work of its very efficient superintendent, Charles C. Shirk, the most capable Sunday school worker that Erie ever possessed. From young manhood he has been identified with this work, and for over 45 years neither his interest nor his efforts have for a moment flagged. With Mr. Shirk's Sunday school for the foundation, Central church's progress was never for a moment in doubt.

Chestnut Street Presbyterian church, like many another enterprise of a religious character, had its beginning in a Sunday school mission. In July, 1870, a school was opened in the dwelling of C. W. Brown, by three lay members of the First and Park churches, with but a single scholar in attendance. The second Sunday after there was an attendance of seventy-five, and a room was fitted up for the accommodation of the school. The effort now came into the care of the Y. M. C. A., until December, 1870, when Park church assumed charge. At the end of the first year the membership was 200, when Park church; resolving to make a contribution that would be a memorial of the reunion of the dissevered branches of the Presbyterian church, known as the Old School and the New School, decided to build a chapel for the Chestnut street mission. This was done, and on August 2, 1872, the chapel was dedicated. Rev. J. R. Wilson began to preach early in 1872, and a church was organized in January, 1873, with Mr. Wilson as pastor. He was very successful, and remained until 1879, when he was succeeded by Rev. A. C. Wilson, who served until the end of 1880. From then until 1886 the ministers in charge were Rev. J. D. Kerr, Rev. W. L. Hazlett and Rev. J. H. Edwards. In November, 1886, Rev. R. S. Van Cleve became pastor and has served until the present, save that during a period of absence of fifteen months Rev. Geo. F. Reichel filled the pulpit as supply. A new brick church building took the place of the old frame one in 1891, and was dedicated on October 29 of that year.

The Eastminster Presbyterian church, the youngest of that denomination in Erie, was begun as a mission Sunday school under the First Presbyterian church, and the prime movers were Samuel F. Selden and Philip Leeche, both connected with the Erie City Iron

Works, on East avenue. There was an extensive field in the extreme eastern part of the city for an effort of the sort, and these gentlemen, after looking the ground over, decided upon the Metric Metal section. A store room was secured on Payne avenue, and on May 27, 1894, the Metric Mission was organized with thirty scholars in attendance. Mr. Selden was made superintendent. In March, 1895, a movement to secure a building for the school was started. The Metric Metal Co. donated a lot on Seventh street near Payne avenue, and a new chapel was erected and occupied for the first time, June 30, 1895. On the second anniversary in 1896, the mission was reported free from debt. Soon afterwards a permanent name being sought, Mr. E. P. Schoonmaker, a visitor, suggested Eastminster, which was adopted. Mr. Selden died in 1897, when Henry D. Schoonmaker, one of the most active supporters the mission ever had, was chosen to succeed to the place. In 1899 Mr. Leeche was superintendent and during the summer H. W. McCombs, then a theological student, took an active part in the work, winning many friends. In 1902 an addition as large as the original building was erected and Rev. V. P. Young was engaged as minister for a year, Mr. Schoonmaker again serving as superintendent. In 1904 Miss Frances McClellan was engaged to devote her time to the interests of the mission. The next year Rev. A. D. Archibald came as minister, but, his health failing, Rev. J. P. Irwin served as supply until May, 1907, when Rev. P. N. Osborne became regular pastor of the church, which was that day organized out of the mission, and became chartered as a permanent body.

For a number of years the United Presbyterian church had conducted a mission Sunday school on East Eighteenth street, which, in 1884, it was decided to abandon. To save it the session of Park church decided to assume its control and support. For four years rooms were rented, but in 1889 land was bought and a building erected, in which services were regularly continued for years. In 1901 Miss Laura G. Sanford donated, for a mission, a piece of land on Ninth street near Cascade. During the same year, the workers in the East Eighteenth street mission, having decided to transfer their efforts to the new mission on the west side, the property on Eighteenth street was sold, and the proceeds of the sale were devoted to the erection of a chapel on the Sanford donation. This was begun in 1901 and dedicated in January, 1902, under the name of the Sanford chapel, this name bestowed in honor of Miss Sanford and Mrs. M. Sanford, who had contributed three-fourths of the value of the property—the cost of the chapel was $6,600. While it remained a mission its interests were looked after by Rev. Robert G. Freeman (now pastor of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian church, Buffalo), Rev. Robert Leech, Rev. Hugh Rendall, then divinity students, and Rev. Julius W. Brockway, who also served the Presbyterian church at Fairview. On November 15,

1906, Sanford Presbyterian church was organized and Rev. Julius W. Brockway became its regular pastor, continuing still in that relation. Sanford church in 1909 had a membership of 200, largely young people, and a strong Sunday school.

A mission that had been established by the First U. P. church as the Southwest Mission, during the years of 1898-99 erected a church building at the corner of Twenty-second street and Brown avenue, the funds being raised by voluntary contributions supplemented when the church was near completion by a bequest from the estate of the late Samuel Pollock. The first service of preaching was on Thanksgiving Day, 1899, by Rev. H. L. Hodge of Central Presbyterian church. Pursuant to a petition presented to Lake Presbytery on December 12, 1899, a commission met a short time afterwards in the church and decided to take it under the care of the Board of Home Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. On July 20, 1900, it was permanently organized under the name of the Brown Avenue Presbyterian church, with a membership of 42; M. R. Barr, G. L. Dunn, J. A. Davidson and William B. Munn, elders, and C. J. Brown, J. F. Lawrence, A. F. Myers, George Frater and George E. Gibson, trustees. This church has always had a flourishing Sunday school superintended successively by Wm. B. Munn, J. A. Davidson and George E. Gibson. Rev. J. A. Henderson was called as first pastor, and began in September, 1900. Rev. Geo. W. Bovard succeeded May 1, 1903. The membership, 1909, was 107.

St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church claims an earlier origin than any other of the Protestant churches of Erie, dating back to 1808, when a number of Pennsylvania Germans came together in Eagle Village (then, to be sure, some considerable distance out of Erie) and effected an organization. The history of the early years of the church is not in the form of a well connected story, for the meetings were held in private houses, served by missionaries, and perhaps at irregular intervals. In 1835, however, a reorganization was effected upon a permanent basis and Rev. Karl F. Stohlmann was called as pastor. He was succeeded by Rev. Michael Kuchler. Under Pastor Stohlmann the church secured the gift of a full city block, upon which Pastor Kuchler had the first Lutheran church building erected in 1842. Rev. F. P. Feysel succeeded, in 1845, and Rev. C. G. Stuebgen in 1848. During the administration of the latter (May 6, 1850) St. John's congregation was incorporated. Rev. F. W. Weiskotten, 1853, and Rev. C. A. Brockmann, 1855, were succeeded in 1859 by Rev. Jacob Blass, during whose successful term a new brick church was erected on the land deeded to the church by Conrad Brown, at the corner of Twenty-third and Peach streets, as we know these streets today. The new church was dedicated September 14, 1862. Rev. Wilhelm Schae-

fer became pastor in 1863; Rev. G. Beck in 1866, but died during the same year; Rev. C. F. Boehner in 1867, the parsonage being built during his term of service, which extended to 1872. In that year Rev. Adolph Leopold Benze came to St. John's from a very successful pastorate at Warren, Pa. He was able, efficient, faithful and very much beloved by a congregation that grew to be the largest in Erie, and the mother church of a numerous brood. The church thrived in every way under his directing care. The church edifice was altered and greatly enlarged in 1884. He died January 18, 1891, his pastorate being much the longest in the history of the church. His successor, the present pastor, is his son, Gustave A. Benze, who was installed February 18, 1891. The congregation had again outgrown the church The Sunday school alone numbered 700, the largest in Erie. Accordingly another large addition was made, and this was dedicated in 1897. It is one of the largest Lutheran churches in the country. St. John's united with the Pittsburg Synod in 1898. The centennial anniversary of St. John's was celebrated August 16 to 21, 1908, and at that time it was reported that the regular communicants numbered 1,200; the contributing members of the congregation, 1,355; and the individuals in the families regularly connected, 3,500.

The various churches of the same denomination in Erie sprang from St. John's. The first church to be organized out of the parent body was that known at first as the English Evangelical Lutheran church. The reason for this swarming from the original hive was undoubtedly the matter of the language. In St. John's the official tongue is the German, though in recent years the English is coming steadily and increasingly into use. But in 1861, when the First English Lutheran church was brought into being it was different. The church was organized through the efforts of Rev. J. H. W. Stuckenberg and had for its first elders M. Brown and Henry Gingrich, and John T. Brown and Henry Werther were deacons. There was a membership of 41 to start with, who left the parent church with the cordial blessings of St. John's. At first meetings were held in a frame building in Eagle Village, but land was immediately secured and a frame church building, erected on the corner of Eleventh and Peach streets, was dedicated in 1864. The pastor, Rev. Mr. Stuckenberg, enlisted in the Union army as chaplain of the 145th Pennsylvania regiment, the pulpit being filled by supply until his return. The pastors who succeeded were Rev. J. L. Smith, 1866; Rev. J. R. Groff, 1872; Rev. J. H. Bruning, 1874; Rev. T. O. Baker, 1881. Rev. Mr. Baker's term was the longest pastorate in the history of the Lutheran church in Erie. He was an energetic man and the church grew rapidly so that in 1887, to meet the requirements a handsome new brick church was built and dedicated on June 5, 1887, as the Luther Memorial church. Growth continued, but the policy of setting up new churches was adopted with sat-

isfactory results. Rev. Mr. Baker resigned in 1906, and is now pastor of a church in Washington, D. C. He was succeeded by Rev. G. Franklin Gehr, the present pastor.

Zion's Lutheran church was the first offset from Luther Memorial, and was organized in 1890 as a Sunday school and shortly afterwards erected a building on Poplar street between Nineteenth and Twentieth, became a regular church and was given in charge of Rev. W. E. Frey, who has continued to be its pastor until the present time. The membership of Zion's church is 260 communicants.

In 1893 another missionary effort of Luther Memorial became successful by taking on permanency. It was called Grace Mission; it is now Grace church. It started as a Sunday school, as most of the recently organized churches did, and soon grew into a regular church organization. The meeting-house, erected soon after the church was formed, is on the corner of Tenth and Wayne streets, and it has 130 communicants and 158 Sunday school scholars.

St. Stephen's Lutheran church is a daughter of St. John's, and was begun as a Sunday school in 1893. In 1896 it became self-supporting and in 1898 was organized as a congregation. Early in its history A. L. Benze, then a theological student, served it ministerially, but when it became organized, Rev. C. Theodore Benze was chosen as pastor and continued to fill that important place until elected president of Thiel College in the summer of 1909. It owns a lot and a plain but serviceable church and has 187 communicants. Rev. L. O. Benze was appointed in September, 1909.

St. Matthew's Lutheran church is the youngest of the offshoots of St. John's in Erie. In 1901 a Sunday school was begun in a rented shop on Poplar street near Eighth. In a short time it was deemed advisable to procure a permanent location, and this was found in the former Baptist chapel on the corner of Seventh and Cascade streets, which was dedicated as St. Matthew's church on Luther's birthday, November 10, 1901. It was organized as a congregation October 30, 1904, with Rev. J. J. Neudoerffer as pastor, who is still in service.

The Church of the Redeemer has had a varied experience since it was organized in 1892. At that time it was of the Emanuel Synod, and, with Rev. H. K. Müller as pastor erected the church building on Twenty-third street near Parade. Afterwards it was reorganized as the Church of the Redeemer, under Rev. J. Schubert, and affiliated with the Missouri Synod. Rev. Mr. Reichter succeeded in 1907, but in the spring of 1908 the congregation united with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pittsburg, and became incorporated under its new name. Rev. J. J. Neudoerffer, of St. Matthew's, supplied the pulpit until Rev. J. A. Beighey was called in October, 1908. The congregation then numbered 74, and the communicants 43, but the church is growing. Services are in German and English, the Sunday school

taught in both languages and the Luther League employing English only.

Swedish Lutheran Bethany church was organized and incorporated in 1885, connected with the Augustana Synod, and built its first church on Tenth street near German in 1890. Rev. C. S. Renius was the first pastor, and at the conclusion of his term of service the membership numbered about 150. In 1895 Mr. Renius retired and for a year or two the church was supplied with theological students, Rev. John V. Carlson assuming charge as regular pastor in 1897. He was succeeded in 1903 by Rev. Olaf Glim, for two years, when, in 1905, the present pastor, Rev. G. E. Forsberg, took charge. In 1906 the lot on the corner of Tenth and German was bought and work begun on a handsome modern brick church, which was completed and dedicated in 1907. The church property, valued at $38,000, includes three lots at Tenth and German on which are erected the church and a fine parsonage, and a lot with a neat brick chapel on the road between the Buffalo and Lake roads (that property being valued at $2,000). The congregation numbers 684, and the communicants 350.

The Finnish Lutheran church was organized in 1898, and meets in a hall at No. 115 Plum street. The pastor is Rev. F. V. Kava, who lives at Ashtabula, and gives the church in Erie two Sundays each month. The trustees of the church are Isaac Heittiko, John Karhu, Jacob Tammi, Jacob Komulainen, Edward Holmstrom, David Aho, and John Heittiko. There are 200 Finnish families in Erie.

The German Evangelical Trinity Lutheran church was organized in the fall of 1881 by ministers of the Missouri Synod, a congregation of five members being formed in December of that year. Rev. H. Sieck was installed as pastor early in 1882; a house was rented at Sixth and Myrtle streets and meetings held there. In the latter part of 1882, a lot was bought on Eleventh street between Myrtle and Chestnut, upon which a small frame building was erected. Rev. Mr. Sieck was succeeded in 1886 by Rev. C. Morhart; Rev. C. Ruppel came in 1892; Rev. George Johannes in 1895; Rev. T. S. Keyl in 1899; Rev. R. von Niebelschuetz in 1905, and Rev. M. H. Hemann, the present pastor in October, 1908. A new brick church was begun in 1905, the old church having been removed to the back part of the lot and converted into a parochial school, and in 1906 the twenty-fifth or jubilee anniversary of the organization was celebrated by the dedication of the new church. The congregation numbers 500, and the communicating members 260, while there are 45 scholars in the parochial school.

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church, of a different connection, however, than the Lutheran churches hitherto considered, was organized in 1850, with Rev. H. F. Hartmann as pastor. Originally it was composed of twenty members of St. John's Lutheran church, who

separated amicably, and it is attached to the German Evangelical Synod of North America. In 1851 a brick church was erected on Peach street between Tenth and Eleventh. The pastors, after Mr. Hartmann, were: 1852, C. Goehling; 1856, W. Hasskarl; 1857, Z. Faber, who died while pastor; 1858, F. R. Ludwig; 1859, J. W. Semler, who also died while in service; 1869, J. Keller; 1871, E. Jung; 1876, Valentine Kern. Rev. Mr. Kern served St. Paul's for thirty years, during a period marked by progress and prosperity. In 1879 a large addition was undertaken and the rededication took place in June, 1880; in 1882 a parsonage was built; in 1883 a fine Sunday school chapel was erected. Mr. Kern resigned in 1906, when a call was extended to Rev. F. W. A. Eiermann. The next year extensive betterments were effected by which the church was entirely remodeled and a large addition built, at a cost of $23,000. A Christian Endeavor society was organized, and under Mr. Eiermann the church took on renewed activity. The congregation numbers about 1,200, and is one of the largest Protestant bodies in Erie.

St. Luke's Evangelical Lutheran church is an offshoot of St. Paul's, and was organized in November, 1896. In April, 1897, Rev. G. D. Bruegel, D. D., became pastor. The church built by the Universalist society in 1844, being then unoccupied, was rented until December, 1897, when it was bought and thoroughly overhauled. Rev. Mr. Bruegel closed his service with St. Luke's in 1899, and died a few years later and was buried in Erie cemetery. Rev. J. H. Asbeck, Ph. D., followed, being installed in July, 1900, but resigned in May, 1904. Rev. J. G. Schulz followed in August, 1904, and served until June, 1906, when he resigned, and Rev. Frederick H. Krafft was called and took charge in December, 1906. He came from Troy, Ohio. There were additional church improvements made during his term, including a fine new organ, and lighting by electricity. The membership of the church includes 200 families.

The First Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1826 and first met in private houses, school rooms, and the court house occasionally, until 1839, when a frame chapel was built on the north side of Seventh street between Peach and Sassafras streets. It continued there until the erection, in 1859, of the building on the corner of Seventh and Sassafras, which has ever since been in use. The history of the early years of this church is given in greater detail in the chapter of the county section of this work which deals with the religious denominations and their relation to this section. The first pastor, Rev. E. P. Steadman, came in 1834, and those who have served during the three-quarters of a century since, have been: 1835, A. G. Sturges; 1836, R. A. Aylworth; 1837-8, J. W. Lowe; 1839, B. K. Maltby; 1840, J. J. Steadman; 1841, A. Hall; 1842, A. M. Brown; 1843, D. Smith;

1844-5, C. Kingsley; 1846, Lester James; 1847-8, T. Stubbs; 1849, E. Jones; 1850-1, S. Gregg; 1852, J. W. Lowe; 1853, H. Kingsley; 1854-5, J. E. Chapin; 1856-7, W. F. Wilson; 1858, D. C. Wright; 1859, G. W. Clarke and J. D. Norton (who served this church and Simpson jointly); 1860-1, J. Peate; 1862-4, D. C. Osborne; 1865-7, E. A. Johnson; 1868-9, A. S. Dobbs; 1869, E. J. L. Baker; 1870-1, W. W. Wythe; 1872-3, A. Wheeler; 1874-6, W. W. Ramsey; 1877-8, J. D. Adams; 1879-81, D. H. Muller; 1882-3, A. N. Craft; 1884-5, W. H. Pearce; 1886-7, Lucien Clark; 1888-92, N. Luccock; 1893, H. A. Cleveland; 1894-7, S. D. Hutsenpillar; 1898-1904, Andrew C. Ellis; 1905 to the present, Thomas R. Thoburn. During the pastorate of Rev. W. H. Pearce a chorus choir was organized under the direction of Prof. G. F. Brierley, supplementing a quartette, which became the best trained and most efficient choir in the city. During the same term there was established the graded system of Sunday school teaching, the directing head of the system being the late E. L. Pelton. This system has made of the First M. E. school the model in this section of the country.

Simpson M. E. church was the outcome of a revival in the First M. E. church in 1857. Of the hundred or more added to the church as a result there were several from South Erie and these petitioned that a class be established in that section. It was granted and the organization of the class, under the leadership of Heman Janes, proved to be the organization of a new church. The class meetings were first held in a private school building on Sassafras street at or near Twentieth, with 25 in attendance and naturally led to the opening of a Sunday school, which was organized with 63 scholars and Capt. Thomas Wilkins superintendent. Early in 1858, it having been decided to inaugurate a movement toward erecting a chapel, a building committee was appointed and about the same time Capt. Wilkins and Heman Janes bought the lot on the corner of Sassafras and Twenty-first streets and held it for the use of the church that was to be organized. Success crowned their efforts and in 1859 the new church was dedicated by Bishop Simpson, in whose honor it was named, and the street upon which it stood was also called Simpson street after the bishop. The new church drew into its folds a membership that was strong and progressive though not large at the beginning. Its affairs were admirably managed and it became a very useful institution in that rapidly growing part of the city. It increased with the increase in the community until at length the building of 1859 was inadequate, and a movement toward a new church was begun during the pastorate of Rev. J. Boyd Espy. It was realized under Rev. J. M. Bray. In 1893 the present handsome church was built at a cost of over $25,000. Subsequently an organ was installed, during Rev. J. B. Neff's pastorate, the debt was extinguished, and the membership very greatly increased. The pastors of Simpson church have been: 1859,

G. W. Clarke and J. D. Norton, serving First and Simpson jointly; 1860, W. P. Bignell; 1861-2, R. M. Warren; 1863, A. C. Tibbitts; 1864-6, J. H. Tagg; 1867, D. Prosser; 1868, F. H. Beck; 1869, A. N. Craft; 1871, R. N. Stubbs; 1873, E. H. Yingling; 1875, P. P. Pinney; 1877, E. A. Squier; 1878, J. A. Kummer; 1881, J. C. Scofield; 1884, Milton Smith; 1887, J. Boyd Espy; 1891-4, J. M. Bray, 1895, J. Bell Neff; 1899, A. B. Phillips; 1907, E. W. Morton; 1908, L. L. Swisher.

Wayne Street M. E. church originated in a series of cottage prayer meetings inaugurated early in 1889 by Rev. J. Boyd Espy, of Simpson M. E. church, there being a colony of his members in that rather distant section of the Fifth Ward. The colony developed into a Sunday school and finally into a movement for a new church. Simpson church being appealed to gave no encouragement, for it had a building enterprise of its own in hand, so the case was carried before the First church. This had a double effect. It resulted in the effort being powerfully supported, and in reality in calling into existence the M. E. Alliance, which has since been a powerful factor in church extension in Erie. Wayne street church assured, an organization was effected, Rev. Henry Sims being placed in charge, and work on the new meeting house begun. It was completed early in 1890, when Rev. Mr. Dobson was assigned to the pastorate, to serve until conference should meet. On June 18, 1895, the church was destroyed by fire, the work of an incendiary, but, backed by the Alliance the membership took courage and that year built a new and better church, which was dedicated in January, 1896. For a time the church was not strong enough to go alone, for the new church, costing $6,500, brought on a fresh burden of debt. This, however, was finally disposed of during the term of Rev. Wm. Branfield, and the organization stood upon its own feet. In 1907, it was decided to greatly enlarge the church and subscriptions to that end were secured. Work upon this was not begun until the summer of 1909. The pastors of Wayne Street church have been: 1890, Rev. Mr. Dobson; 1890, A. C. Bowers; 1892, L. H. Edelblute; 1894, A. A. Horton; 1897, William Branfield; 1904, W. L. Hazen, the present pastor.

Tenth Street M. E. church originated in a movement begun in 1866, to build a third Methodist church in Erie, and a subscription of $3,000 having been secured two lots were donated on condition that a building should be erected within five years. The work lagged, however, and it was not until 1871, when Rev. R. F. Keeler, appointed pastor of the Erie mission by the conference, renewed the work. A Sunday school that had been maintained by the Y. M. C. A., was by the association turned over to the care of Mr. Keeler and his coadjutors, a class was organized with Seymour Torrey as leader, and then the work took definite shape. A building committee was appointed jointly by the First and Simpson churches to work with a committee

from the mission, and the result was the work was begun in 1873 and the church was dedicated January 25, 1874, services having, however, been held in it from October 19, 1873. Alterations and additions as circumstances demanded were made from time to time until 1907, when the church was rebuilt of brick, very greatly enlarged. The pastors have been: 1871, Russell F. Keeler; 1872, W. W. Wythe; 1873, R. A. Carruthers; 1874, D. M. Steever; 1875, R. M. Gwynn; 1876, W. G. Williams; 1877, William Martin; 1878, W. M. Martin; 1880, P. A. Reno; 1882, J. H. Herron; 1885, W. W. Wythe; 1886, J. L. Stratton; 1891, J. C. Scofield; 1892, E. M. Kernick; 1896, Willis K. Crosby; 1900, D. C. Planette; 1902, R. C. Smith; 1906, John C. A. Borland, the present pastor.

Cascade Street M. E. church began as a mission Sunday school in 1902, and was organized as a church by Rev. R. N. Stubbs. The meetings for two or three years were held in a store room on the corner of Nineteenth and Cascade streets, until the movement to secure a lot and erect a meeting house could be made effective. With the efficient aid of the M. E. Alliance, now well organized, this was accomplished and the new building on the corner of Twenty-first and Cascade streets was ready for occupancy in 1904. The first regular pastor of the church was Rev. A. E. Salsbury, who carried it through what might be called the probationary period. He was succeeded in 1904 by Rev. George J. Squires, pastor until 1909. The church was dedicated in August, 1908, and the membership in 1909 was 130.

Kingsley M. E. church is the youngest of the Erie Methodist brood, and is lodged in a promising corner of a rapidly growing section of the west side of Erie—the jumping-off place, it might have been denominated when it was built, for it stood at the boundary line then. Since then an extension of the city into a pan-handle has made Kingsley church somewhat more central than it was. The story of Kingsley church and its inception varies somewhat from the stereotyped form. Its advent comes nearer to the account of the birth of Minerva, who sprang full grown and full panoplied into life. It was organized a church in 1907, and the same year occupied a handsome new brick church building erected on the corner of Ninth and Cranberry streets, a building, however, that is intended in the future to be the Sunday school or conference room, when the main church shall have been built. The present pastor, Rev. John E. Roberts, was the first appointment to the charge.

St. James African M. E. church, formed in 1874, was the result of a reorganization among the colored people of Erie. In 1845 there had been organized the Wesleyan Methodist church, that met in school rooms until a church was built on Third street near Walnut in 1850. It was ministered to irregularly, at first entirely by white ministers prominent among whom was Elder Nutting, a somewhat noted

man, especially in Underground Railroad days. In time it languished, to be revived in 1874 as St. James A. M. E. church. It was not a strong church at the beginning—is not now—and meetings were held wherever accommodations could be found, until 1898, when, under Rev. F. D. Scott, a frame church was built on Seventh street near German. The new church put stimulus into the membership, and the church grew. In 1902, while Rev. C. J. Powell was pastor, the church was rebuilt into an attractive little brick meeting house with stained glass windows, and good furnishings. The ministers since Mr. Powell's time have been: Reverends J. H. Whitten, F. E. Bowser, N. B. Stewart, H. E. Newman, J. E. Morris, J. M. Henderson, M. A. Hunter and J. O. Morley, the present incumbent.

The First Baptist church of Erie was organized in 1831, and was the outcome of a revival that centered in the First Presbyterian church. Among the converts were a number of the Baptist belief, and these met and decided to form a church, which was effected April 10, 1831, with Rev. E. Tucker, D. D., as pastor. The congregation met first in the old Erie Academy and afterwards in the court house. The corner stone of a permanent church was laid in 1833, and the building, a rather plain brick structure, was dedicated in 1835. This church served for thirty years, but in 1865, under the ministration of Rev. W. F. Bainbridge, a young and ardent minister who had just been ordained, a revival resulted in the accession of two hundred new members. It was the most notable increase in the church's history, and enlargement became a necessity. The audience room was extended, a spire erected, and a conference room added, and the rededication took place in December, 1865. Extensive improvements were made during the pastorate of Rev. C. H. Hall in 1895. Finally, in 1908, the church was practically rebuilt, largely under the direction of the present pastor, $8,860 being expended and the result a modern place of worship, not greatly altered externally, however.

The pastors of this church have been numerous in the three-quarters of a century of its existence. In the order of their succession they were: E. Tucker, D. D., Wm. H. Newman, Charles Morton, Reid S. Witherall, James A. Keyes, A. W. Baker, LaFayette Baker, Ira Corwin, Mr. Haskell, Joel Johnson, Zebina Smith, J. K. Barry, H. Silliman, Charles Sherman, Gilbert L. Stevens, J. W. Hammond, Wm. Haw, J. L. Hays, W. F. Bainbridge, A. W. Tousey, C. H. Harvey, E. A. Stone, A. J. Bonsall, William Gilkes, E. T. Fox, J. C. Thoms, H. C. Hall, H. F. Kramer, who came in 1896; S. J. Arthur, in 1899, and A. Frank Houser, the present pastor, in 1907. The present membership is 384. The First Baptist church has by missions and otherwise contributed to the establishment of four independent churches,

and still has the care of a mission Sunday school on West Eighteenth street.

The Second Baptist church developed out of a Sunday school established as Faith mission in 1889, in the Fifth Ward. The effort was begun under Rev. J. C. Thoms of the parent church, with Philander Edson as superintendent. A small frame building was erected immediately and in 1891, the growth warranted the organization of the Second Baptist church. Soon the original building became too small, and a good brick church was erected at the corner of Twenty-second and Reed streets, when the old building was altered into a parsonage. The first pastor was Rev. Jesse Boswell, who was succeeded by Rev. J. H. Lowe, and the pastors, in succession have been, Dr. H. F. Ellis, Rev. R. Pearse, Rev. G. S. Daugherty, Rev. W. A. Pugsley, Rev. E. Wolfe Dewitt, who came in 1907, and died December 7, 1908. The present pastor, Rev. Linn R. Williamson, assumed charge in April, 1909.

The German Baptist church was organized in October, 1861, by Rev. A. von Puttkammer, with twenty-two members. In July, 1863, Rev. Anthony Haensler was chosen pastor, and in 1864 a church was erected on Seventeenth street a short distance west of Peach street. It was a small frame structure, but served for many years. In 1865 Rev. John Eisenmenger was chosen pastor, and under his ministrations 35 were added to the membership. He left in 1868 to take a church in Canada, and immediately Rev. Adolf Ginins was called. He had a successful ministry but resigned to go to Scranton, and in 1871, Rev. Henry Kose succeeded for four years. Rev. C. Martin then served until 1879 and Rev. G. Koopman until 1883. Then followed Rev. D. Zwink till 1886; Rev. P. Rech till 1887; Rev. D. Kester till 1891; Rev. G. A. Schneider until 1905, when the present pastor, Rev. R. A. Blandau assumed charge. A piece of ground on the corner of Twentieth and Sassafras streets was bought in 1892 and on this, at a cost of $12,000 a new brick church, with parsonage attached, was erected in 1895.

The Swedish Baptist church was organized in 1895, with Rev. William Kohler as pastor, and during the first two years services were held in the building on Seventeenth street just then vacated by the German Baptists. In 1897 a lot with a dwelling house, on the corner of Seventh and Holland streets, was bought and the house was altered into a chapel. In 1906 the frame building was moved off and a handsome little brick church was erected. The pastors after Rev. Mr. Kohler, have been: Rev. J. P. Westerberg, Rev. P. Elgholm, and Rev. John P. Forsell, the present pastor. The membership is 42.

Calvary Baptist church was organized in 1896, and meetings at first were held in G. A. R. hall. Many of the members came over from the First Baptist church, and the first organization included the

following officers: W. J. McClellan, clerk; E. H. Mack, Jr., treasurer; C. P. Cody, Sunday school superintendent; H. N. Thayer and E. H. Mack, Jr. (3 years), G. J. Gebhardt and H. C. Lerch (2 years), W. W. Harper (1 year), trustees; E. H. Mack, Sr. and L. J. Dyke (for life), E. L. Burch and L. W. Carr (3 years), J. W. Reed and H. N. Thayer (2 years), deacons. In 1898 a lot was secured on Tenth street between Peach and Sassafras, and work was begun on a handsome brick church edifice. It was dedicated October 1, 1899. Rev. W. T. Tapscott was the first pastor of the church, having been installed January 30, 1898. He was succeeded May 1, 1903, by Rev. W. E. Rafferty, and he by Rev. John B. Barbour on May 1, 1906, who is still the pastor of the church.

During the ministry of Rev. W. F. Bainbridge at the First Baptist church, there was established on East Sixth street, then a good distance east of the city limits, the North Star Mission Sunday school. The moving spirit in this enterprise was Walter J. F. Liddell, a most zealous and devoted church worker, and a high minded gentleman; a deacon in the church, and esteemed in his daily walk and conversation for his probity. He was assisted in the mission work by Miss A. C. Kilbourne, Miss Eliza S. Crane, Henry S. Seaman and others, and notwithstanding the district was rather sparsely settled then, the mission grew rapidly. A building was erected on a lot donated by the late Hon. James Sill, and from the date of the organization of the mission, September 25, 1864, until it became erected into an independent church, it continued to be successfully conducted under the fostering care of the First Baptist church. During the summer of 1902 it was organized into the East Sixth Street Baptist church and Rev. E. B. Dwyer was chosen as pastor, serving but six months, when Rev. F. L. Brooks took charge, and continued with the church for a year and a half. In 1904 Rev. Samuel C. Welsh was called and ministered four years, leaving in 1908. Rev. J. H. Patrican came in 1908, and resigned in May, 1909. The church has 96 members. During 1908 the church was extensively overhauled, a new baptistry, new furnishings, a remodeled pulpit and an addition containing a gymnasium being provided.

Rev. J. H. Hopkins, rector of Trinity church, Pittsburg, afterwards Bishop of Vermont, in 1826, at the court house, conducted the first services of the Protestant Episcopal church ever held in Erie. This missionary beginning resulted in a meeting at the home of P. S. V. Hamot, Esq. on March 17, 1827, at which the parish of St. Paul's was organized. Rev. Charles Smith was appointed rector, and Thomas Forster, P. S. V. Hamot, George Miles, George A. Eliot, Tabor Beebe, Charles M. Reed, Thomas Forster, Jr., D. C. Barrett, William Kelley, Gilbert Knapp and John A. Tracy were elected ves-

trymen. Rev. Mr. Smith remained only a few months and his successor, Rev. Benjamin Hutchins, a shorter period. In the next year, 1828, through the aid of the Society for the Promotion of Christianity in Pennsylvania, Rev. Bennett Glover assumed the duties of rector, and, effecting a reorganization in November, 1830, at once set about obtaining a church. The lot on West Sixth street still occupied by St. Paul's, was bought for $250, contracts were let for a brick edifice, and as it progressed the debts incurred were gradually wiped out, an organ and a bell were bought and paid for and in 1834 the house was dedicated by Bishop Onderdonck. Additions and alterations were made from time to time, the most important in 1836 and 1847. Rev. Mr. Glover served until his death in 1838. The rectors, in succession, have been, Rev. P. Teller Babbitt, Rev. Henry Tullidge, Rev. William Flint, Rev. Charles Arey, Rev. John A. Bowman, Rev. D. C. Page, and in 1857, Rev. James Abercrombie. In 1862 Rev. John F. Spaulding became rector, and his was perhaps the most noteworthy administration in the history of St. Paul's parish. The handsome gothic stone church opposite the court house is a monument to his zeal and energy. It was built in 1866, cost $60,000, and was dedicated in 1869, free from debt. In addition under him there were established four missions, St. John's, in South Erie; Grace, in the First Ward; Cross and Crown, in the vicinity of the P. & E. shops; and Trinity, at Sixth and Cascade streets. Three of these became churches. He was elected Bishop of Colorado and Wyoming, and was consecrated in St. Paul's church, on December 31, 1873. His successors have been Rev. W. H. Mills, until 1880, when Rev. James T. Franklin came, who proved an active and useful minister, through his efforts Hamot hospital having been established. In 1882 Rev. G. A. Carstensen became rector; in 1889, Rev. John Huske; in 1893, Rev. Edward E. Matthews; in 1896, Rev. F. S. Spaulding, son of Bishop Spaulding (rector 1862 to 1873); in 1905 Rev. John M. McGann, and in 1908, Rev. W. Strother Jones, the present minister. In 1881 the church was damaged by fire to the extent of $10,000, but the building was promptly restored and greatly improved, at the time Hon. W. L. Scott making a gift of a fine new organ.

St. Mark's church, Erie, was incorporated on the 30th of March, 1896, with David T. Jones senior warden; Walter Nunn, junior warden, and J. S. Scobell, A. A. Aldrich, L. F. White, James Gaskell, George Gardner, Henry J. Bennett and J. H. Burgess, vestrymen. St. Mark's parish is the result of the consolidation of Cross and Crown church and St. John's church, two of the missions established by Bishop Spaulding of Colorado while rector of St. Paul's parish. St. John's was established as a mission in 1866, and in 1867 a parish organization was effected with David T. Jones, William Nicholson, Samuel B. Barnum, William Bush, R. A. Fancher and A. W. Van

Tassel, vestrymen, who elected Rev. J. H. Black rector; George Burton and D. T. Jones, wardens; S. H. Metcalf, secretary, and W. G. Gardiner, treasurer. A church was built on Sixteenth street between Peach and Sassafras and dedicated by Bishop Kerfoot in 1871. The rectors, successively, were Reverends J. H. Black, Calvin C. Parker, S. D. McConnell, S. H. Hilliard, F. W. Hilliard, J. M. Benedict, L. C. Rogers, W. M. Cook, Andrew Fleming, Charles M. Kimball, Henry B. Jefferson and George Winthrop Sargent. Cross and Crown was established as a mission in 1868, under Rev. J. F. Spaulding, with the principal workers B. B. Vincent, Boyd Vincent, his son, afterwards Bishop Vincent, and Mrs. Strong Vincent, widow of Gen. Vincent. The meetings were first held in a school on East Tenth street. A church was erected on the corner of Twelfth and Ash streets and dedicated in 1871, and in 1872 Rev. Boyd Vincent, the first superintendent, then an ordained minister, became first rector. His successors were the Reverends Bernard Schulte, S. A. McNulty, John Graham, W. H. Rogers, L. W. Rogers, Robert H. Niede, David Moer, William Price, and William Johnson. In 1894 the parish was incorporated as St. Vincent's.

The parish of St. Mark's erected the building owned and occupied by them on the corner of Tenth and French streets, in 1896, called as their first rector Rev. John H. Barnard, who remained until May, 1898, when he was succeeded by Rev. John A. Howell. Rev. Mr. Howell resigned at Easter, 1903, and was succeeded by Rev. Frank DeFrees Miller, D. C. L., of Cleveland. Dr. Miller, after having been in charge of the parish six years and four months, resigned September 1, 1909.

Trinity Memorial church, erected in 1894-5, a memorial to the late Bishop John F. Spaulding, has been a missionary parish under the care of St. Paul's church since 1873, when it was founded, the last of the mission enterprises in Erie of Rev. J. F. Spaulding while rector of St. Paul's. At the time of its organization the missionary spirit was high. Three others had been highly successful, two having been advanced to the dignity of self-supporting churches. Trinity therefore started out a little better equipped than its sister missionary parishes had done, and directly after it had been organized a chapel was built at the corner of Sixth and Cascade streets, serving until the movement for a new church crystallized in 1904. A very considerable building fund had been accumulated, and the property had become valuable. However, when it came to rebuilding the choice was for a new location, nearer the center of the rapidly growing section farther south. So the lot on Liberty street near Ninth was bought from Richard O'Brien and the handsome church and rectory were built. In 1909 the parish had become self-supporting and in June of that

year the preliminary steps were taken to constitute Trinity Memorial a separate church.

St. Patrick's Roman Catholic church was not the first of that faith established in Erie, but it had the distinction so long of being the pro-cathedral that it may well come in first for mention. It dates its beginning to 1837 when Rev. Father McCabe came as a missioner and held services in the house of John Sullivan. In 1844 Father R. Brown courageously undertook to build a church. The congregation was not large; it was poor, and it was a scattered parish. The difficulties were great, but the zeal of the pastor increased in proportion. The people practiced self-denial and in city and country—for among the communicants were members of the Fagan and Crowley families, living as far east as Four-Mile creek—all lent a willing hand to the good work. Father Brown remained in charge five years, but left his great work unfinished. Father Reynolds, who succeeded, completed the work during the single year of his ministry. Rev. Joseph F. Deane followed and served until, Erie having been made an Episcopal See, the church became a pro-cathedral. Rt. Rev. M. O'Connor was first bishop of Erie, served for a year and was returned to Pittsburg when Rt. Rev. J. M. Young was appointed his successor and took charge of the diocese on April 23, 1854. The pastors of St. Patrick's during the life time of Bishop Young were: Rev. Thomas Malone, Rev. Charles McCallion, Rev. William Lambert, Rev. John Berbequi, Rev. J. O'Connor, Rev. Father Kenny, Rev. Father Tracy, Very Rev. John D. Coady (vicar general of the diocese at the time), and Rev. Father Carroll, distinguished as the Erie apostle of temperance. Bishop Young died in 1866, and for two years Father Coady administered the affairs of the diocese, Rt. Rev. Tobias Mullen being consecrated bishop of Erie diocese in 1868. The first pastor of St. Patrick's under Bishop Mullen was Rev. Thomas A. Casey, who continued that relation until transferred to St. Peter's cathedral in 1893. Shortly after accepting the pastorate, Father Casey was appointed vicar general of the diocese. The assistant pastors of St. Patrick's have been Rev. James A. McCabe, Rev. E. J. Murphy, Rev. J. J. Calligan, Rev. William Dwyer (who was appointed to the charge of St. Andrew's in 1890), and Rev. John P. McCloskey. Second assistants have been Rev. B. J. Raycroft, Rev. Thomas Graham, Rev. A. B. Mechura, and Rev. S. E. Aaron. These were the priests that served until St. Patrick's ceased to be the pro-cathedral. In October, 1893, Rev. Hugh Mullen was appointed pastor, with Rev. P. McGovern assistant, and served until November 20 of the same year, when Rev. Father Peter Cauley was appointed pastor and in 1894 Rev. Joseph M. Cauley was made assistant, Rev. S. H. Cauley and Rev. C. L. Cauley (all are brothers) being subsequently added as assistants. Father Cauley, still the pastor in charge, has been perhaps the most energetic priest

in the history of St. Patrick's. His first work, successfully accomplished, was the building of St. Patrick's auditorium on East Fifth street in 1895-6. His greatest work was the building of the magnificent new St. Patrick's church, on the site of the old church, which was dedicated August 2, 1906. Ground was broken for the new church August 2, 1902, four years being required for its completion. It is one of the handsomest places of worship in the state.

St. Peter's cathedral, begun in February, 1873, was dedicated August 2, 1893, twenty years having been required for its erection. Its cost was $250,000. It is 220 feet in length, 112 feet wide at the transepts, and 85 feet wide in the main portion. The center of the ceiling is 75 feet high. The three towers are of solid masonry to their apexes, the central being, to the top of the gilded copper cross, 265 feet in height. The seating capacity is 2,500. The organ was built for the Columbian Exposition and cost $10,000. At the opening of the cathedral, Very Rev. Thomas A. Casey was appointed rector, with Rev. John McCloskey and Rev. S. E. Aaron as his assistants, and upon Father Casey's death Father Aaron became rector with Rev. F. J. Decker assistant. The rectors since have been Rev. James P. McCloskey, Rev. James F. Fielding, Rev. D. A. Hanley and, in 1899, Rev. John J. F. Donnellan, A. M., who continues to fill the office at the present time. Bishop Fitz Maurice, the head of the Catholic church in the diocese of Erie, was appointed bishop coadjutor with Bishop Mullen, February 24, 1898, with the right of succession. Bishop Mullen, consecrated at Sts. Peter and Paul, Pittsburg, in 1868, when he came to Erie, resigned as bishop of Erie on August 10, 1899, and died April 22, 1900. Right Reverend John Fitz Maurice became bishop August 10, 1899. Very Rev. J. F. Sheridan became vicar general of the diocese soon after the death of Father Casey.

St. Mary's church is the oldest church of the Catholic faith in Erie, dating its beginning to 1830, when Father Mosquelette celebrated mass in a house belonging to Wolfgang Erhart, one of the first German settlers in Erie. In 1837 a small frame church was built on Ninth street, where St. Mary's church of the present day stands, and this was occupied until 1854, when, under Rev. F. J. Hartmann, the erection of a new church, sufficient in size to meet the demands of the future was undertaken. It was no light matter, for while the little frame church had been outgrown by the congregation, its numbers were yet by no means great. A member of the building committee approached Bishop O'Connor and asked his advice with reference to paying for so large a church. "How many rich men have you in the congregation?" the bishop inquired. "None," was the reply. "Then you need have no fears about the future; your church will be paid for," said the bishop. It was a judicious answer. It put spurs in the sides of the members. In 1858, by the consent of the

bishop, St. Mary's came under the charge of the Order of St. Benedict, and has continued so ever since. From 1880 to 1895 the pastors were: Reverends Amandus Kramer, S. Demarteau, Emilian Wendel, Lambert Kettner, Paulinus Wenkmann, and Cassimer Elsesser. Very Rev. Athanasius Hintenach, O. S. B., became prior in 1896, and Very Rev. Theodore Schmitt, who became prior in 1900, continues in that office at the present time.

St. Joseph's congregation had its beginning in a school established by a number of Catholic families in 1855 on West Eighteenth. In that school occasional services were held by priests from St. Mary's. Soon a lot was bought on Twenty-fourth street, between Peach and Sassafras and a school built there, to which the school on Eighteenth street was transferred. A frame church was built in 1866, beside the school, and on October 2, 1887, the splendid church on the corner was dedicated. The first pastor was Rev. Joseph Stumpe, and his successors have been, Rev. John B. Kuehn, Rev. E. J. Reiter, S. J., Rev. Father Mink, Rev. J. A. Oberhofer, and Rev. Bernard Kloecker, the present incumbent. Fathers Reiter and Oberhofer died while priests of St. Joseph's, the former in 1873, the latter in 1889.

St. John's church, in the southern part of the Fifth Ward, was founded in 1869, the first pastor being Rev. Bernard Mauser, O. S. B. Immediately work was begun on a church building, which was dedicated in August, 1870. It was a frame building but of considerable proportions, so that, with minor changes made in 1885 it served all purposes for thirty years. In 1899 the present fine edifice was begun, and it was dedicated in 1900. Its cost was between $65,000 and $70,000. In 1906 the school connected with St. John's was doubled in size at a cost of $20,000. There have been but two pastors of St. John's church, the third, Rev. E. A. Reiter, S. J., having, from March until his death in May, 1873, served both St. Joseph's and St. John's. Rev. Father M. J. Decker, who became rector of St. John's May 4, 1873, has ministered to this parish ever since, and at the present time is the oldest priest in the diocese, both in point of age and years of ministerial service.

Father J. A. McCabe, in 1871, formed a parish in the northwestern part of the city and named it St. Andrew's. It was composed principally of English speaking people at the time it was organized and though it has continued to be regarded as a church for those of the English language, there are many other languages represented and numerous races included in the congregation that worships at St. Andrew's. A frame church was built in 1871 on Raspberry street between Sixth and Seventh, and a rectory hard by. On March 22, 1896, the church was destroyed by fire, and an immediate movement was started to erect a new church. The work was halted by the fact that the people of the parish felt that their circumstances in life would

not warrant the necessary expenditure. The structure had been carried above the foundation to the water-table. Undismayed by the financial trouble, Father McCabe resolved to do the best possible, and, putting a roof over the basement began services in what has facetiously become known to the parishioners as the Catacombs, and there services are still held. After a service of nearly twenty years at St. Andrew's, Father McCabe was succeeded in 1890 by Rev. W. F. Dwyer, who still ministers to the parish.

About twenty-five years ago the Polish people began in Erie to assume considerable importance, and settling near the southern part of the Second Ward, established a colony, steadily growing, that soon numbered thousands. They were mostly of the Catholic faith, and soon set about forming a church. The effort resulted in a fair start toward success, the corner stone of a church being laid in 1884. The building was wrecked by a storm in the winter following, so that it was not dedicated until 1885. In 1886 Rev. Andrew Ignasiak came to Erie to take charge. It was his first pastorate and he was the first rector. He continues to be the faithful and well beloved pastor of the Polish church. The original building was of frame construction. It soon grew to be inadequate, and in 1895-6 a large and very handsome structure of brick trimmed with gray stone was built at the corner of Thirteenth and Wallace streets. It is one of the finest churches in Erie, and is named in honor of St. Stanislaus.

During the flush times of the middle west of Erie, when the old Erie Car Works and the foundries and the forge in that vicinity were among the most important industries of Erie the region up the valley of Ichabod run filled up rapidly. Most of them were Germans, and a great majority were attracted by the prospects of fine gardens to be made out of the rich bottom land of the little vale. Among these Germans there was planted St. Michael's church, begun in 1883, and dedicated in September, 1885. Its first and only pastor was Rev. James Lachermaier. Since the church was erected a school and rectory have been built, and the congregation has become a numerous and strong one.

St. Paul's Roman Catholic congregation was formed in the section of the city known as Little Italy in 1891. Soon afterwards, the building that had been used by the Chestnut Street Presbyterian church, vacated when the new building of that church was erected, was purchased and moved to the lot on Walnut street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets that had been bought by the parish. It was rebuilt and dedicated the same year. The priest in charge during the organization was Rev. Francis Becherini, who remained until July, 1894. On January 6, 1895, Rev. F. J. Bender was assigned to look after the welfare of the parish, and was succeeded, in 1896, by

Rev. Raphael Agreste, who in turn gave place, in 1908, to Rev. Louis Marino, the present pastor.

The Church of the Sacred Heart was organized, through the efforts of Rev. F. J. Bender, in 1894. The center of the parish is the handsome church property occupying the corner of Twenty-sixth and Plum streets. The church edifice was begun in 1894, and the first services were held in January, 1905. The rectory, handsome architecturally and beautifully situated, was built in 1905. The school connected with this church was established about 1908, when the building that had been used as public school No. 16, then vacated, was removed to the northern end of the church lot on Plum street. Rev. Father Bender has ministered to the parish from its formation until the present.

In 1895 St. Ann's parish was formed in the eastern part of the city, a contract being let that year for a brick church on Tenth street, east of East avenue. At that time Rev. Hugh Mullen was rector. The church was dedicated June 21, 1906, Rt. Rev. Tobias Mullen, bishop, officiating. St. Ann's school was established in the same year. Rev. James P. McCloskey succeeded as rector of St. Ann's, and during his term, in 1899, the parochial residence was built. Rev. Benj. J. Raycroft became pastor in 1901, and set about providing a larger church for the rapidly growing congregation. April 26, 1904, the stakes were driven; July 24 of the same year the corner stone was laid; the cross was raised on the spire April 6, 1905, and on August 21, 1905, the beautiful church was dedicated, Bishop John E. Fitz Maurice officiating, assisted by Father Raycroft (who made the discourse) and fifteen other priests. The architect of St. Ann's is W. P. Gunther, who also designed the new St. Patrick's church. Father Raycroft is still pastor of St. Ann's.

Holy Trinity church, organized in 1903, had for its first pastor Rev. Father Matysiak. It is the second congregation of Polish people in Erie. Immediate steps were taken to provide a church. A lot was bought on Twenty-second street between Ash and Reed, and the frame church lately vacated by St. John's was bought and removed from Twenty-sixth street. Father Matysiak was soon succeeded by Rev. Seweryn Niedbalski. In 1909 the erection of a large and costly school building, to be of fireproof construction, was begun.

The most recent church of the Roman Catholic faith to be erected in Erie was that for the use of the Slavic people who have settled here. The parish came into existence through the initiative of Rev. Father Ignasiak of the Polish church, who started the building fund, so that when Rev. Carl A. Smelko came to Erie from Johnsonburg in July, 1908, the way was clear. The parish was duly formed and work upon the Church of the Holy Family began at once. It is

located at the corner of Ninth and Fulton streets, in the Metric Metal neighborhood, and was dedicated November 20, 1908.

In 1833, Rev. J. Seibert, afterwards bishop, came to Erie a missionary, to preach to the Germans who had become a part of this community. There were not then many original Germans in Erie, but of those Americanized, or natives of the eastern part of the state who had come into this section to colonize, there were quite a goodly number, and it was among these German-speaking people that Rev. Mr. Seibert came to labor, for he was a missionary of the German Evangelical Association. Later he was followed in Erie by Rev. E. Stoevers, Rev. D. Broeckley and Rev. J. Noecker. The success of these missionary efforts was not immediately apparent, but in time there was a gathering together, and about three years after the visit of the man who was later to be advanced to bishop, the families of J. Stelle, S. Zinn, P. Fendenheim and A. Schuerer, united with the Evangelical Association. In 1836, the new religious family was increased by the family of Conrad Doll, and in the year 1837 a class was organized and meetings were held alternately in the homes of C. Doll and M. Fendenheim until 1843, when a frame church was built on Fourteenth street between Peach and Sassafras. Rev. Samuel Heiss was then the circuit minister. In 1849 a parsonage was built adjacent to the church; in 1854 the church and parsonage were removed to the corner of Twelfth and Peach streets, and the Erie organization remained as a mission, until 1861, when it became a separate charge. In 1868 a brick church was built to replace the small frame one and in the beginning of the eighties the church was remodeled and a parsonage built. The church served all purposes until 1902, when a beautiful modern church, with a rectory in keeping was erected at the corner of Eleventh and Myrtle streets. The pastors since Rev. Mr. Heiss have been Reverends P. Hahn, P. Wist, J. Rockert, J. Nicolai, C. G. Koch, I. G. Pfeffer, A. Niebel, G. W. Fischer, P. Schnilly, J. Reihm, W. Schmitt, J. Bernhart, A. Staehley, C. F. Harting, M. Zirkel, W. W. Hampe, J. Dick, D. J. Honecker, Thomas Luhr, J. Lany, G. F. Spreng, G. Nerstecher, H. Wisgand, George Goetz, Ernest Koehne, T. A. Gaehr, Ernest Koehne, Andrew Woerner, and (again) Ernest Koehne, the present pastor.

The Unitarian church was founded in 1898, but it is in a sense, the successor of the Universalist church, which was organized in 1842, and erected a meeting house in 1844. Among the original members were Henry Cadwell, William Beatty, John Dodge, Clark and Wenlock McSparren, Porter Warren and John Galbraith, all prominent, and leading citizens of the time. The church was erected on a piece of ground on Ninth street, donated by Hon. John Galbraith. Rev. John Gifford, the first minister, was followed by Rev. A. G.

Laurie, of Edinburgh, Scotland, who served three years, until 1849. Rev. J. E. Forrester was pastor for ten years and after him, in 1865, Rev. Mr. Laurie returned for a term of ten years. Among those who succeeded, Rev. H. A. Westall was a declared Unitarian. For two years Rev. Margaret Brennan was pastor—the first woman minister to serve in Erie. The first Unitarian church of Erie was incorporated March 22, 1898, with Rev. Leon A. Harvey as pastor and including these members: Mrs. Mary A. Fitch, C. S. Marks, O. C. Gunnison, Mrs. E. Kies, Park Densmore, Mrs. Densmore, Mrs. J. B. Gunnison, W. B. Flickinger, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Joslin, M. E. Gunnison, Mrs. A. B. Elliott, Mr. and Mrs. John Depinet, Mrs. E. Wagner, W. E. Wagner, Bessie B. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Judson Coe, A. F. Joslin, Estelle Hutchins, Charles Gunnison, Caroline Joslin, Geo. S. Sawdey, Mary Briggs, Alfred Gunnison, Mrs. C. Mowry, Mrs. A. G. Thayer, Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph Conrader and Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Williams. Meetings were held in G. A. R. hall until the church on Ninth street was built in 1900. In December, 1904, Rev. Mr. Harvey resigned and was succeeded in September, 1905, by Rev. Thomas P. Byrne, the present pastor.

The Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) was founded about 1850, including the families of the Mohrs, Knodel, Evans, Rau, Metzler and Stearns. For a long period meetings were held at the residence of E. H. Stearns, on West Ninth street and until about 1871, when a hall at 721 State street was rented and services were regularly held by Rev. Mr. Goodner until 1873, when he removed from the city. He was the only resident pastor of the denomination in Erie. In 1875 a new organization was effected by Bishop Benade, and regular visits to Erie were made by the bishop's assistant. Meetings are held at the homes of the members. Dr. Edward Cranch, 109 West Ninth street, is the secretary in Erie.

On August 21, 1853, a congregation of the Hebrew faith was formed in Erie, the leading members being Moses Koch, the first Hebrew to settle in Erie (1845), Isaac and John Rosenzweig, I. W. Neuberger, Jacob Koch, H. Meyer, B. Baker and Henry Frank. Their first Rabbi was Mr. Weil, engaged in 1861, but remaining only one year. He was succeeded by Rabbi M. Wurzel, who served, first and last, fourteen years. The succeeding Rabbis have been Reverend Messrs. Fuld, Fluegel, Brandes, Stenple, Levi, Farber, Rosenau, and the present Rabbi Max C. Currick. The beginnings of the congregation Anshe Chesed were small, and for many years meeting places were found in various halls, at first in the Lyon building on Cheapside, the last in the Becker block on French. In 1882 a lot on Eighth street west of Sassafras was bought and on that was erected the synagogue, which cost $13,000. It has from time to time been greatly improved; and, as the congregation grew in strength it increased in

usefulness in the city. The administrations of Rabbis Rosenau and Kurrick have been especially marked.

The congregation Brith Sholom, organized in 1896, is composed of what are denominated orthodox Jews, in distinction with the earlier or reform congregation, and included among its founders Jacob Semuel, M. Padol, C. Rosin, B. A. Zacks, Saul Max and E. Rosin. This congregation in 1906 erected a handsome meeting house at 721 French street, where services are held and a Hebrew school maintained.

The First Christian church in Erie was organized November 19, 1888, and the same year, proving its faith by its works, bought a lot at the corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets for its future home. Its first pastor was Rev. T. W. Howard. His successor, Rev. Myron Tyler, whose service began in 1890, had the pleasure of dedicating the first church of the denomination in Erie which was erected in 1890-91. On March 1, 1895, Rev. Henry Crampton became minister and his successors have been Rev. J. W. Bolton, 1898; Rev. A. B. Kendall, 1902; Rev. D. L. Chase, 1906, being still pastor in charge. Early in 1908 the church was practically rebuilt.

The Church of Christ, commonly known as The Disciples, formed a congregation in Erie in March, 1889, when, at a meeting in Jarecki's hall an organization was effected with Rev. E. L. Frazier, pastor, and thirty-six charter members. At once steps were taken to provide a permanent place of worship. A lot was bought on Peach street opposite the Academy, and on this was erected a building of unique design, but very convenient and serviceable, which was dedicated January 12, 1890. It was known as the Tabernacle until sold and vacated in 1909. Having disposed of the old property a lot was purchased at the corner of Ninth and Cherry streets, March 5, 1909, and work begun on a new church building which it is expected will be completed within a year. The pastors, in succession after Rev. Mr. Frazier, have been, B. H. Hayden, A. B. Chamberlain, R. C. Sargent, M. B. Ryan, E. O. Irwin, F. A. Wight, R. A. Nichols, and the present minister, who began January 1, 1909.

"Christian Science" first came to Erie in 1889, and the year following Sunday service was instituted by five students, and a Sunday school established at the same time. In September, 1890, a room was rented and a dispensary opened, and in September, 1894, a church was organized and services held in rooms in the Exchange building. Subsequently rooms were taken in the Penn building where the dispensary has been established, with Clinton B. Burgess, C. S. B., in attendance.

Undenominational religious effort is represented in Erie by several Sunday schools and the Erie Bethel Association. This association is operated under the Western Seamen's Friend Society which

owns property at the foot of French street that had been the old Himrod homestead. For many years J. F. Downing has been president of the Erie Bethel, and George E. Barger secretary. In 1839 there was started in his home, now owned by the Bethel, by William Himrod, a mission Sunday school, known as the Himrod mission. That Sunday school has been maintained ever since, and always under the direction of a Himrod. The founder was succeeded on his death by his son William, and he, when he died, by his son, Harwood B.

The Christian Endeavor Union of Erie City was organized in 1887 with L. M. Little as president; C. E. Bacon as secretary, and R. Beebe as treasurer, and its constituents were the C. E. societies of the First, Park, Park Mission, Central, Chestnut Street and United Presbyterian; First and German Baptist; German St. Paul's; A. M. E., Tabernacle and First Christian churches and Himrod Mission.

The Ministerial Association of Erie was organized in 1874 by Rev. Dr. J. H. Pressly of the U. P. church, aided by Doctors Fullerton and Carrier of the Presbyterian church, and Rev. W. W. Ramsey of the M. E. church on a broad plane that invited and has ever since received the cordial support of all the Protestant ministers in Erie. Regular weekly meetings are held.

The most notable religious gathering ever held in Erie was the state convention of the Christian Endeavor Societies of Pennsylvania, held August 22 to 25, 1895. No hall in Erie was large enough to accommodate, and the meetings were held in a mammoth tent that would seat 4,000 people. The convention was presided over by Rev. J. T. McCrory of Pittsburg. A feature was the chorus of 250 voices, conducted by Prof. J. T. Redman, choir master of the First M. E. church.

By a will dated January 30, 1907, duly probated upon his death, the late Hudson H. Hearn bequeathed $1,000 for a memorial window in North Presbyterian (Park) church to Sarah Hearn, his mother. And the will further directs the executors of his will, William Spencer, Robert H. Sternberg, and Chester Gordon Hearn not to sell the shares of N. Y., C. & St. L. railroad stock, held by the testator, "until they realize $115 per share." When these are converted into money the executors are directed "to organize a Presbyterian church in the city of Erie, to be incorporated under the name of The Sarah Hearn Memorial Presbyterian Church, and when so incorporated, I give and bequeath unto The Sarah Hearn Memorial Church the sum of $110,000 for the purpose of purchasing a suitable piece of land in a desirable location in the city of Erie and the building of a church thereon in memory of my mother, Sarah Hearn, late of the city of Erie, deceased. I also give and bequeath unto The Sarah Hearn Memorial Church the sum of $10,000 for a perpetual fund to be invested at interest and the income thereof to be used for the support and maintenance of said church."

CHAPTER XVIII.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

THE SEVERAL CLUBS, CITY, COUNTRY AND SPECIAL.—MUSICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.—THE VARIOUS SECRET ORDERS.

The earliest comings together in a social way in Erie were not different from what they are in any other similar community, rural as it was. The gregarious instinct that impelled the grouping of dwellings into neighborhoods was the nearest to an organization of a social character that existed during the first years. No other was necessary, for, with dwellings nearby, neighborly calls could be frequent and the social instinct gratified. Early, however, it came to be understood that something was needed to supplement what neighborhood afforded. In 1806 thirty of the citizens organized themselves into a library company, Judah Colt being president, Thomas Forster, James Baird, John C. Wallace and William Wallace directors, and Thomas Forster librarian. The fund raised was $200, and the library was kept together for several years. It was not strictly a social organization, nor was there yet room for this, but it was approximated in the gatherings around Knox's Lying Block at his store, which was the postoffice, and in the groupings of citizens on summer evenings, sometimes on packing cases or chairs at the outer edge of the sidewalk where they smoked their cigars or whittled a stick as they exchanged stories, or at others at one end of the store—if it was winter in a circle about the big wood heater—discussing affairs of the time in the dim light of the tallow dip.

At length there came organizations. These invariably took on the form of literary societies or benevolent associations—social clubs were then not even dreamed of. The first formed was the Franklin Literary Association, in 1826, which maintained a library—T. Moorhead, Jr., was the librarian—and it is probable though not so recorded, that the books in use came over from the library company of 1806. The Erie Academy Lyceum of 1835 that held its meetings in the court house, was followed in 1839 by the Apprentices Literary Society, and in 1841 by the Adelphic Literary Society, the two last named being in 1843 merged in the Irving Literary Institute. This was the strongest and most enduring of the early societies of Erie. The library of 1806 came to it as an inheritance, and it was greatly added to, until it

consisted of upwards of 700 volumes, and was rated one of the best libraries in the state at the time in the possession of a society of its kind. It was this library that was turned over to the Y. M. C. A. in 1860, when that Association was organized and became in fact the successor of the Institute. The latest effort in behalf of a literary club was the Whittier Literary Association, formed in 1867, with M. H. Taylor as president, R. De Charmes vice-president, L. M. Babcock secretary, Frank Milligan treasurer, T. E. Wilson critic, and A. D. Fassett librarian. It will not be out of place to state that T. E. Wilson, the critic, was then of the editorial force of the *Dispatch*, from which he went to the *New York World*, and for many years, and until his death, was editor of the *World Almanac*.

There were musical societies, also, the Germans being the pioneers in this especial line, organizing the Arion Society in 1860, which in 1862 became the Erie Liedertafel, distinguished as much for its social feature as for its music. The Audubon Club, organized in 1865, with Col. J. H. Bliss, C. Siegel and Col. J. Ross Thompson as officers, represented a special line.

It was, however, through the field of sports and by the agency of the athletic clubs that the purely social organizations made their entry in Erie. This city has, in common with every other healthy community, had a liking for things athletic, and men and women of every station have been pleased to bestow upon associations of this sort an approving smile.

There was the Erie City Baseball Club for example, which had for its officers in 1866, Alfred L. Tyler, president; W. A. Baldwin, J. E. Houston, A. J. Cassatt, J. J. Lawrence and T. J. Viers, vice-presidents; D. T. Francis, secretary; W. M. Fleming, treasurer, and J. M. Hopson, captain. Men who afterwards occupied the highest positions in the railroad world, it will be seen, were identified with the sport, then in its infancy. The fact is accounted for by the location in Erie at that time of the offices of the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad Co. The Excelsior Baseball Club, a contemporary and rival, was more distinctively local, but included in its ranks men who came to occupy high positions in the professional and business world, including the president judge of the Erie district.

It was boating, however, that led the way to the distinctively social organizations. In 1865 the Undine Boat Club was formed. Its athletic membership was limited in number, but in other respects it was different, for, besides its contributing members, its supporters and sympathizers included as wide a circle as was possible in the city. A boat house was built at the harbor and equipped, and exercise was often supplemented by pleasure, the boats, the water, the inviting shores of the peninsula, the ladies who admired the sport

and the athletes as well, and the always seductive summer evenings formed a combination that put a border of iridescence upon all the objects in view and added a glamour that could not be resisted. Regattas, too, that brought from a distance contesting crews, stimulated the social feature by the receptions and hops that were concomitants of the athletic meets. That it had a charm to the other sex was proven by the organization in 1869 of the Una Boat Club, composed of ladies. With the Undine Boat Club, the sociability and comradeship engendered by the gatherings at the club house and the practice spins on the water during the summer time, did not terminate when winter locked fast the waters of the bay. During the winter season the interest was maintained by frequent meetings and social functions. Even when interest in boating, the reason for the club's organization, had died out, the membership—or coterie, if you please—did not entirely disintegrate. It was out of the Undine Boat Club and its accretions that the McLane Light Guard was organized. And then, when soldiering had lost its charm, another step was taken, and the Erie Club was formed.

It was on January 10, 1882, that the Erie Club was incorporated. Its charter members were W. L. Scott, H. R. Barnhurst, R. W. Russell, C. M. Reed, F. F. Marshall, J. L. Linn, Henry Souther, J. J. Wadsworth, W. S. Brown, R. R. Wallace, S. D. Warner, P. A. Becker, D. M. Johnson, E. Camphausen, Thomas Brown, Geo. V. Maus, Frank Gunnison, F. H. Ball, L. S. Norton, J. S. Riddle, C. M. Tibbals, John W. Walker, John Dodge, T. A. Walton, J. P. Metcalf, Charles H. Burton, J. P. Loomis, F. B. Whipple, Chas. W. Prescott, Harry Gunnison, Charles Marshall, M. Haverstick, H. L. Perkins, E. L. Wadsworth, W. M. Wallace, Walter Scott, J. A. Reynolds, L. D. Davis, A. S. Brown, Edward Mehl, B. B. Brown, A. H. Jarecki, Edward Cranch, W. C. Evans, George Carroll, H. L. Rea, W. W. Reed, J. S. Richards, Geo. W. Starr, A. E. Sisson, J. W. Galbraith, George R. Metcalf, T. M. Hemphill, W. J. McCarter, L. G. Reed, J. H. Bliss, J. C. Mackintosh, William Brewster, J. Ross Thompson, W. H. Whitehead, George P. Griffith, F. W. Metcalf, Chas. H. Strong, F. W. Grant, T. C. Wood, George A. Allen, J. M. Lewis, H. M. Hill, E. S. Rice, C. B. Curtis, R. W. Baird, F. W. Lamb, F. F. Cleveland, J. C. Johnson, Arthur G. Gray, J. F. Downing, H. C. Stafford, John L. Gilson, Charles S. Clarke, James T. Franklin, Harry Vincent, Davenport Galbraith, Thomas N. Penrose, J. L. D. Borthwick, Thomas S. Plunkett. This is a list that included most of those who were leaders in business and affairs in Erie at the time, and interesting as indicating the status of the newly chartered organization.

The same year, 1882, the Erie Club purchased the old Walker residence on West Seventh street and altered it to render it suitable, which was occupied until 1904. The club then bought the stately

Reed mansion with the splendid grounds that surround it, at the corner of Sixth and Peach streets. The new club house was taken possession of in January, 1905, when a new organization was effected with Frank Connell, F. W. Grant, David A. Sawdey, Fred H. Lee, George R. Metcalf, J. H. Richardson, Frank G. Maus, Albert McDonald, Harry L. Moore, Harry J. Leslie, and Edward G. Germer as a board of governors, and these officers were elected from the members of the board: Frank Connell, president; Frank W. Grant, vice-president; Harry L. Moore, secretary, and Harry J. Leslie, treasurer.

The very natural instinct that prompts a people when the torrid temperature renders the closely built city uncomfortable, to turn toward the open and seek for relief in the rural districts and on the shore, in due time wrought its good and perfect work in Erie. A cool and breezy place even when summer is its sultriest, as compared with other cities, Erie is nevertheless warm when the weather is warm, and warmer by far than the open or where the breeze comes fresh from the broad lake. There had been for years a resort to the shore to a rather limited extent; some spending a brief vacation under canvas; others building summer cottages, and yet others adopting the house boat. But something different was demanded, and it was not unnatural that at length the idea of a country club should take form. It originated definitely in 1893, and the individual to first suggest it was the late Evan Evans. While the summer was most ardent he broached the subject to J. Spencer Van Cleve, who was then engaged in the real estate business. Mr. Van Cleve was responsive. There were frequent meetings, and different plans outlined, till presently the idea seemed to take the form of a yacht club rather than anything else, and a canvass of what seemed to be available led to the selection of a site just west of the Pittsburg docks. However, when others were invited in to confer, modifications came, a more extended canvass was made and numerous meetings held for discussion. The upshot of the matter was that the final decision was for a country club, pure and simple, and the yachting feature was abandoned. Toward the middle of the year the club was organized, and, when it was proposed to make it complete by obtaining a charter and a name was called for, it was decided upon the nomination of Mr. Berry to call it the Kahkwa Club. The name was suggested by the late Henry Catlin as suggestive, that having been the name of a tribe of Indians that it was alleged frequented these shores when the county was forest.

The charter was granted in 1893. There were 105 names on the roll, and the directors named in the charter are: H. F. Watson, J. P. Metcalf, C. W. Davenport, M. H. Taylor, George Talcott, Frank Gunnison, George R. Metcalf and N. J. Whitehead. The first officers were H. F. Watson, president; George Talcott, vice-president; N. J. White-

head, secretary, and J. S. Van Cleve, treasurer. Immediately a lease for ten years was secured for a piece of ground on the Tracy farm on the bluff overlooking the upper part of the bay, Chas. P. Cody was commissioned to prepare plans for a club house, and it was erected and ready for use by the early summer of 1894. The popularity of the Kahkwa Club continued unabated, but, when the term of the lease had expired it was determined to build anew upon land owned by the club, one of the principal reasons being a desire on the part of a large contingent of the membership to secure a location adjacent to the newly laid out grounds of the Golf Club. Accordingly a purchase of the Reed farm, subject to the lease of the Golf Club, was made, and in 1904 the new Kahkwa Club house was erected a short distance west of the city limits—a stately structure beautifully situated, commanding a splendid view of Presque Isle Bay, and maintaining its popularity as a summer resort in the country.

In the fall of 1901, through the initiative of T. M. Hemphill, the Erie Golf Association was organized, and on November 12 of that year an option for 30 days on an extended lease of the 100-acre farm of C. M. Reed, just west of the city was obtained. The subscribers who formed the association were: M. H. Taylor, Joseph P. Metcalf, P. H. Adams, Mrs. C. H. Strong, Dr. W. J. Magill, Albert H. Jarecki, T. M. Hemphill, George R. Metcalf, H. N. Fleming, W. B. Sterling and Oscar Jarecki. Subsequently a lease of the Reed farm for ten years was effected, and the grounds were improved and links laid out. Soon the interest in the game extended, and in 1902, it was proposed that a club should be organized. This was effected in 1902, when the Erie Golf Club was incorporated with 160 subscribers and the following board of governors: George R. Metcalf, J. H. Richardson, R. W. Potter, L. M. Little and Hugh C. Lord. A club house was erected on the grounds the same year. About the same time the owners of the land, having an opportunity to sell a portion of it to the McCain Realty Company, the club gave its consent, the portion to be taken in no way interfering with the links, and the plot that came to be known as Ferncliff was accordingly laid out in building lots. In 1904, again, there was a proposition looking to the sale of the remainder to the Kahkwa Club, subject to the Golf Club's lease. This, too, was effected, the golf links remaining undisturbed. The club maintains its independent existence and its enjoyment of the splendid grounds that have been laid out and improved by it are not likely to be interfered with for many years to come, if ever, by the new owner.

The Union Club was organized in August, 1898, with these directors: B. J. Walker, Charles F. Miller, John F. Brown, J. C. Hoffstetter, Sam B. Kennedy, Absalom Reynolds and D. A. Sawdey. Its mem-

bership was representative of the Masonic order in Erie, and suitable quarters were taken and elegantly fitted up in the Kneib building on State street south of Ninth. These were maintained in proper style and served their purpose well for a number of years, but toward the end of the ten years' term, the membership, seeking better things began to look about for a chance to effect improvement. At length early in 1908 the club purchased the fine semi-modern residence of the late Dr. Brandes on East Eighth street. Possession was taken immediately and in feverish haste the necessary alterations were undertaken, for it was desired to have it in readiness for the fifty-fifth annual conclave of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, to be held in Erie during the last week in May, 1908. It was completed in time and its formal opening was a feature of that important Masonic event. In December, 1908, an amendment to the charter was granted by the court, changing the name to The Shriners Club.

There is not on Lake Erie a location better suited to foster that most gentlemanly of all sports, yachting, than the beautiful bay upon which Erie is located, and it is remarkable that, with the pride taken in its bay by Erie people, the organization of a club that would foster the sport was not sooner effected than it was. Boating was always a popular pastime and the catboat fleet, kept for hire at the harbor, made expert sailors by the score. But, perhaps for the reason that boats were accessible for hire, private ownership in yachts did not develop. Indeed it was when the business in letting sailboats began to decline that ownership began. The first impetus toward organization came out of an open regatta arranged in 1888 by the late Eben Brewer. This regatta brought to Erie many of the most famous sloops and cutters that then sailed on fresh water, and besides, George W. Gardner, commodore of the Inter-Lake Yachting Association, not only favored the event with his presence as a spectator, but put forth good missionary effort. Additional interest was awakened in 1892 when Davenport Galbraith brought to Erie from the seaboard the magnificent cutter Papoose, which, during that season met and defeated everything on Lake Erie, including the Alice Enright. Two years later a free for all regatta for Erie sailing yachts was so eminently successful that matters were brought to a head. George T. Bliss, after canvassing the matter for a while called a meeting for September 20, 1904, at the Reed House, and the result was the Erie Yacht Club was organized with Mr. Bliss as commodore; F. D. Lynch, secretary, and Walter S. Reitzell, treasurer. Funds were quickly raised, a club house was built at the anchorage, just east of the waterworks dock, and formally opened on July 4, 1895. The first big regatta of the club occurred August 5, 6, and 7, 1896, which brought to Erie the Canada and Vivia of Toronto; the Dinah, Eva, Naudia, Myrna and Hiawatha, of Hamil-

ton; the Dorothy of Buffalo and the Knox of the Rochester Yacht Club. The Canada was the Canadian champion that was later to contest with the Vencedor of Toledo for the challenge cup.

Early in 1900 the Erie Yacht Club secured the old Sommerheim Club house near the head of the bay, and reconstructed it into one of the most delightful of water-side clubs. It was known as station No. 1. During the winter of 1901 the club house at station No. 1 was destroyed by fire, but its restoration was never undertaken. The Erie Yacht Club was incorporated in May, 1895, with these directors named in the charter: George Platt, W. P. Atkinson, George Berriman, W. S. Reitzell, E. A. Davis, Nicholas Leuschen, W. L. Morrison, George T. Bliss, C. B. Hayes, W. J. Robinson, C. C. Wicks, Wm. Nick, A. H. Henderson, George Hamberger, C. H. Harvey, E. B. Lynch, Charles Campbell.

Immediately upon the decision of the Kahkwa Club to move into new quarters, steps were taken under the leadership principally of John F. Brown to organize the Country Club, and secure a lease of the property about to be abandoned. The effort was entirely and promptly successful. Early in the year 1904 the Country Club was incorporated with these directors: J. B. Brooks, J. F. Brown, D. W. Harper, J. C. Hoffstetter, H. L. Munger, C. J. Haller, M. W. Shreve, F. E. Lawrie and Edward C. Moore. The first officers were, Edward C. Moore, president; E. F. Rockafeller, vice-president; Fred W. Sapper, secretary, and J. F. Brown, treasurer. The refurnishing and equipment of the house was quickly effected and it was as though it had never been vacant. The Country Club was popular from the start, and loses nothing of that as it gathers age. A ten-year lease of the splendid property was secured, and improvements of various kinds have been made.

Not all the club organizations of Erie are founded solely upon the social idea. There are others that have as their animating motive the accomplishment of something that will be of benefit, not to the members alone, but to the community in general. The thought that after all the work may prove to be a thankless task, is never for a moment entertained, for there is a higher recompense than spoken thanks. Of this order is the Woman's Club of Erie, organized in December, 1897. It was composed of these members at the start: Mary E. Alverson, Maude Ardagh, Jean Inglis Black, Eda Camphausen, Jennie R. Cleveland, Louisa B. DeWitt, Emma Slocum Hopkins, Nettie Olds Lamb, Emma S. Nicholson, Grace B. Payne, Julia E. Perkins, Jane W. Pressly, Emma J. Selden, Louise S. Selden, Amelia P. Spencer, Maud A. Warner, Carrie T. Watson and Annie J. Wilson. The meetings were held in the Woman's Assembly Room of the Public Library, and, to ensure its permanency, it was decided to incorporate the Woman's Club.

In January, 1900, a charter was granted by the court, fifty members signing the application, and the following being designated as the first directors under the charter: Carrie T. Watson, Julia E. Perkins, Emma S. Hopkins, Jean Inglis Black, Louisa B. DeWitt, Margaret P. Mehard, Mary S. Lee, Maude Allen Warner, Emma S. Nicholson, Mary E. Alverson, Louise S. Selden, Lulu C. Harvey, Grace R. Van Cleve, Eda Camphausen, and Annie J. Wilson.

Meanwhile the work had been begun—work along varied lines. The first thing to receive attention was kindergarten instruction. There had been a free kindergarten association organized in 1892. This effort was taken in hand, and after it had been, in 1897, by the association introduced into the schools, the Woman's Club secured its adoption by the School Board in 1900. The condition of the poor was always a consideration, and for the alleviation of suffering a visiting nurse was secured and supported, Miss Clara Justice doing a world of good service through the instrumentality of the club. Efforts in behalf of a Juvenile Court were inaugurated early and continued until measurable success began to reward the labors, the Elmwood Home for Boys, incorporated July 20, 1908, being one result accomplished, while a home of detention for boys and another for girls is being labored for. Playgrounds for the children of the public came within the sphere of the club's action, and one was established on the west side in 1908 and another on the east side in 1909. Civic improvement came up for attention, the first tangible result being city house cleaning day, early in the summer of 1909, when the good accomplished was declared to be marvelous. The club is divided into three departments: Literature, Civics and Education, and Philanthropy, in each of which committees work to the accomplishment of purposes desired. The Woman's Club of Erie became federated with the General Federation in January, 1898, and with the State Federation in April, 1898.

Art in Erie existed in an unorganized fashion for many years, and some of it good art too. Moses Billings, for example, was a painter of portraits at the period when the only portraits obtainable were those painted, for the Daguerrean art was yet in the womb of the future. He painted excellent likenesses, and his work as an artist was excellent, save the one fault that, lacking an education in anatomy, his full length portraits were sometimes defective. Mrs. Gara, who, as Miss Calista Ingersoll, taught painting in the excellent school over which she and her sister presided, was acknowledged as an artist of merit. And there was Louis B. Chevalier, a general utility man, as they class such in the theatre—and it is proper to designate him thus, especially as he was best known as a painter of scenery for the stage. Later than all these came Miss Lovisa O. Card, who established an art school, and taught drawing and painting for several years, until at length her school be-

came so thoroughly established that when she became Mrs. Henry Catlin the school was continued. Devoted to art—a lover of art for art's sake—she really was not averse to continuing as an instructor in art.

It was by Mrs. Catlin's initiative, seconded and encouraged by her husband, a noble, cultured gentleman, that at length an art organization was effected. By invitation about a score of persons, many of whom had been pupils of Mrs. Catlin, met in her studio on January 28, 1898, to consider the subject of forming an art club. The upshot was that on March 21, 1898, The Art club of Erie was fully organized, and officered as follows: Mrs. Henry Catlin, president; Mrs. C. A. Gara and Mrs. J. M. Force, vice-presidents; Miss Florence Olds, treasurer; Miss Sarah H. Woodruff, secretary, and these, with John W. Little, Dr. D. N. Dennis, Henry Sevin and George Perkins, constituted the first council. In May of the same year the first exhibition consisting of original work by local artists and art students was held in the Erie Academy and was a perfect success. Meanwhile the membership which included sustaining and associate members grew rapidly. On February 16, 1899, in connection with the opening of the Public Library, an exhibition was given in the art gallery of that institution, which was continued for four weeks, free to the public. It consisted of oil paintings by leading artists of America, and at once established the standing of the Art club in the fore-front among Erie institutions of public spirit. Steps were immediately taken to establish a permanent collection of high class works of art, the club taking the lead by purchasing a painting by H. Bolton Jones, N. A., and obtaining for the same collection the gift by Mrs. A. R. Lee of a painting by F. S. Church, N. A. Regularly thereafter, public free exhibitions, covering four weeks, and consisting only of the works of eminent American artists have been held, out of each one or more of the pictures remaining as part of the permanent collection, until Erie can now boast of an art museum representing many thousand dollars in value, and educational from the fact that discrimination and judgment have been exercised, resulting in examples of the various schools and styles of painting in oil and water colors. Competitive exhibitions brought to the permanent collection many meritorious pictures, by local artists, and now and again special exhibitions. Besides, reproductions of the works of world-famous artists, bought by the club, have been used educationally in the public schools, and the monthly meetings, open to the public have had instruction as their fundamental purpose. The club was incorporated in May, 1900, and numbers between 200 and 300 members, with Mrs. L. C. Catlin elected regularly as president.

Beginning in 1868 there flourished for a number of years a musical organization that won a higher degree of popularity than any other society of its kind was ever favored with in Erie. It was the Union Mu-

sical Association, obtaining its name from the fact that at the start it was composed of members of the principal church choirs in Erie. The idea of forming the association had its origin in the success that had attended a number of musical conventions, the first conducted by W. B. Bradbury in 1855. Others succeeded, some of them after the society in Erie had been formed, the directors of musical conventions from first to last, after Mr. Bradbury, being Prof. Taylor, L. O. Emerson, J. P. Webster, H. R. Palmer and George F. Root. The Union Musical Association was formed at a meeting, called for the purpose, in Walther's Hall, at which Henry Catlin was elected president, L. M. Little director, and J. W. Little, assistant. From the very start it became evident that more than the members of choirs would seek admission, and provision was accordingly made to accept applicants generally, the condition being that such applicants should demonstrate their ability to read music. The membership in a short time reached between 200 and 300; concerts were given that taxed the capacity of the largest theatre in the city; works of diverse character and varied degree were undertaken, from the music of the oratorio to that of the cantata or of a program of folksongs and ballads to lend variety to the musical bill of fare. During the last years of the Association Prof. George F. Brierley was director, and when, about the year 1876, the Union Musical Association went out, the Orpheus Society came in and continued for ten years or thereabout, Prof. Brierley directing. Prof. Brierley was the organizer and leader of the Burdett band, composed principally of employes of the Burdett organ factory, and an excellent band it was.

And the subject of bands coming to the fore, some others are entitled to be mentioned. One of the most famous of early days was Mehl's band, that enlisted at the beginning of the Civil war, first with the Erie regiment, and later with its successor, the Eighty-third. The name of the band was derived not alone from its leader but the family, members of which formed a large proportion of the musicians. It was a musical family that for years figured prominently in instrumental music in Erie, Mehl's band and orchestra being directed, successively, by M. W. Mehl, Charles F. Mehl, W. O. Mehl, and if memory is not at fault, by E. H. Mehl. Zimmerman's band was another of the antebellum organizations that went to the front from Erie. A favorite old time orchestra was that of John L. Tompkins, the veteran leader still a resident of Erie. Knoll's band, organized the end of the sixties, included, besides the director Anton Knoll, six sons and one grandson, and upon occasion, in concert work, two daughters. Later the band has been under the management of A. H. and of John Knoll, the former now a widely known cornet virtuoso, and the latter a band leader in Erie and composer of reputation. A daughter, Miss Maggie Knoll, for years conducted a ladies orchestra. The greater portion of Knoll's band filled a term of enlistment in the U. S. navy, serving on the Mich-

igan, and as the Naval Band, became celebrated from Duluth to Buffalo. Prof. Anton Kohler, from the time he organized the Philharmonia Band in 1873, to the present, has been a leading musician, and his organization has always been popular. Frank J. Demuling's band became prominent about 1896, and from that time on the bands that have won popular favor have been Lang's, Rea's, Brehm's and the Moose band, and Wiesbauer's, Kohler's, Bowers's, Friend's and Jackson's orchestras.

The Erie Natural History Society, formed under the leadership of Prof. Gustave Guttenberg in 1879, for the study of the natural history of the county, and the formation of a museum, had a successful and useful existence for nearly twenty years. Its first officers were G. Guttenberg, president; Mrs. Addison Leech, vice-president; John Miller, secretary; Mrs. T. D. Ingersoll, treasurer, and the board of directors included Dr. H. S. Jones, Prof. H. C. Missimer, Ottomar Jarecki, Dr. T. D. Ingersoll, and Miss Rosina Hayt. Sections were formed for study and work in different branches, and in that of botany especially, in which Prof. Guttenberg and Miss Hayt took an important part, much that was of value to the botanical world was accomplished. The society succeeded in forming the beginnings of a museum, including a fair collection of insects and a good herbarium, the latter a gift from Frank H. Severance, a member, and this collection turned over to the Public Library when it was opened in 1899, formed the nucleus of the natural history section of the present admirable museum of the library.

The Horticultural Society was organized in 1888, with L. H. Couse as president, G. Lyman Moody as secretary, and including in its membership Peter Heydrick, Frank Henry and others, and during six years had periodical exhibitions of flowers and fruits, during one season having two flower shows and one of fruits.

The Chrysanthemum Club, organized in 1889, was promoted by Herbert Tong, of the Massassauga Gardens, a highly successful propagator of new varieties or strains of that popular flower. He was ably seconded by Henry Niemeyer, Dr. Schlaudecker, Mr. Buseck, and other cultivators and by many interested citizens, not professional florists. The annual exhibitions, covering a week, were held first in the Eleventh street skating rink, and afterwards in the Maennerchor Hall, and were continued until Mr. Tong's removal from Erie.

Among the independent social organizations, or with a special purpose, these have figured with prominence in Erie affairs:

The Caledonian Club, first formed in 1873, its annual games at Massassauga Point attracting the largest gatherings of the year.

The Sommerheim Club, composed of German-American citizens, who established a fine club house on the shore of the bay, on the Tracy farm.

The Erie Press Club, organized in 1887, was the means of securing the convention of the Pennsylvania State Editorial Association at Erie in 1888. After a few years the club ceased to be. In 1907, however, it was revived, including some who had been members of the old organization, and on February 20 of that year the Press Club was incorporated.

The Poultry and Pet Stock Association, organized in 1894, has held poultry shows with more or less regularity ever since.

The Erie Kennel Club, chartered in 1906, Dr. Otto F. Behrend, president; Edward J. Liebel, vice-president; D. S. Hanley, secretary, and C. E. Mabie, treasurer, has provided dog shows annually that have been popular.

On the 8th of June, 1897, Presque Isle Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was organized with these officers: Mrs. L. A. Morrison, regent; Mrs. Jerome F. Downing, vice-regent; Mrs. Charles S. Clarke, secretary; Mrs. L. M. Little, registrar; Miss Helen Ball, treasurer; Mrs. William N. Johnson, historian. A charter was granted to the chapter on December 27, 1897. The Daughters have had a profitable and useful existence in Erie. Their place of meeting is the Women's Assembly Room of the Public Library which, besides its elegant furnishment has among its embellishments oil portraits of Gen. Anthony Wayne and Com. Oliver H. Perry, prominently associated with the early history of Erie. Erie Chapter was active during the Spanish-American war, furnishing necessities to the soldiers in Cuba and the Philippines. It was the Daughters of the Revolution who erected the granite monument to Gen. Wayne that stands in the southwest corner of East Park, that records the fact that this hero of the Revolution, after the close of his great military services, first in the cause of American independence and next in the work of establishing security to the settlers in the west from the hostile Indians, closed his life at Erie, within a fort that had been erected by his orders for the protection of our own pioneers.

The Erie County Bird Club was organized in the spring of 1909, its declared purposes being: The study of birds; the protection of birds; to take whatever steps may be available to attract birds to the neighborhood of homes and schools; to observe some suitable date each year as "Bird Day," and to review literature pertaining to birds. It is expected that the Erie County Bird Club will eventually be enrolled as a section of the Audubon Society. The first officers were: Miss Cora A. Smith, president; Miss Estelle Hutchins, vice-president; Miss Marian Gunnison, secretary; Miss Marian Johnson, treasurer; Turner W. Shacklett, historian. The club was organized through the efforts

of Miss Cora A. Smith, science teacher in the High School, in response to what seemed to be a well established desire, and it is hoped that as a branch of the Audubon Society it will become permanent.

The Erie College Woman's Club was organized in August, 1902, with these officers: President, Miss Grace Stanton; vice-president, Miss Jennie Galpin; secretary, Miss Winnifred Riblet; treasurer, Miss Marian Gunnison. In 1905 the club became affiliated with the Federation of Pennsylvania Women. The membership at the beginning numbered 42, but fourteen of the original members have removed from the city. The presidents in succession have been: Miss Stanton, now Mrs. Dr. F. R. Love; Miss Barney, now Mrs. J. F. Downing; Dr. A. B. Woods, Dr. Lucy H. Black. The present officers are: Dr. A. B. Woods, president; Miss Jessie Wheeler, vice-president; Miss Maud Willis, recording secretary; Miss Iva Brown, corresponding secretary; Miss Susan A. Tanner, treasurer.

The oldest of the secret orders in Erie is that of Freemasonry. The first lodge constituted in Erie was in 1814, and was known as Lodge No. 124. Its officers were Giles Sanford, W. M.; Rufus S. Reed, S. W.: John C. Wallace, J. W. It went down about the time that Anti-Masonry began to be a disturbing element in public affairs. A fresh start was made on March 13, 1849, when Presque Isle Lodge, No. 235, was constituted, with William Flint, W. M.; James C. Marshall, S. W.; W. W. Reed, J. W.; C. G. Howell, secretary; Smith Jackson, treasurer; Wm. Wyatt, senior deacon; Daniel Dobbins, junior deacon, and John Lantz, tyler. The lodge disbanded in 1864.

Freemasonry came to stay when Tyrian Lodge was chartered on December 27, 1865. The meetings were at first held in the rooms of Presque Isle Lodge, I. O. O. F., on State street between Fifth street and the Park. On June 6, 1867, Perry Lodge No. 392, was chartered; on July 19 of the same year, Temple Chapter No. 215, R. A. M., was constituted, and on October 20, 1867, Mt. Olivet Commandery was organized. The Noble block, now the Penn building, having been finished the year before, a lease of the fourth floor was obtained and became Masonic headquarters for a number of years. Jerusalem Council, No. 33, R. and S. M., was chartered June 10, 1868, and Keystone Lodge was constituted January 13, 1870. After the completion of the building 914-16 State street in 1884, for I. A. Forman, the third floor and part of the second was leased and the building came to be popularly known as Masonic Temple, but about 1900 the Masonic bodies returned to the Penn building, which had been rebuilt after the fire of December, 1899. Presque Isle Lodge of Perfection, A. A. S. R., was chartered September 22, 1887. The rooms, from the first occupancy of the Noble block in the sixties have been under a joint organization representing the various Masonic bodies. A movement that had been in existence for a con-

siderable time looking toward the building of a Masonic Temple, at length crystallized, and in 1909, the Masonic Temple Association acquired the lot on the northeast corner of Eighth and Peach streets, and ground was broken during the summer of that year for a modern fire-proof building, to be the home of the fraternity.

Associated with Masonry in a sort of fashion best understood by the Freemasons themselves, is that order which sails under the alphabetical combination A. A. O. N. M. S., popularly known as the Shriners. Of this order Zem-Zem Temple, instituted April 13, 1892, was chartered August 15 of the same year. A handsome club house at 124 East Eighth street was dedicated in May, 1908, during the annual conclave of the Knights Templar of Pennsylvania.

The Odd Fellows were introduced to Erie in 1845, Presque Isle Lodge, No. 107, having been organized in June of that year. The other lodges were instituted: Philallelia in 1849, Lake Shore in 1870, Erie City (German) 1874, Irwin in 1897, Fraternal about 1900. Heneosis Adelphon Encampment was founded in 1846, Lake Erie Encampment in 1881; Canton Erie, P. M., in 1899, Canton Nicholson in 1902; Luella Rebekah Lodge in 1874, Laura Rebekah in 1897, and Sylvia Rebekah (German) soon afterwards. In 1902 the Odd Fellows Temple Association was formed and a desirable location on the northeast corner of State and Twelfth streets was secured. Before building was undertaken the association was dissolved and the property sold, during the latter part of 1908. Early in 1909 Lake Shore Lodge bought a fine lot on the corner of Eleventh and Peach streets and erected thereon a handsome modern four-story building, completing it in the fall.

The Knights of Pythias in Erie date from December 20, 1871, when Erie Lodge No. 327 was organized. Six months afterward—June 20, 1872—Alvord Lodge No. 368 was instituted, the name of which was changed in 1873 to Northwestern Lodge. In June 1873, Oriflamme Lodge was organized. All three were merged under Erie Lodge charter in 1878. Olds's Hall was the home of the Pythians from 1872 to 1878, when, on the merger of the lodges Metcalf's hall was taken; in 1887 Olds's Hall was again taken and occupied until 1904, when the Forman block on State street above Tenth became Pythian Temple. Athens Lodge, No. 455 was instituted in 1894; Lake City Company, Uniform Rank, in 1884; Insurance Section 103, in 1878; Linton Temple, Pythian Sisters, in 1893; Arafa Temple, Knights of Khorassan, in 1899.

Erie Lodge, B. P. O. Elks was instituted May 28, 1887, and met first in the Germer building, Ninth and State, moving thence to the Ensign building, West Eighth street upon its completion. In 1908, Erie Lodge took possession of the handsome Elks building on the southeast corner of Eighth and Peach streets.

The first Erie post of the Grand Army of the Republic was organized in 1867, and was named in honor of Gen. Strong Vincent, brevet-

ted general from the colonelcy of the Eighty-third Regiment, who was killed at Gettysburg. For many years the work and expense of properly observing Memorial Day fell to Post 67, the Fourth of July picnic at Massassauga Point, from which the funds for Decoration Day were chiefly derived being regularly associated with Independence Day. In the course of time, however, and by means of an enabling act of the Legislature, the city councils now make an annual appropriation in honor of the old soldiers. G. A. R. Hall on State street above Ninth, for nearly thirty years the headquarters of the Grand Army, was vacated in 1909 for the old Custom House building, granted to the veterans as a post room by the United States government. The encampment of the Department of Pennsylvania G. A. R., in 1908, was probably the last gathering of the kind to be held in Erie. Robert Wainwright Scott Post, G. A. R., organized in 1885, was merged in Strong Vincent Post in 1899.

The various secret orders, not already enumerated, that have become established in Erie, giving the dates only of the first body in each of the several orders, are these: D. O. Harugari, and Patriotic Order Sons of America in 1867—the latter, however, having fallen out for a time and returned in 1889; the temperance orders—the Sons of Temperance, Temple of Honor and Good Templars, flourished about the same time, but after ten years or so moved off the stage; Knights of Honor in 1875; Royal Arcanum in 1878; Knights of the Maccabees in 1884; Colored Masons in 1872; Junior Order United American Mechanics, National Union, Union Veteran Legion in 1887; Knights of the Golden Eagle, in 1886; Knights and Ladies of Honor in 1888; Protected Home Circle in 1889; Knights of St. John and Malta, Woodmen of the World, Colored Odd Fellows in 1892; I. O. Foresters in 1899.

The Catholic orders first came in the years here given: Catholic Mutual Benefit Association in 1876; Ladies Catholic Benevolent Association in 1890, in which year the national organization of the L. C. B. A., was formed with Mrs. Joanna A. Royer as Supreme Recorder, a position she has ever since filled, the business office of the order being, as a consequence, located in Erie. The Knights of Columbus were introduced to Erie in 1897; the Knights of St. John, and the Catholic Order of Foresters in 1900.

CHAPTER XIX.—HOTELS, THEATRES, SPORTS.

From the Log Hut to the Modern Hotel.—From a Dining Room to a Full Fledged Playhouse.—The Turf, the Water, the Diamond.

Much of the life of old Erie centered about the village tavern, even in the earliest days, to dignify it, being called by the Frenchified title of hotel. The village inn was the only club house of the community. It was even more. It took the place of the newspaper of later days, for at these gatherings in the evening the people got from one another the local news, and from the stranger, if there chanced to be one, some intelligence from the world without. The hotel was an important institution. In Erie it was more than that. The very first house erected here at the time the permanent settlers arrived, was a tavern, built in the summer of 1795 by Col. Seth Reed, and called the Presque Isle Hotel. It was a one-story log house, but served as a hospice for a year. The next season Col. Reed built a two-story log house at the corner of Second and Parade streets, which he placed in charge of his son, Rufus S., before changing his abode to the Walnut Creek valley. In this building Rufus Reed kept store and tavern until it was burned down in 1799, but it was soon rebuilt, and for years afterward was the center of business in Erie. Here the stranger was entertained, and here also the resident came to make his purchases of the necessities of life which could not be wrested from the woods and the soil.

The same year that Rufus S. Reed rebuilt the hotel that had been burned—1800—a third public house was erected. George Buehler built his hotel at the corner of French and Third streets, and it was destined to be a place of great prominence. In Buehler's Hotel the courts for Erie were first held; when Erie became a borough the meetings of the town council were held at Buehler's; when Commodore Perry came here to superintend the building of the fleet and organize the force with which it was to be manned, his headquarters were at Buehler's. In later years it became known as the Rees House and the McConkey House, but in time was forced to make way for progress.

Just before the war of 1812 John Dickson erected the three-story frame building on the southeast corner of Second and French streets that still stands, an antique monument of old Erie. It was in Dick-

son's Hotel that the great public dinner was prepared, which was served in LaFayette's honor on the Second street bridge.

The Bell House, built by William Bell in 1805 at the corner of French and Sixth street, was a frame structure that stood until torn down in 1871 to give place to the Becker block erected that year.

The Duncan tavern, regarded so remote during the exciting times in the summer of 1813, that Gen. Kelso's family fled to it from their home on the top of the bluff, stood at the corner of French and Fifth streets, the site in future years of the Farmer's Hotel. It was built by James Duncan.

The American Hotel was the most imposing structure of its time. It was built in 1811, was three stories high and was constructed of stone—the bluestone that is quarried in this neighborhood. It stood on the south side of the beautiful ravine that crossed the parks and State street diagonally, and under many landlords, stood until taken down in 1875 to make way for the Dime Bank building.

The Laird House stood at the southwest corner of State and Eighth streets from 1829 until 1867, when Walther's block was built; and the Park House, a brick hotel on the site of the City Hall, built by John Morris in 1829, before it was torn down served as a barracks for the United States troops sent here to preserve neutrality during the Fenian excitement.

The third venture of the Reeds was the erection of the Mansion House at French street and the Park in 1826. Like the American Hotel, it stood on the side of the park ravine, that in those days was beautifully wooded, but was well nigh impassable, steep roads leading down to rustic bridges that crossed the stream. From the west wall of the Mansion House, a fine garden, the produce of which was designed for the hotel table, sloped down toward the fringe of hemlocks and alders that guarded the brook. The Mansion House was at once the chief caravansary of the town. At this hospice the stages stopped —it was a division terminus for the line of which Mr. Reed was a large stockholder and important officer. But it burned down in 1839, and with it were destroyed all the outbuildings containing the stage coaches, horses and other property. When Rufus S. Reed rebuilt, which was without any unnecessary delay, it was on a larger scale and the house assumed a new name. It was called the Reed House, and to this day the hotel at that location has the same name though the first Reed House was burned in 1864 and the second in 1872. Among the landlords of the Reed House have been Messrs. Guild, Keith, Griswold, Elliott, Upson, Wadsworth, Johnson, Ellsworth, Coleman, Rowe and Klein, the present proprietor.

The United States Hotel (the first of that name in Erie) was brought into existence by the steamboat business. It was a large brick building and stood on the northeast corner of French and Second

streets. Its principal feature was a long colonnaded portico that gave it a very dignified appearance, and for years it was a popular hostelry. Among its landlords were George W. Reed, D. P. Dobbins and H. L. Brown, Sr. But few who are now living remember this hotel.

And it is also true of Brown's Hotel that few now living remember it, even by its latter-day appellation of the Ellsworth House. In 1836 there stood, fronting on the park with State street on its right flank, and on the opposite side of the park ravine from both the Mansion House and the American Hotel, a tavern called the Eagle Hotel, kept by Hiram L. Brown, who had the year before come to Erie from North East. The Eagle Hotel was notable as the rendezvous of the Democratic party leaders; it was headquarters of the party in Erie, and a well authenticated story is to the effect that when the trees were planted in the East Park, Hi Brown insisted that in front of his door a hickory should be planted. So the hickory was planted and it is the only tree of the species in the park. The Eagle Hotel was burned in 1851, and Mr. Brown immediately erected a five-story building in its stead, and called it Brown's Hotel. He died in 1853, but for many years Brown's Hotel was a vigorous rival of the Reed House. In 1869 it came under the control of Col. F. H. Ellsworth, who changed the name to the Ellsworth House and after a time consolidated it in a fashion with the Reed House. In 1883 the property was bought by Hon. W. L. Scott who desired to convert it into a modern hotel. No plan submitted for the alteration suited, so he ordered the building torn down. He died before he had found the plan he wanted and to this day nothing remains of Brown's hotel and the Ellsworth House, save a hole in the ground.

The Liebel House, built by Michael Liebel and first opened to the public in 1887, was previously a frame building that for years had been known as the United States Hotel, the second of that name in Erie, probably erected as early as 1840.

In 1838 a frame hotel building was erected on South Park row near the American and for years was known as the Zimmerly House. In 1884 James D. Allen bought and rebuilt it and changed the name to the Park View Hotel, and the present owner, Louis Galmish, has enlarged and greatly improved it.

The Morton House was built in 1850; the National and the Livingston in the fifties; the Arcade in 1870; the Wilcox was established in 1880; the Moore House, named after M. M. Moore in 1882; the Wilson House in 1887; the Palace in 1891; and the Metropolitan in 1893. The Kimberly was originally the Wetmore House, but the name was changed in 1891 when Mr. Kimberly assumed charge. The enlargement which furnished ground floor offices was built in 1908, and in 1909 Coggswell and Illig became proprietors.

In the course of time "hotel" came to be a much abused word in Erie. There were hotels and hotels, some that lasted their brief space and went out, and some that even in the heyday of their career were never better nor more than small boarding houses. Some became landmarks, and at least one imparted its name to the little community of which it was the central part, for Eagle Village on Federal Hill had its name from the Eagle Hotel. Long ago that old-time hospice disappeared to give place to an inn that reversed the order, by taking the name of the town—the South Erie Hotel.

The theatre in Erie began with occasional performances in a hotel dining room by troupes of strollers who happened this way. There were no halls fit for public entertainments, and when it chanced that a lecturer came this way it was usual to open the courthouse for him and the people gathered at the ringing of the bell. All sorts of meetings (almost) were held at the courthouse, even church meetings. Theatricals, however, were barred. During the decade of the forties W. H. Harris kept hotel on lower French street—perhaps the LaFayette, or maybe the Dickson, at Second street—and he contrived at periods of perhaps no great regularity to have theatrical performances in his dining room. It is said that Edwin Forrest the greatest tragedian of his time, played in Mr. Harris's hotel. Someone has said that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was performed there, but that is a mistake, for the novel was not written until 1850.

About 1855 Park Hall was built. It stood on French street north of the Sanford residence and a short time ago gave place to an automobile garage. It was built by Mr. Sanford principally to be a meeting place for Park church, then just organized, but was available for lectures, concerts and public meetings. It was not provided with a theatrical stage, and, while Park Hall was a great convenience and a step in advance, there was yet something left to be desired. To remedy this A. H. Gray and F. F. Farrar in 1860 erected a building on North Park Row, the upper part of which was finished for a theatre. It was called Farrar Hall; had a very respectable stage; a floor of considerable area, but flat, and a gallery around three sides. In this little theatre many of the notables of the period appeared, such as Laura Keene, Ristori, Edwin Forrest, Mrs. Scott Siddons and others.

In 1872 Farrar Hall was closed, the owners having decided to build in its stead a theatre modeled upon the best of the times. For the time being theatricals were accommodated at the Academy of Music, which was the name given to the hall on the third floor of the Gabel block on State street, built in 1870, and fitted with a stage. Farrar Hall had for a time been under the management of W. J. Sell; he conducted the business of the Academy of Music during the period of transition on North Park Row. The new theatre was built somewhat

on the plan of Booth's Theatre, New York, and its owners were liberal. Messrs. Gray and Farrar had as partners in the larger enterprise W. M. Caughey and John Clemens, who pushed the work so that it was finished and formally opened on March 17, 1873. It was a handsome theatre and became immediately popular. The first managers were Smith & Kennedy, but in the course of time the business was turned over to W. J. Sell, who had had not a little experience in local theatrical management.

In Park Opera House, which was its appropriate name, Erie liberally patronized, at one time and another, the leading performers in every line of dramatic art. Booth, Forrest, Barrett, Keene, Downing, Davenport, Janauschek, Charlotte Cushman, John McCullough, among the tragedians; the Florences, Sothern, Raymond, Mrs. Langtry, Mary Anderson, Sarah Bernhardt, Mr. and Mrs. Chanfrau, John E. Owens, Mr. and Mrs. Howard, Robson and Crane, Sara Jewett, Clara Morris, Annie Pixley, Minnie Maddern, Fanny Davenport, Kate Claxton, Edwin Adams, Joseph Jefferson, Richard Mansfield, Ada Rehan, the Vokes family, William Horace Lingard, Tony Pastor, among comedians—in short, all the stage notables of the time were seen upon Erie boards and applauded by appreciative and discriminating Erie audiences, in Park Opera House.

In 1887 the firm of Wagner & Reis—Mr. Wagner had been a local theatrical manager at Bradford—rented Park Opera House, which was operated in connection with Bradford and some other nearby towns, forming a circuit. John L. Kerr was made local manager and had direction of affairs at Park Opera House, remaining here until 1891, when he was transferred to Syracuse, N. Y. Under the new management the character of the attractions was maintained and the degree of patronage continued. When Mr. Kerr left Frank Caughey was made local manager, and served for two years, after which John L. Gilson assumed the position and has been manager in Erie ever since. The firm of Wagner & Reis was dissolved in 1897, at which time M. Reis took over all the holdings of the firm. Later a corporation known as the Reis Circuit was formed and this acquired the holdings of Mr. Reis in 1907.

In 1903 there was a corporation formed under the name of the Erie Amusement Company for the purpose of erecting a new and thoroughly modern theatre. Its officers were F. B. Downing, president; Davenport Galbraith, vice-president; H. A. Clark, secretary; F. J. Walker, treasurer, and besides these, the stockholders were, Henry E. Fish, A. A. Culbertson, J. C. Mackintosh, C. Kessler and R. J. Saltsman. After a thorough canvass, it was decided to effect a long-term lease of a piece of ground on Tenth street from the Erie Academy, being a part of the grounds upon which the Academy stands. Plans were secured from McElfatrick & Sons, of New York, who had then

built more than forty theatres, the contract for construction was awarded to the Henry Shenk Co., and work was begun immediately. The new play-house was dedicated as the Majestic Theatre on January 28, 1904, with Grace George in "Pretty Peggy."

It was a handsome theatre and was immediately popular, under the management of W. J. Sell, who had been manager for years of Farrar Hall and Park Opera House. It was operated on a high plane, and only the best attractions of the time were offered. On January 1, 1907, the M. Reis Circuit bought the Majestic Theatre from the Erie Amusement Co., and at once assumed the management, installing Frank Williams as the local representative of the corporation at that theatre, but he was superseded after a year by John L. Gilson, who, being then in charge of the Park Opera House, became local manager of both theatres. The effect upon local amusements has been to effect a grading as to the character of the attractions offered, the Majestic standing for the "combinations," and the Park for the "repertoire" companies, in each instance, however, a discriminating judgment being exercised as to merit.

An experiment of putting on vaudeville at Park Opera House was not a complete success, and that form of entertainment was abandoned. In the spring of 1907, however, E. H. Suerken ventured into this branch of the show business, and erected a small but quite comfortable theatre on State street, between Eighth and Ninth, which was opened in the spring of 1907. It was not a success at the start, but Mr. Suerken was not discouraged, and had the satisfaction of reaping excellent financial harvests during the winter succeeding and throughout 1908. In the spring of 1909 he bought land on Eighth street between State and Peach streets, and began the erection of a large modern theatre, which it is intended shall be finished and in operation before the end of the year. It is to be known as the Alpha Theatre, under which name his first amusement venture became popular.

Early in 1909 A. P. Weschler, a prominent real estate dealer bought of the Church of Christ the building that for years had been known as the Tabernacle. Although it was built for church purposes, in appearance, both inside and out, it was as unlike the traditional church as possible. The floor was of the amphitheatre form or style; the rostrum or platform was in reality a stage, and it was provided with a gallery. There was therefore but little reconstruction necessary, and before the spring was over the Colonial Theatre had been dedicated as an addition to Erie's playhouses, to be devoted to the vaudeville line.

There remains to this day, besides the Academy of Music, already referred to, three halls that in their time figured as temples of amusement. The oldest of these, Wayne Hall, on French street between Fifth and Sixth streets, opened about 1860, though on the third floor

was for years in request for lectures and concerts. On the platform of the Wayne Hall appeared Edward Everett, Artemus Ward and other notables of that period. But the hall ceased to attract after Park Opera House was built.

In 1875 Scott's block, at the corner of Tenth and State streets, was completed. The third and fourth stories, in front, were finished as a theatre, and it was opened May 30, 1875, under the management of W. J. Sell, with Mrs. Lander and company in "Queen Elizabeth," as the attraction. It was operated for three years as a public theater, after which it became devoted to concerts, private theatricals and balls.

When H. V. Claus bought the storerooms of Black & Germer on State street between Tenth and Eleventh, in 1885, he reconstructed the buildings and built a neat little theatre in the rear on the second floor. It was taken in 1888, by Walker & Gallagher, show printers, and operated for a time; but vaudeville was not yet Erie's taste. After a year the theatre was taken over by Col. McClure, a showman who had come in from the world beyond. He made it a success. Later it was taken by J. E. Girard and F. E. Woods, who added museum features, and it became popular for a time as Wonderland. Girard, however, failed in the nineties and the Claus theatre has almost passed from recollection as a place of amusement.

The history of sports in Erie begins with the coming of the permanent settlers, for the love of athletics was bred in their bone. In an early chapter it was related how a land title was settled by resorting to the fists—in accordance with the wager of battle provision of old English law. It was in a way in line with what the sports of the time consisted of. Among the first acts of the council after the borough had been chartered, was a resolution with reference to horse-racing on Second street, indicative of the strength of the passion for the turf that existed at that early day. While there are no recorded details of the meets that were held from time to time since Second street was the race course, nor of the associations by which they were promoted, it can be stated in a general way that there never was a period when no interest was taken. If a measurement back to the sixties may be accepted the span of modern times, it will not be difficult to designate the leading spirits. From the Civil war period to the present, the name of Reed has always been associated with the turf. When there was a failure of the county fair enterprise that located itself in the neighborhood of Wesleyville, the fairground and race track were laid out on a Reed farm at the western edge of the city, and when that was requisitioned by the big factories the driving park was constructed, handsomer and better than ever before, out near Four-mile Creek on the Lake road, on another Reed farm. Along with Reed the names of

Russell, Van Scoter, Dunbar and others are associated in the earlier days and in the later times no name has been more prominent than that of Theo. F. Noble, as clean a horseman and square as ever lived. His place, now that he has passed away, will not easily be filled.

Of the interest taken in aquatic sports mention has already been made. It began later than that in the turf, but has been as constant and as deep seated, and the prosperous existence of the Yacht Club at the present time is sufficient evidence of this.

The adoption of the National Game in Erie was prompt. The organization of the Erie City Club with such afterwards-to-be-notable railway men as W. A. Baldwin, A. J. Cassatt and others as officers; and of the Excelsior Club with players who were in time to occupy foremost places on the bench, in manufacturing and in the mercantile affairs of the city, has already been noted. The game then was rudimentary as compared with what it is today. Balls were pitched, not thrown, by the pitcher; the batter could call for a ball to suit him; there were no called balls and strikes—the latter only when the batter "fanned;" there was no umpire, and no enclosed grounds. It was a gentleman's game and was played for the pure sport of it. There were numerous contests with out of town clubs, and the game increased steadily in popularity. The principal ball field was a commons bounded by Sixth and Seventh streets, and extending from Parade street eastward indefinitely. When the P. & E. Railroad offices were removed to Williamsport, the Erie City Club went with them, for the players were mostly railroad clerks, and the Excelsior Club went out of existence about the same time, for the boys had become tied up in business.

But other clubs started. The Mutuals—amateurs of course—were the leading team in 1871, and included Eichenlaub, Willing, Van Velsor, Ferguson, Irwin, Kelly, Hubbard, Rea, Downing and Cowell, all to become more or less prominent in business later, some of them still leading men in Erie affairs. The most famous contest the Mutuals had was with the Oil Stockings of Franklin, August 22, 1871, that team including some who became prominent in professional baseball a few years later, one of them Joe Quest of Capt. Spalding's Chicago Club, the best second baseman in the world in his time. But the Mutuals were not the only team then. The Dolly Vardens, the Shoo Flys, the Eagles, the Mechanics' Own, flourished and played good ball. The Burdett Organ Company began business in 1872. Out of that came a baseball team. Another came from the Jarecki shop and yet another from the P. & E. shops. These flourished until 1874, when the Keystone Club was formed from the pick of the other teams. In 1876 it was at its best, and through the efforts of Johnny Whitcomb and Sam Woods was provided with a fine enclosed ground and grand stand at the corner of Tenth and Peach streets.

This marked a revolution in baseball in Erie. It was an amateur club with professional abilities, but it was the last of amateur ball as an attraction for Erie. It was made up of Emor and Jack Allen, Will Ely and Burden of Girard, and Swalley, Cushman, McCarty, Kenny, Guise and Brown of Erie. A feature of the Centennial celebration of the Fourth of July was a game with the Aetnas of Detroit. The Keystones won. When the Aetnas returned from a trip towards Pittsburg for a second game they had picked up a curve pitcher and won from the Keystones, hands down. With that defeat professional ball came to Erie. Shortly afterward the Quicksteps of Wilmington went broke, and at once the opportunity was seized. A new organization was effected with Pitt Gilson as manager; John H. Whitcomb as secretary, and Fred Metcalf as treasurer. The new club was completed on August 18, 1876, and entered the diamond as the Erie Baseball Club. There were no schedules then, nor during the next two years, but plenty of opportunities were presented and Erie revelled in really high class baseball.

In 1885 Archie Miller organized a team to revive interest in the sport, which had begun to lag, and got together an excellent combination. He thought he had also organized a circuit or league. It unhappily turned out otherwise, when he found no team at Dayton, Ohio, and an empty treasury. For a while the sport was dead. In 1887 the Erie Commercial Travelers Association organized the Drummer's club of amateurs and, aided by Father Thomas A. Casey, vicar general of the Cathalic diocese of Erie, laid out handsome grounds on West Eighth street. For two or three years good ball at irregular periods was furnished, and at length in 1891 the New York and Pennsylvania league, including Erie, Meadville, Bradford, Olean, Elmira and Jamestown, was formed. The grounds of the Drummers were used and Erie won the pennant.

In 1893 Erie was admitted to the Eastern league, and, with Charley Morton as manager, put a strong club in the field to contest with Troy, Springfield, Buffalo, Binghamton, Albany, Providence and Wilkesbarre. The pennant was won by Erie. Next year, 1894, Erie was in the same league, changed a bit, the other clubs being Scranton, Allentown, Syracuse, Providence, Buffalo, Springfield and Wilkesbarre. Erie closed the season second in the race, Syracuse the winner, being only one point ahead.

Of Erie boys who played on the vacant lots there were many who distinguished themselves. Lou Bierbauer became one of the best second basemen of his time, and is responsible for the Pittsburg team being called the Pirates. He had been playing with Philadelphia, and when that club made up its reserve list it could not be stretched to include him, though he was wanted. When the lists were made public a representative of Pittsburg rushed to Erie hot-foot and signed

Lou. Philadelphia hoped they might have Bierbauer anyway, but when they found Pittsburg had overreached them they charged piracy, and the Pittsburgs are Pirates to this day. Ed. Cushman was for several years the star twirler of the Metropolitans. Mike Fogarty was a shortstop for the Live Oaks of Lynn and the Tecumsehs of London, Canada. Tony Mullane, the only ambidextrous pitcher on record, made good with Cincinnati. Charley Strick (now register and recorder of Erie county), played in the Louisville League team. Eddie Zinram became a catcher in the Southern League.

For a period of ten years Erie depended upon amateur sport, the fast work of the Eastern League teams having left a feeling difficult to be satisfied with anything inferior to what had been. In 1905 Erie was again in the field with a professional team and during that season and the seasons of 1906 and 1907 played in the New York and Pennsylvania League, with teams in Jamestown, Bradford, Olean, Franklin, Oil City and other towns.

But Erie's ambition was for something better, and in 1908 the team entered the Ohio and Pennsylvania League, playing with Akron, East Liverpool, Canton, Youngstown, Sharon, McKeesport and New Castle. In this league Erie's baseball fortunes seem now to be anchored.

CHAPTER XX.—PARKS AND RESORTS.

Massassauga Point.—Lone Fisherman's Inn.—Grove House Park.—Glenwood, Erie's First Real Park.—Erie's Cemeteries.

It is summer time in 1864; an August day, and as perfect as an August day only can be. I am standing on the summit of the escarpment known as the Red Bank, a bare bluff of sandy clay that stands as a scar in the border of sylvan foliage with which the bay is bounded on the south. Its location is about half way to the head of the bay. Overhead there is a cloudless sky of deepest blue that is duplicated in the waters of the bay and of the lake beyond. There is an interval, however, a broad strip of fresh, bright green—the meadow-like sedge and back of it the swelling contour of the peninsula woods on the one hand, and farther west the detached clumps of poplars and willows that separate the bay from the wider sweep of the lake, stretching away till sky and water meet. Over all there is a flood of mellow sunshine that, but for the softly swelling breeze from the west, might be unpleasant in its warmth. It is a view pleasant to contemplate and productive of a feeling of *dolce far niente* to which it is easy to surrender one's self.

Now and then, as we idly contemplate the pleasant view of rippled water and of greening trees, there come at irregular intervals, made by the rising and falling of the softly breathing wind, the strains of music, and presently there moves into view and passes athwart the summer picture, an object that accounts for the melody, for the sunlight is reflected from the burnished brass of the instruments. It is a picnic party that is moving up the bay, the means of transportation a large flat scow provided with rude seats extemporized for the occasion and towed by one of the smallest of the tug boats at the time in service in the harbor. There are probably a hundred people on the scow, scarcely more, and there will be few if any in addition at the picnic, for, unless they shall drive up from the city there is no other means of transportation. Nor will there be another trip by the scow and the busy, noisy little tug that puffs its way through the water pulling the picnic barge in its wake. That would not be permissible, for the scow is to furnish the only facilities available for dancing, without which the picnic party would not be complete.

So we see the happy party gliding by, and with them enjoy the strains of Mehl's band as it passes while the incident lends the necessary touch of human interest to make the scene complete.

Let us now, anticipating the arrival of the picnic party, visit the Head that we may learn the character of the place that is to be the scene of the festive occasion.

From the pebbly beach it gently slopes in gradually widening area toward the west. Elevated at the most but a few feet above the level of the water, it is studded with trees in parklike fashion, the ground covered with a fine short turf, as trim as though cut with a lawn mower. No such device, however, was employed upon that lovely piece of sward. Lawn mowers were then not even dreamed of. But, feeding further west, we might see a flock of sheep. These served to keep the grass in trim, and, seated in the doorway of a shed-like structure that was part of an old oil well derrick, is to be found the guardian of the sheep. An old man he is, and a sort of hermit, but yet he has been important in affairs in Erie. This, however, is aside.

But we will find no hotel, nor facilities for dancing; no shelter of any kind, nor no landing for boats. Away to the west, the view is unobstructed. We can see the grassy lawn extending until it meets the ranker growth of sedges that border the ponds; then the white dunes of sand; beyond these the blue of the lake, the waves of which break with musical murmur upon the shore. Looking toward the north the placid waters of the bay, shut in by the long low stretch of the narrow neck of the peninsula greet the eye; eastward there is hardly an object between us and the light-house at the entrance that by some optical illusion seems to be standing away above the surface of a glassy sea; southward the wall of wooded hill is unbroken, the narrow roadway that winds down the side of the hill being invisible from the shore.

This is what there was of the Head in 1864, and this was the favorite and nearly the only resort available for picnics. Waiting for the party to arrive that but a few moments ago we discovered passing the Red Bank we may learn how the place is utilized. It is a scow that has been employed for transportation, and the especial utility of a craft of this character becomes at once evident as we observe the proceedings. Having approached as near the shore as it is safe with her draft, the Hercules casts off the hawser with which she has been towing and then turning out of the way the scow's momentum carries her high and dry upon the beach so that her projecting end overhangs the dry land. A gangplank is required because the step is too great for ease and comfort. So the scow is her own landing. But the scow is more. She has been berthed near a spreading beech tree, which furnishes agreeable shade, and, the planks that formed the seats having been transformed into a barricade around the sides and ends as the

principal part of the deck is cleared, the scow is now become a dancing pavilion, where the young people dance the waltzes and polkas and schottisches that were so popular in their day. On the grassy sward the cloth is spread, around which the al fresco repast is enjoyed, and swings from the trees are about the only accessories to nature's provision that the company enjoy ashore.

This was the Head, even before it had its Indian name bestowed upon it.

For many years there were no other facilities available for transportation to the Head than those we have mentioned, nor any better accommodations on the grounds. A change came about the year 1868, when the first steam yacht, the Minnie Harris, was brought to Erie by Captain James Hunter, and the change came swiftly. Almost directly there was built a little tavern on the grounds at the Head—a plain structure of rough weather-beaten boards, consisting of three or four rooms, the principal that which contained the bar, at which Jake Graham presided. It was not much of a place, but it was nevertheless a great convenience and as a consequence was highly appreciated—so much so that the grounds took on a new name and assumed a good deal of consequence. Massassauga Point, they called it, and Massassauga Point it is to this day. Picnic parties became frequent, and conveniences gradually multiplied. After a time some rude sheds were found near the eastern end. Jake had built them to enclose a floor for dancing that he had recently had built. As a ball room it was rustic enough and the floor was nothing to brag of, but it sprang into instant popularity, for it was now possible to reach it at almost any hour. The success of the Minnie Harris encouraged an enlargement of the transportation facilities, so that in a season or two more Captain Hunter was ready with a new and larger boat, the Eva Wadsworth, and Captain Frank Harmon, he who brought the sailing yachts Flora and Dexter to this port, brought the steam yacht Walter Scott to Erie, and there was plenty of business for both.

It was not long before Captain J. D. Paasch, observing the trend of business at the lake and appreciating the fact that the facilities were soon to be altogether inadequate, bought the yacht Emma V. Sutton and built a large and well appointed flat-boat or scow, which he named the Picnic and this was hardly in commission before even that was taxed to keep pace with travel to Massassauga Point.

Jake Graham was a noted hunter and sportsman. His place was not much for show, but it soon became known as a place where fish were served up to guests in a style a little better than anywhere else in the country round. It may be that the rustic surroundings added zest to Jake's meals, but it was current belief that no such conditions were necessary, and the fame of his table drew many to Massassauga

Point. It was also a place of rendezvous for amateur fishermen and sportsmen, who found in the bay and at the mouths of the streams west of the Head, as far as Walnut creek, splendid fishing grounds for black bass, while the sedgy shores of the upper end of the peninsula, where the eel-grass grew abundantly, was a favorite feeding ground for wild duck, and as a consequence an excellent field for gunning.

But by far the greatest popularity of Massassauga Point was as a place of resort for picnics, and even in the times when the little steam yachts were the only means of transportation incredibly large crowds gathered there for a day's outing. Until there was a change of ownership of the property it is probable the largest of all these picnics were those of the Caledonian club, which then flourished. The braw hieland chiefs in their kilts and feathered bonnets, marching to the shrill cadences of the bag-pipes, and their announcement of Scottish games and characteristic dances, drew immense crowds; so large that they could not all find means of tranportation home again before the "wee sma' hours ayont the twal."

A rival in popularity of the Caledonian club outing was the Harvest Home of the farmers of Millcreek and near by—and of the farmers of the city. From town the people went up by the thousand; from the country there were perhaps as many more, and the woods above and the space at the foot of the hill below were crowded with the farmers' teams. The country people and their cousins from the city always eagerly anticipated the Harvest Home, and it is a matter of record that during the many years this gathering was observed there never was unfavorable weather, not even to the extent of a fugitive shower. This was declared to be due to the prophetic eye of Frank Willis, who was esteemed as reliable a prognosticator, by the people of these parts, as ever Foster was or Farmer Dunn.

The property that included the Head, or as it was later known, Massassauga Point, was for a long time owned by Thomas Laird and his descendants. In 1879 Hon. William L. Scott, who had bought it, began the work of improving it, and expended a large sum of money in embellishing it and providing accommodations. He constructed a macadam roadway, by which it could be reached from above, built a fine hotel, a dancing pavilion and a substantial boat landing or dock. He also planted a number of elm trees and made an excellent road from the lake road down to the point where the descent to the picnic grounds began. Walks were laid out reaching to the lake beach, and Massassauga Point became one of the handsomest resorts in this portion of the state, famed beyond the borders of Erie. In this city it was deservedly popular. The hotel was opened in the summer of 1875 under the management of D. M. Johnson, then landlord of the Reed House, and it was a most attractive and admirably managed hospice. It did not, however, meet the financial expectations of Mr.

Johnson, who declined to renew his lease, and it was then taken for a three years' term by Will B. Graham. Before his lease expired, however, the hotel was burned to the ground, and then for a season the grounds of Massassagua Point was closed to the public.

Meanwhile the public of Erie, who had acquired the picnic habit, were hard put for a place at which to enjoy the brief summer outings, to which they had been accustomed. Many parties used the fine grove at Big Bend on the peninsula, which was especially in request by churches. So, also—was Crystal Point, another resort on the peninsula, where Skipper Nesbit located as a squatter and was later succeeded by Jake Geib. During the administration of Geib Crystal Point attained to considerable celebrity, as Geib set an excellent table, and his fish dinners, like those of Jake Graham, years before, were famous. Geib had also made the Lone Fisherman's Inn, on the shore at the Tracy farm, well known for his fish dinners. So, until a new deal could be made at the Head, the people had to be content with what the peninsula afforded.

The general public never knew the consideration that brought about the new order of things at Massassauga Point. There was a new hotel erected by Mr. Scott, but it was greatly inferior to that which had been burned.

The new hotel was built simply as a temporary expedient, for Mr. Scott was undecided as to the permanent location of a handsome hotel. His choice was the higher ground, in the midst of the fine chestnut grove, one of the most sightly spots in the neighborhood of Erie, commanding a magnificent panoramic view of the bay and peninsula and of the lake beyond. His idea was that it would prove especially attractive to the people of Pittsburg and other interior cities, and, obtaining patronage from abroad, which in the course of time, by proper management, would steadily increase in volume, would prove a benefit to the city and a permanency by reason of being a financial success. The people of Erie, however, demanded a hotel on the "point," and all sorts of pressure was brought to bear. Never abandoning what his business judgment had recommended, for the time being he yielded to the demands of the people, who had no other place for an outing, and erected the building that stands on Massassauga Point to this day. If Mr. Scott had lived, however, there can be no doubt but that he would have carried out his intention, and that, with a magnificent hotel Massassauga would be better known today than Cambridge Springs, and far more popular. For Mr. Scott's plans were on a splendid scale—he was never content with anything small or half-way, unless, as in the case of the second hotel at the Head, it was merely a make-shift. This enterprise of making Erie a famous summer resort is one of the things of great proportions that failed

through the death of William L. Scott, and that would have been of vast benefit to the city.

The reopening of Massassauga Point was hailed with delight by everyone in Erie, and from the beginning of the summer season to the end, there was not a day without its crowd in attendance, enjoying the many attractions the place afforded. It was not long before the means of transportation had become ridiculously inadequate, and the year 1880 witnessed a most important new departure. The Knobloch brothers that spring brought out the handsome little steamer Lena Knobloch, and at the same time (only a few days apart), Captain Hunter brought to Erie the trim and swifter steamer Massassauga. Both were new boats, built for Presque Isle bay service at Buffalo. A little later two more boats were added, the Harry G. Barnhurst, owned by Mr. Kelly and his sons, and the Kate White, owned by Captain Thomas White. Both were built by Loomis, of Erie. Together these boats could carry in one trip, nearly 2,000 people, and yet at times there were hundreds who could not get aboard, but were compelled to wait until there should be another arrival. There were numerous instances where the boats did not stop at all. In spite of the protests of the captain and notwithstanding the boat continued in motion seeking a place at which to tie up, the people risked life and limb to climb aboard, and when the boat was turned away from the dock, unable to make a landing, she had more passengers than the law allowed. But what was the captain to do? The people were in a frenzy. The public dock at the foot of State street and for a considerable distance each side was fairly packed with people, and a boat load taken from the mass made little or no impression.

Those were the palmy days for steamboating on the bay, and the harbor then presented about as lively an appearance as at any time in its history. There was no lagging. As fast as the boats could move from point to point they did so, and it was none too fast to suit the eager passengers. This condition endured for several seasons, and to this day the captains of that time look back to it as to a golden era.

What wrecked the steamboat business?

The trolley car. Steamboating was struck by lightning. At first the people were satisfied to ride to the entrance on the lake road and walk from there to the grounds, but in the course of time the energetic railroad company obtained the right to build a branch down to the resort. Utilizing a beautiful little glen, at the mouth of which a trestle was begun that extended to a point near the shore, it was possible to make direct connection with Massassauga Point. Then steamboating was dead. Some of the vessels were sold and went to other ports. Others were reduced to fishing tugs. The trolley cars are somewhat more expeditious. But yet, one of the greatest charms of a visit to Massassauga Point—the exhilaration of the breeze from the

lake; the moving panorama of the water and the shore; the strains of the music, either from boat or shore, always softened by the distance, and tempered by the surrounding or contiguous woods; the freedom to move about; the facilities for conversation; the opportunities afforded for social groupings; the chances for participating in the rivalry of the boats; the gaiety of the bunting and flags upon festive occasions—all these went with the steamboats.

Massassauga Point is no more. We see the people crowding the cars for Waldameer, and we forget the old-time favorite in our eagerness to join the merry crowd that is seeking the woods by the shore. And yet it is as the child of yesterday to the place that so long was famous. Massassauga was regretted for a single season. Today, with its caroussel, its vaudeville and its cafe (all French), Waldameer (that's German) has blotted from recollection almost the good old aboriginal name of Massassauga.

Massassauga Point is no more. Stand where we stood that August afternoon in '64 and look about. To the west? There is no view possible now of pond with sedgy border or dunes of sand. An impenetrable thicket of willows and alders shuts off the view. To the north? The growth of reeds and bulrushes and cat-tail flags has cut the prospect in half. To the east? The docks piled high with mountains of ore or the intricate structure of hoists and cranes and trestles, with giant ships that ride at anchor or are moored beside the piers, obstruct the range of vision. To the south? The wall of sylvan verdure is there with but little change except where the roadway like a railroad cut has made a cruel gap in its shady charm. It is not the scene it was 45 years ago, and its story is all behind it. Even the Red Bank, from which we viewed the picnic party as it passed by, is no longer to be found. Time, and the storms of a generation have transformed it into an unsightly ravine, where none would seek to go, or finding themselves there, would expect to behold, even upon a languid August day a scene to induce *dolce far niente*.

Hard by Massassauga Point, there came into existence at about the same time another resort, depending in a measure for its patronage, as the side show does upon the bigger circus, upon the principal picnic ground, or the crowds attracted there. It was located at the point where a picturesque glen debouched upon the shore of the bay and a plot of level ground of some little area had formed. There a rude building, very similar to the first at the Head, had been erected, and of this "Jake" Geib became the guardian spirit. He named it The Lone Fisherman's Inn. It was a picturesque spot, the rustic inn partially buried in the trees, and a rude landing for boats extending out into the water. In the course of time the shrubbery and underbrush that originally covered the ground thickly was cleared off, and a

good lawn, well shaded, was produced, which was provided with accommodations by which it could serve as an open-air banqueting hall. Geib was an excellent caterer. As the manager and director of the Arcade, a restaurant that he established and that became famous in Erie, he acquired fame as a chef, and not less famous was his service at the Lone Fisherman's Inn. Indeed, it was that place of refreshment that established his reputation, a reputation that stuck to the place when other chefs arose, succeeding "Jake" at the Lone Fisherman's. By various terms of succession Jake Graham, Louis Schumacher, and John Schaffer came to be mine host at the inn. At first the only way by which it could be reached was the water route, and an indifferent sort of a path from the Head. Mr. Schumacher, however, had an excellent road built from the Lake road, winding down the ravine, under the shade of the grand old hemlocks, oaks and chestnuts to the grounds by the shore, and the popularity of the place was in consequence greatly increased. In January, 1892, however, the establishment was burned, and in the smoke of that conflagration went up the ghost of the Lone Fisherman's Inn.

In the winter succeeding the owner of the property, Mr. D. D. Tracy, erected a far more pretentious hotel of two stories, and greatly improved the grounds, providing the necessary adjuncts to make it a highly attractive resort. It was taken by Max Raedsch in the spring of 1893 and operated successfully until 1895, when it was leased by a German social organization called the Sommerheim Association, and it became a country club. The association had for its officers, Frederick Brevillier, president; P. Henrichs, vice-president; P. A. Meyer, secretary; E. C. Siegel, treasurer, and F. Brevillier, Chas. S. Marks, William Reifel, E. C. Siegel, Wm. B. Flickinger, P. A. Meyer and P. Henrichs, governors. Sommerheim was successfully operated by the association for five years.

In 1900, a lease of the property was taken by the Yacht Club, when it became known as Station No. 1, at Tracy Point. The club house was remodeled and refurnished to meet the requirements of yachtsmen, and became very popular with the members, and exceedingly useful. Unfortunately the main building was destroyed by fire in the winter of 1901-2. Tracy Point is now the summer, or country, home of Mr. E. G. Germer.

In the year 1887 J. J. Lang and C. Rabe bought a tract of land at the mouth of Four-mile creek. It was an old orchard, planted many years before by Mr. Crowley, and the purpose of the new owners was to establish a new resort for pleasure to the east of the city. It is a beautiful location, fronting upon the open lake and filling the end of a somewhat broad valley, elevated several feet above the level of the lake, but yet considerably lower than the bluffs to the east and west.

It was taken in the spring and temporary structures were erected, a good road was built, winding along the right bank of the stream down from the Lake road, and a pier or dock was constructed, extending out into the deeper water of the lake. It became immediately popular, and so successful was the first season that in the winter of 1887, a commodious hotel was built. Subsequently, as succeeding seasons proved it to be established in popularity additional buildings were erected to meet the requirements of the patrons, including a little theatre. At first it was reached only by conveyances over the road and, when the weather was favorable, by boat. It is not situated to render the water route at all dependable, fronting on the open lake and on a most dangerous coast—the "iron bound coast" of Lake Erie traditions. This defect was remedied, however, when the Motor Company built a line out to Grove House Park, and the regular trolley car service has ever since proved mutually profitable. In the spring of 1902 the property came into the possession of A. P. Lang, who added many improvements, but on the night of Labor Day, 1902, the hotel was burned to the ground. It has not been rebuilt, but an enlarged casino, a practically new theatre and other betterments have ensured its popularity as a place of resort.

The real park spirit did not take possession of the people of Erie, or any portion of the community, until the summer of 1891. It is true that in the laying out of the town of Erie certain areas were set apart for public grounds and these obtained, in time, the name of parks; but though they developed into the semblance of parks, with trees, lawns, walks and shrubbery, they are mere breathing places; not fitted for recreation; and while they are decided municipal embellishments they are not at all calculated to meet the requirements of real parks. There was also an effort made by councils to supply the need of parks by devoting Front street to that purpose, and planting the slope with trees and lawns, and shrubbery, and considerable progress has been made both by the city and the Commissioners of Water Works toward making a park of Front street. And there was an ordinance passed in 1873 authorizing the acquisition of sixty acres of land east of the city between the Lake road and the railroad for park purposes—a proposition was made by Charles M. Reed at about that time to donate a park to the city. But, as has been stated there was no definite movement made toward actually acquiring park land until the summer of 1891. Then something was done. The movement was inaugurated by J. F. Downing, and it came to a head in August of that year when the organization of Glenwood Park Association was effected.

The purpose of the association was to secure a tract of land, desirable for the purpose, while it was in the market and could be had

at a reasonable figure. The prime movers in the enterprise were J. F. Downing, A. K. McMullen, W. J. Sands, W. H. Nicholson, George Carroll, F. F. Adams and W. A. Galbraith. The land selected lay in the valley of Mill creek, and upon each side, being part of the farms of Conrad and Robert Evans, John Eliot and H. C. Shannon. It extended on both sides of the Waterford plank road and the Shunpike, from a short distance south of the southern city boundary line about to the bridge at the old woolen mill, which is the entrance to the Happy Valley. The organization was perfected and the land secured, and subsequent purchasers increased the area to full one hundred acres. The association carried this property until 1902, when, there being an unpaid balance of the purchase money amounting to $16,000 due upon it, the entire tract was offered to the city in consideration of the payment of that balance. This offer was accepted by the city councils and Glenwood Park is now a possession of the city, and is being improved. The park was annexed to the city by ordinance in 1903.

Front street, a space of varying width, including, besides considerable space on the level ground above the slope or bluff of the northern front of the city, was, in 1885, devoted to public use as a park, and immediately the first section of it was laid out in walks and lawns and trees were planted. Steadily the improvement of this strip of ground has been extended east and west, the water commissioners caring for the section from Myrtle street to a point west of Chestnut and adding a fine little park on their dock property below. In 1909 the improved portion of Lakeside Park, as it is called, extended from Holland street to beyond Chestnut, a distance of between five and six squares.

There are, too, the parks for the dead—the cemeteries of the city; beautiful for situation, splendidly maintained, and a delight to visit. They are not as were the old-time burial places. The Gods-acre of today is no longer the graveyard, a visit to which gets on one's nerves, and if his sensibilities are of the tender kind, brings on an attack of the horrors. They are truly parks, as fit for the living as they are to be the resting place of the beloved dead.

The burial places of old Erie were graveyards in the old-time sense of the word. The first of them was hard by the old French fort, on Front street east of Parade, but, in 1813, because of the additional demands made upon it, due to the effects of the war, it was extended to the west from Parade street. It lay along the top of the bluff, and, when in the work of constructing the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad, material for filling was taken from the bluff, the graveyard was encroached upon until the remains of bodies interred were exposed.

This resulted in a prompt movement to pay proper respect to what remained of the brave soldiers and sailors who had served during that period of war. In the summer of 1859 the bodies, or what was left of them, were all exhumed and there was a military funeral of the most imposing character with a public ceremonial under command of the Adjutant General of the State, attending their removal to and interment in Erie cemetery.

The old French graveyard was laid out in 1753. The United Presbyterian graveyard, adjacent to the church, at the corner of French and Eighth streets was opened in 1811. The Presbyterian graveyard on Seventh street near Myrtle, dated from 1825, and the Episcopal graveyard on Eighth street west of Myrtle, from 1830. All of these were closed in 1851, when Erie cemetery was ready for use. The Lutherans established a cemetery on Sassafras street between Twenty-second and Twenty-third at the time the square of which it is a part was deeded to St. John's church by Conrad Brown, and, because it was a condition of the deed that part of the land was to be used as a burial ground, it was continued in use long after Erie cemetery was opened, and even to this day, in order to comply with conditions, a small lot in the center of the square is fenced in, enclosing two or three graves.

The first of the Catholic burial grounds was that of St. Patrick's, on Third street near the corner of German, bought in 1835; and the next, that of St. Mary's on Ninth street, where St. Benedict's academy now stands, in 1837. In 1848 Father Steinbacher of St. Mary's bought a piece of ground on Chestnut street between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth, and in 1852 Father Dean of St. Patrick's, bought five acres on Sassafras between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth. To these two adjacent squares the bodies were removed from the earlier graveyards, the belief being that the new cemeteries were so remote they would never be encroached upon by the city. That this was a mistaken idea was proved, when, in 1869, Trinity cemetery was consecrated.

The movement to acquire a tract of land for cemetery purposes, sufficiently large in area and favorably located, originated in 1846, but did not become effective until 1849, when enough subscriptions were secured, to acquire 75 acres of ground, bounded by Chestnut and Cherry, Nineteenth and Twenty-sixth streets. Thirty-one names were secured to the articles of agreement and the signers became the corporators in the charter that was granted by the Commonwealth to The Erie Cemetery. It is a perpetual corporation, the charter providing that all vacancies that may occur shall be filled, "from among the lot owners." The first managers under the charter were, Charles M. Reed, George A. Eliot, William Kelley, John Galbraith, Elijah Babbitt, William Himrod and A. W. Brewster. George A. Eliot was

elected president; William A. Brown, secretary, and J. C. Spencer, treasurer.

The survey of the grounds was made by H. Daniels, and he, assisted by Samuel Low, laid out the cemetery, sparing, as far as possible the magnificent trees which occupied the wooded portions and planting trees, mostly maples and elms, on that part which had been under cultivation. Work was not begun until December, 1850, and the inclement weather of the winter greatly retarded proceedings, but on May 20, 1851, the dedication exercises took place, the opening address by George A. Eliot, Esq., president of the board, and the dedicatory

ENTRANCE ERIE CEMETERY.

address by Rev. George A. Lyon, D. D. A strange and significant circumstance is, that the first burial in the new cemetery was that of Alexander W. Brewster, a member of the board of managers, and the most active worker to secure the organization of the corporation. It is also worthy of note that before the annual meeting in January, 1852, two others of the corporators, W. Windham Reed and John Hughes, were also buried in Erie cemetery.

The superintendents of Erie cemetery have been: Samuel Low, from the time of its opening until his death in June, 1869; Cassius W. Low, his son, until December 4, 1871; Joseph Vance, until October 1, 1889; Henry W. Hay, until his death in 1892, and from that time until the present, his widow, Mrs. E. E. Hay, has filled the position with

exceptional ability, introducing much that is generally approved in the conduct of cemeteries elsewhere, and removing features that were harsh and even repulsive in connection with old time burials. She gives personal attention so far as possible to the work, and the development of the cemetery in orderliness, and beauty and in keeping with the tenets of the landscape gardener's art is in marked degree.

The handsome mortuary chapel was erected in 1888, and experienced cemetery managers have declared it unsurpassed by anything of its nature in the country. The cemetery was, early, surrounded by a high iron fence, the entrance provided with massive cast iron ornamental gates, beside which there stood the porter's lodge, covered with woodbine, and it was necessary on Sundays that visitors should exhibit a ticket before they would be permitted to pass in. The ticket abomination was remedied years ago—just how long since none can tell. The gates, flush with the line of the street, and the little lodge, octagonal, and like the frustrum of a tower, gave place in 1896 to a handsome entrance, the supports great square columns of brown stone, the gates wrought iron of artistic design and recessed. The new lodge, built the same year, is commodious enough to be the office, a place of meeting for the corporators, and a convenient resting place in case of need. In 1908, the main drive from the entrance to Walnut avenue was macadamized, and ever and always, new shrubbery, new flowers, new lawns and new driveways and walks are being added, while, on the part of the lot owners, the monuments erected are in keeping as to taste, with the work of the managers.

It was in 1848 and 1852 that the Catholic churches sought to find a location for cemetery purposes beyond where the city would grow up and surround it, but in a good deal less than twenty years what had been sought to be provided against came upon them. The city had grown up into that which had been a rural neighborhood, and a new location was desired. This was found in a tract of land on the Lake road four miles west of the city, which was bought by Bishop Mullen, and was consecrated as Trinity cemetery on Sunday, May 23, 1869. It was a notable occasion, and the ceremonies were witnessed by thousands. The procession, including the various Catholic societies, the sections headed by four bands, formed in the city and marched out to the cemetery, escorting Bishop Mullen and the clergy. Arrived at the grounds, the throng gathered around a massive cross erected in the center of the field, the clergy and the choir in the center. A short address in English was made by Bishop Mullen, a sermon in German was delivered by Father Wenderlein, and then the ceremony of consecration took place. The cemetery obtained its name from the fact that the date of its consecration was Trinity Sunday. Joseph Scheloski was the first superintendent, and served for ten years—until his death. Joseph Haas, Sr., succeeded, serving until April 1, 1887, and was fol-

lowed by his son, Joseph Haas, Jr., and he in turn was succeeded by Philip Weschler, the present superintendent. The agreement for the purchase of the cemetery was made by Bishop Young, and one of the first interments at Trinity was his body, removed from the South Erie cemetery.

Immediately west of Trinity cemetery, on the Lake road, two acres of ground was secured for burial purposes by St. Stanislaus Polish Catholic church. The land was bought October 15, 1889, and dedicated November 2, of the same year.

The Hebrew cemetery, on the Ridge road, or Twenty-sixth street as it is now, was purchased in 1858. It is located a short distance west of Erie cemetery, on the summit of the ridge.

Lakeside Cemetery Association was incorporated in 1895, and secured a tract of land 135 acres in extent on the lake shore, about a mile east of the city limits, and in August of that year began the work of laying out drives and lawns. It is beautifully situated, including a fine little vale through which a stream winds, falling into the lake by a little cascade. The lots are sold subject to a perpetual care provision, and trees, shrubbery and hedges have been planted. Near the northern edge of the cemetery, overlooking the blue waters of the lake, a plot was secured in which were interred the remains of Capt. C. V. Gridley, commander of Admiral Dewey's flagship Olympia in the battle of Manila. Later the plot, named Gridley Circle, was marked by four antique cannon of silver bronze taken at Cavité when the Spanish surrendered the place, and sent to Erie by the United States government. Later John P. V. Gridley, a son of the Captain, who was killed by an explosion on the U. S. S. Missouri, was buried in the same plot.

CHAPTER XXI.—JOURNALS AND JOURNALISTS.

Early Newspapers in Erie.—The Gazette, Observer, and Other Weeklies.—The Dispatch the First Daily.—Papers and People Recalled.

I wonder if any of the thousands of Erie readers of newspapers of the present time ever laid aside the sheets they have been perusing, long enough to bestow thought upon what newspaper effort in Erie involved; how many an attempt to establish business in publishing came to wreck; what an army of men have, first and last, been connected with journalistic work in Erie; what the amount of booming and bolstering and exploitation of Erie's claims and charms has been, and how many fond hopes were blasted along with the enterprises that failed for lack of support. Sometimes in the bitterness of heart that failure in business induced, the disappointed printer has declared that "Erie is no newspaper town, anyway"—and the fact that there is only a single instance on record where a publisher contrived to make a competence out of the business in Erie seemed to warrant the assertion. And yet, Erie, if judged by the number of newspapers that have from time to time been published here must be a great town for papers, for there have been no less than forty-four different journals published in Erie, and if weekly editions of daily papers, and daily editions of weeklies, should be taken into the account, there were more than fifty since the appearance, in 1808, of the Erie *Mirror*.

Now just imagine the puffing and blowing of all this half hundred newspapers combined into one blast; what a gale that would be! It would be sure to move something. But has it not? In that hundred years who can tell the amount of good that has been done for the city of Erie by the efforts of those newspapers, devoted to the work of keeping the advantages and charms of Erie before the public eye; to an unceasing effort to maintain local pride, quicken local enterprise and invite outside capital? Erie has grown from the little hamlet perched on the bluff near the entrance to the bay, to be a great city with miles of mills and factories and leagues of handsome homes; with a thousand business enterprises and tens of thousands of contented and prosperous citizens; from the "sleepy borough," as it was one time called, to one of the most populous and progressive cities of the state,

wide awake to improvements and abreast of the times in all that contributes to the comfort or convenience of its people. How much of all this is due to the efforts of the newspapers? Who shall say? No doubt very much was the result of the agitation, the suggestion and sometimes the criticism of the local newspaper, and even the ephemeral sheet that endured for but its brief day may have lived long enough to point a finger in the direction of progress, and encourage effort toward the development of Erie's commerce and industries.

The first of Erie's papers was the *Mirror*, established in 1808. At that time the population of the entire county was hardly more than 2,000, and of Erie proper, less than 400. It is not remarkable that the *Mirror* did not long endure to cast its reflections. In 1812 the successor of the first newspaper venture appeared in the *Northern Sentinel*, which in its struggles for existence "played many parts," appearing successively as the *Genius of the Lakes*, the *Phoenix*, and finally as the *Reflector*, yielding to the inevitable in about 1820, when it pulled up stakes and moved holus-bolus to Mayville, N. Y. These early days were not auspicious for newspapers. There was one called the *Patriot*, started by a Mr. Zeba Willis, in 1818, which was published here for but a single year, when it was moved to Cleveland and became in course of time the *Herald*, long one of the principal daily newspapers of that city, and eventually merged in the Cleveland *Leader*.

In 1820, the *Gazette* was started by Joseph M. Sterrett. At that time the population of Erie was 635, and of the entire county 8,541, but it endured for a longer period than any of Erie's newspapers, covering a period of 70 years. It was followed by the *Observer*, started in 1830, and published for 67 years. The *Dispatch* was begun in 1851 in Waterford, moved to Erie in 1856, in 1864 began the publication of the *Daily Dispatch*, and has continued to this date, through varied fortunes and misfortunes, but always recognized as a paper of Erie and for Erie to the best of the abilities of its several editors.

Perhaps a survey of newspaper chronology may be worth presenting. Following the *Gazette* and *Observer* these appeared: *Chronicle*, 1840; *Commercial Advertiser*, 1846; *Constitution*, 1852; *True American*, 1853; *Express*, 1857; *Daily Bulletin*, printed for a short time in the *Observer* office, 1861; a daily edition of the *Dispatch*, (moved to Erie in 1856), 1861; *Unsere World*, 1851; *Zuschauer*, 1852; *Erie Presse*, 1860; *Leuchutthurm*, 1870; *Republican*, 1867; *Daily Bulletin*, 1874; *Argus*, 1875; *Advertiser*, 1876; *Lake Shore Visitor*, 1874; *Lake City Daily*, 1878; *Jornal de Noticias*, (Portugese), 1877; *Herald*, 1878; *Graphic*, 1880; *Star of Liberty*, 1882; *Sonntagsgast*, 1881; *Times*, 1888; *Sunday Globe*, 1891; *News*, 1892; *Highland Light*, 1892; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 1891; *People*, 1892; *Sunday Messenger*, 1894; *Truth*, 1895; *Morning Record*, 1895; *Daily Journal*, 1896. Besides these, B. F. H. Lynn, who founded the *Daily*

Dispatch, somewhere in the early seventies published a very readable weekly called the *Western Pennsylvanian,* which, however, was not a financial success and was merged in the *Gazette.* Soon afterwards D. F. H. Ohr published a weekly for a short period, its name is not now recalled. Besides these, there was John M. Glazier's *Record,* and the *Echo,* a newspaper after its kind, and last of all the numerous progeny, the *Post.* Reading over the list it would appear as though there was little left in the newspaper vocabulary for future newspaper projectors to select a name from.

The first of the newspaper men to take up a stable position among his fellow citizens was Joseph M. Sterrett, who, for years filled a very important place in affairs in Erie. There was a time when the Whigs swore by the *Gazette* and the office was the political storm center of this portion of the state. All the leaders of the Whig party counseled with Mr. Sterrett and made his office their headquarters and the source from which instructions and orders emanated, and for years after Mr. Sterrett left it, after Mr. Gara, his partner and successor, also had long ceased to be connected with it, the *Gazette* office was still the Mecca toward which the Republicans of the old regime turned their faces when they sent up their political prayers. It was in 1830-31 that Horace Greeley worked as a journeyman printer on the *Gazette,* and there can be no question of the important influence his brief career in Erie, associated as he could not help being with the conditions as they then existed, had, upon his future course, for he afterwards remarked that there was more politics to the square foot in Erie than in any other place in the whole United States. Mr. Sterrett was the oracle whom all consulted. Was it any wonder, then, that he should be given preferment in a political way? He held the offices of county commissioner, state senator, associate judge and postmaster of Erie. And yet no man ever spoke of Judge Sterrett as a boss. He was universally respected, and to his death in 1888, maintained the esteem of his fellow citizens. The writer remembers him only as an aged man of the kindliest disposition and most engaging manner, an interesting talker and ever disposed to friendliness.

A man who had ceased to be reckoned among the ranks of the newspaper fraternity at a comparatively early day, although he went in and out amongst us until within a few months, was Henry Catlin, editor of the *True American* for a number of years and until its discontinuance, after the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion. His was a most delightful personality. He was a gentleman of rare parts. A man of peace, he was nevertheless of leonine courage. It took a man of heroic mould to assume the role he did, even in Erie, a stronghold of Whiggery and Republicanism, for his paper was the only sturdy ex-

ponent of abolition in this part of the country. It was a matter of conscience with him; whether or not it were a paying investment financially did not so much enter into his calculations as whether his views were right. He believed they were, and he courageously defended them. He was an aider and abetter of the Underground Railroad movement; as a believer in the iniquity of the institution of slavery and as a sympathizer with the bondman risking life for his liberty he was ever ready to lend a hand and contribute from his purse to the cause of negro freeedom. Nor did he fear to face the opposition and boldly appear in public places as the champion of an enslaved race.

Once he announced in his paper that there would be a public address delivered in Erie by Frederick Douglass, the eloquent freedman. It raised a storm of indignant protest from the supporters of slavery in Erie, and they served notice upon him that he took his life in his hand if he dared to introduce that nigger to Erie as an instructor. If they had any idea that these threats would intimidate him they little knew Henry Catlin. The contrary was the effect. When Mr. Douglas arrived at the station Mr. Catlin was there to receive him. Taking the bag of Mr. Douglass in his hand, the editor of the *True American* walked down State street arm in arm with the representative of the despised race, and not a hand was lifted nor a voice of challenge or protest raised. Before this splendid exhibition of courage the very rabble was dumb, and when he introduced the speaker from the stage that evening he was greeted with applause.

The *True American* went out when the booming of Union guns and the tramp of Union feet proclaimed the doom of slavery. No longer was it required that a paper should exist to advocate alone the abolition of that cursed institution. It was in fact dead when the first shot was fired upon the stars and stripes in Charleston harbor, and all that breathed the spirit of loyalty were united in and animated by the one desire of crushing the rebellion and restoring the Union. Faction died out, and, recognizing the aspect of affairs, Mr. Catlin furled his flag and retired from the fight as a victor, well satisfied that the right would prevail.

We have known Mr. Catlin as a useful citizen—the people now living can testify that the city was better because he had lived in it, and that his efforts in behalf of this community continued to the very last. Without ostentation or vainglorious pretense, he bent his energies to add to the culture of his home town. In literature, in art, in music he maintained a step in the lead and his co-workers cheerfully followed. It was an attribute his fellows in every worthy effort recognized and respected.

In September, 1846, there came to Erie, to become associated with Joseph M. Sterrett in the management of the *Gazette*, Isaac B. Gara.

a native of Lancaster county, a Whig from the foundation up, and a newspaper man by instinct and training. At the age of 19 he had edited a Whig paper in the eastern part of the state, and it was the beginning of a continuous career as an editor until he retired in 1866. Soon after he became associated with Mr. Sterrett, the editorial conduct of the *Gazette* came into his hands, and his work was marked by a care and a ready command of language that commended his writings to the many readers of the *Gazette*. He had a style peculiarly his own, and, unlike Kipling of our day, had no objection to adjectives or adverbs. One feature of his editorial work is that he never was abusive and seemed not to understand vituperation. It appeared to be a rule of his life to speak only good of people, and his criticism of the opposite political faith was, by his kindly methods, made possibly more effective as a weapon than it would have been if he had resorted to verbal violence. As a natural result he soon became popular in Erie and a leader socially, in politics and in business figuring in all the public doings of the time.

It is told of Mr. Gara that his custom was to set his own editorials at the case. By this arrangement he was spared any vexations that might have been caused by the work of the intelligent compositor, a standing grievance of the profession, if traditions go for anything. He retired from active journalism in 1866, but never lost his interest in newspaper work or public affairs, and almost to the day of his death was a frequent contributor to the newspaper press, both of Erie and elsewhere.

Soon after his retirement from business he was appointed deputy secretary of the commonwealth, a position he filled ably but for a brief period of time, resigning to accept the position of postmaster at Erie, the appointment coming from President Grant. He served two full terms. Upon the conclusion of his service in the postoffice he remained in Erie, leading the life of a retired gentleman, yet active in every good work that claimed the attention of the people. With his wife he was very active in charity.

No man was better known to the people of Erie. He was the model of a fine old gentleman—a gentleman of the old regime, who greeted his numerous acquaintances as he met them with characteristic courtesy. He was invariably accompanied by his wife, and his habitually cheerful countenance, his suavity of manner and unfailing optimism were a perpetual charm. He grew old gracefully, and his penchant for always saying kind things, no matter what the circumstances, in time became a subject of remark, sometimes with the purpose of provoking a smile. He always took great interest in politics and during campaigns was often a speaker from the hustings, traveling even to the remote sections of the county in this work. It was related of him on one occasion that having consented to speak at a Re-

publican meeting somewhere in the neighborhood of Beaver Dam, it chanced that the weather was wretched. It was necessary to drive over muddy roads from Corry, through driving sleet, and when the destination was reached the only entertainment that had been provided was a meal at a farmer's house where the provision consisted chiefly of salt bacon and other such homely fare. None of the party fully relished the spread and silence settled down upon the table and continued for a considerable space. At length Mr. Gara found voice. "They have excellent salt out here," said he. And then the table broke into a roar. Good nature was restored and the general verdict was that Beaver Dam never before had so spirited a political meeting and that district was heard from with due effect when the votes were counted.

Another philosopher of the olden time was Sidney Kelsey. He was a sort of a plodder, but few could equal him in quoting from Shakespeare or the Bible. He was a disciple of Uncle Oliver Spafford, and from him had imbibed a portion of the wisdom that caused Uncle Oliver to be known as the Benjamin Franklin of Erie. Sid Kelsey was constitutionally opposed to directness in telling his story. He approached it by stealth and stratagem, and thereby made it much more ornate according to the tastes of the day in which he lived.

The most notable writing that Sid Kelsey ever did appeared anonymously, and the fame that came to him posthumously was very mild and weak compared with what it might have been had he been less timid about acknowledging his authorship. It was he who wrote the "E-pistol of John," that created so much stir during the most active period of the railroad war. It appeared as a brochure and excited such a degree of interest (to us it seems much greater than the merits of the work warranted), that Mr. Kelsey was fearful of consequences and kept his secret locked up in his breast until a short time before his death, when he confessed it.

Of all the editors Erie ever boasted, however, none could equal for enterprise and push and energy, B. F. H. Lynn, the founder of the *Daily Dispatch*. Ben. Lynn was no idler. He was phenomenally active, and, waking or sleeping, his mind was filled with the business in hand, and that business was the publication of the *Dispatch*. His enterprise became extravagance, for in the course of two or three years he had brought the *Dispatch* up to the grade of papers that had communities of 100,000, or upwards, to draw support from. He gathered about him a corps of editors and printers that were away above Erie's class in those days, and he had his own way of establishing and maintaining the esprit de corps that made his force effective. When the anniversary of the paper came there would be a big picnic with a

chartered special train and Mehl's band. On New Year's day there would be a big dinner to the entire force. If he achieved a big news scoop all hands were invited across to Capt. Graham's for an oyster supper. He figured as a leader in Fourth of July celebrations, and had a prominent part in the demonstrations with which the Union victories toward the end of the war were celebrated.

Get the news and print it regardless, were his orders, and one time he had the narrowest possible escape from losing his life through the publication of a news item. The *Dispatch* had alluded to the place kept by one Felix McCann as a doggery, and Felix was naturally very much put out about it. About the middle of the forenoon he came into the office—it was then on Fifth street—and passing up stairs, found Mr. Lynn with his coat off and his sleeves rolled up working at one of the newspaper imposing stones. The greeting was brief and the reply even briefer. Lynn ordered the intruder to get out or be thrown out, but McCann, grabbing an iron foot stick from beside the form at which Lynn had been working, brought it viciously down upon Mr. Lynn's bald head, cutting a long gash from which the blood poured over his face and ears. McCann turned and ran, for the office force, surprised at first, quickly recovered. The air was filled with planers, shooting-sticks, mallets—anything that could be pressed into duty as a missile, but the invader escaped uninjured. There was a story in the next issue that was not a retraction.

The editorial force at that time was worthy of notice. The chief editor was Jesse H. Lord, who left Erie to become editor of the *Scientific American*. Charles Edwyn Hurd was assistant, and he became associated with Boston journalism. Tom E. Wilson was night editor; he went to New York, in time was of the *World* force, and for many years and up to the time of his death, was editor of the World Almanac. John R. Graham, the city editor, after having the management of the *Gazette* for a time, went west and settled in Kansas, but his advancement was in politics instead of journalism.

Mr. Lynn's liberality turned out to be bad management. Before long the sheriff became his partner and that closed his connection with the *Dispatch*. A few years later he returned and established the *Western Pennsylvanian*, an excellent weekly, but he could not make it go. Again he failed. Many another venture turned out wrong. Toward the end of the seventies he was found dead one morning at the home of a relative in Mauch Chunk. There are very few living in Erie today who remember the *Dispatch* establishment at that time, but the recollection of all is that it formed a golden epoch in memory. Mr. Lynn could get more work out of men than most employers, but yet he was a fellow-craftsman—a comrade rather than a master, and all, from the devil up, were attached to him with the friendliest kind of devotion.

A few years after Mr. Lynn left it the *Dispatch* came into the possession of a firm of which Mr. James R. Willard was a member, and, first and last, Mr. Willard continued to be associated with the paper for a period of twelve years or more, and during his administration of its affairs it probably saw its most prosperous days. Erie still remembers Mr. Willard kindly and well. He was popular alike with the public and his employes, for he was a genial gentleman. He left journalism, however, for another line of business and acquired a large fortune on the Chicago Board of Trade.

His partner, Eben Brewer, was another and a splendid gentleman, and his only fault was his lack of the business instinct—perhaps rather he lacked the talent of getting down to business as it pertains to the printing office or the publication of the newspaper. Socially, he was the ideal of a gentleman and surely was a born diplomat. He possessed remarkable abilities along certain lines, which was recognized by his appointment to represent the United States at the Paris exposition, and at Vienna, and also by an important position in connection with the Columbian exposition at Chicago in 1893.

Eben Brewer died in Cuba during the Spanish-American war, a victim to his zeal in the performance of a difficult duty entrusted to him. He was in charge of the mail service of the army, and gave the business his personal attention, performing a prodigious amount of work in the line of duty and, as well, most important service in helping to care for the sick and wounded. It was more than he was able to bear up under. He took the yellow fever and died, as gallant a hero as ever followed the flag of his country.

There were others who might be named as having distinguished themselves at home or abroad, who were connected with the *Dispatch.* Being still alive, it may be sufficient to merely mention them. William Eleroy Curtis, for example, has become noted as a journalist, author, diplomat and traveler, and is especially well known in connection with the Pan-American Congress. Sam Woods, lately deceased, was in his day one of the best city editors in the state. Nelson Baldwin was for a long time managing editor of the *Herald,* leaving that desk to become collector of customs for the port of Erie, and is now of the editorial staff of the *Times.*

Other newspapers and newspaper men also are worth recalling. No period of the history of the old *Gazette* was marked by more vigor and enterprise than characterized the decade from 1873, when Frank A. Crandall had it. Erie never knew a better equipped journalist than he. Manysided, he was talented as a writer upon almost any character of subject, and when occasion demanded could say things in a way that compelled something to occur, and at once. It was he who made Grover Cleveland president of the United States, by suggesting him as a candidate for governor of New York, a suggestion that was taken

up immediately by the Democrats, although Crandall at the time was editor of a Republican sheet, the *Buffalo Express.* If it had not been for Cleveland's phenomenal majority in the election that ensued the Democratic party might not yet have had the satisfaction of electing a president. Frank Crandall contributed much toward building up the *Buffalo Express* and his record as a journalist in the city at the foot of the lake has been brilliant. He is now in Washington.

Benjamin Whitman was the most successful newspaper man that Erie ever knew, laying the foundation of a fortune by his business management of a weekly paper, the *Observer.*

B. F. Sloan was another famous editor of olden times, having done excellent work on the *Democratic Observer,* and quite as good work on the *Daily Republican,* a paper of the opposite faith.

The list might be greatly extended but space will not allow more than a mention of a few more: Rev. Andrew H. Caughey, of the *Constitution,* wrecked by the Rippers in the Railroad war; S. Todd Perley, connected with more than one venture; Supt. Missimer and Prof. Burns, who started the *Herald*; Rev. Father Thomas A. Casey, who edited the *Lake Shore Visitor*; E. E. Sturznickel the editor of the *Zuschauer* for many years; Otto Luedicke first to launch a German daily, and F. G. Gorenflo, and his associates, who demonstrated the ability of the German people of Erie to handsomely support a German daily.

Most picturesquely successful of Erie's daily newspapers is the *Times,* that like the saints, has come up through great tribulations. It was begun in 1888 by nine union printers out of employment as the result of a strike. There was not much money among them with which to capitalize so important an undertaking as a daily newspaper, but undaunted, they procured sufficient type and, renting the back room of a basement, set up their paper and carting the forms several squares to a job printing office each evening to have the press work done, launched their venture. It was decidedly uphill work. One by one, members of the organization dropped out until, in the course of a year or two, there were left of the original projectors only two, John J. Mead and Jacob F. Liebel. In 1890 there was a reorganization, J. H. Keily, D. S. Crawford and John Miller becoming members of the company. Slowly an equipment was acquired, but trouble grew, because the paper was steadily outgrowing the equipment, demanding new machinery to meet the requirements and the capital was limited. In 1893 Crawford and then Miller retired, to accept positions offered elsewhere, and a year or two later Kelly also withdrew. In 1894 the *Sunday Graphic* and *Weekly Observer,* published by F. S. Phelps, were consolidated with the *Times,* and Mr. Phelps became managing editor. Mr. Liebel died in 1897, and had no successor, Messrs. Mead and Phelps continuing the business. It was by this time in smoother

water. The demands for the newest there was in machinery and facilities continued, but they were more easily met. The linotype and the perfecting press found their way into the shop, because there was no other way by which to keep pace with the growing business, and so the paper continued to advance until it has become a paying property; and it is telling only simple truth to say that the success of the *Times* is a business triumph for John J. Mead, who never for a moment, from the very start, lost faith in the ultimate success of his undertaking and proved sufficiently resourceful to meet every emergency as it arose. The industry and zeal of his partner, Mr. Phelps, have contributed their full share in the important department under his charge.

The *Herald*, designed at the start, in 1878, to represent conservatism, has lived up to its initial purpose. Democratic it is, but always reserving to itself the right to be the judge of what constitutes Democracy so far as that may relate to or be referable to its conduct. Steered in this straight course for years by Nelson Baldwin, it must be said the *Herald* was a success; and his successor, Samuel E. Holley, with his city editor, W. D. Kinney, who has served for many years, have continued the Democratic daily journal of Erie true to its declared purpose.

Of those who were connected with the Erie press in various grades of journalism during the ten years period embraced in the eighties not a few found places of importance in the larger cities. Frank H. Severance, for a time editor of the *Sunday Gazette*, in 1882 went to the *Buffalo Express*. There he became father of the *Illustrated Express*, a pattern from which the modern illustrated section of the Sunday paper in general has been modeled, the phenomenal success of the *Express* inviting imitation on the part of its contemporaries. Frank H. Harcourt and John R. Hess, associated in the city department of the *Dispatch* until 1884, went to Providence to the *Telegram*, and later became connected with other papers. Harcourt rose to considerable political distinction in Little Rhody, and acquired by service as inspector of rifle practice in connection with the National Guard of that state, the title and military rank of Major. Mr. Hess became connected with the *Journal*, one of the leading newspapers of New England, and for years has been an editorial writer and had charge of an important department of that paper. Fred Thompson, connected with the *Lake City Daily*, in 1878, preceded Messrs. Harcourt and Hess to Providence. Here we knew him as a clever writer, because of his connection with the little daily sheet; but the *Lake City Daily*, though greatly enjoyed by the entire city, which it kept in a state of hilarity, was never in any sense taken seriously; in Providence he was connected with the business department of the *Telegram* and afterward, for years, was paymaster of the great Gorham silver works, finding

time, however, to do admirable work as a dramatic critic for the *Journal*. He is now with Tiffany & Co., of New York.

Fred Mallery, connected with the *Dispatch* and *Gazette* during the eighties, found his way into the editorial office of the New York *World*, and became responsible for much that was startling in front page headlines. But he wearied of the night grind and passed from one paper to another, but has always since found that there was place for him in Gotham. Another who went to New York was Eugene M. Camp, managing editor of the *Dispatch* in 1884. It was his fortune to become associated with *Harper's Young People*—no; it was not for that reason that *Young People* closed its career. For some years he continued with *Harper's*, but is now doing news work in the cause of the Protestant Episcopal church, to the interests of which he is devoted. Frank M. Bray, who became connected with the *Dispatch* in 1890, after a few years went east and obtained a leading editorial position with the *Literary Digest*. This he surrendered to become editor of the *Chautauquan*, and that magazine was in his editorial charge when it was moved to Cleveland, and later, following Greeley's advice, went west. Phil. Fiske, assistant city editor of the *Dispatch*, 1884-86, went to Pittsburg, first to the *Post*, where he made good; then to be manager of the Tri-State News Bureau; and at length to Chris Magee's papers, the *Times* and the *News*, advancing steadily to prominence, but he died soon after the beginning of this century.

John Paul Bocock is remembered by but few, for his service on the *Herald* preceded Nelson Baldwin's, beginning in about 1882. Those who remember him will also remember Dana L. Hubbard, managing editor of the *Dispatch* at the same time, for they were rival humorists in their moments of relaxation, the fruit of which found its way into a departmental column of fun. John Paul and Dana drifted apart. Like the little birds in the nursery rhyme,

One flew east, and one flew west.

Bocock landed first in the office of *Puck*, in New York; Hubbard, for a time on the Indianapolis *Journal*, soon found his way to Chicago and was employed as an editorial writer on more than one of the leading newspapers of the metropolis of the west. He was a highly educated man and gifted beyond ordinary degree. Returning home from his labors during the short hours one stormy night, he fell through an open drawbridge and was killed.

Chicago claimed others of the Erie newspaper fraternity. For example, Charlie Stiger, famed in all the region roundabout Erie as the "Ground-hog" editor of the *Dispatch*, after a term with the *Detroit News*, burst into a splendor of fame as the Chicago baseball editor. The name of the paper is not now recalled, though the *Journal* comes into mind, but Chicago was the scene of his renown, and the material, his reports of the baseball games. It became general belief that Charlie

Stiger was the fountain from which the slang of the diamond originally emanated—it is beyond question that no one else, then or since, possessed such an extensive and comprehensive vocabulary of it.

And it would not do to omit "Jack" Kelly when Erie's contribution to Windy City journalism is mentioned. We knew him in Erie for his mighty clever Mrs. Muldoon character sketches in the *Graphic* during the last years of the eighties, and we knew him also as a deep well of Erie county folk-lore and traditions from which an almost inexhaustible supply might be drawn. In his western home he made good on more than one newspaper, and now has an important billet on the *Tribune*.

Philadelphia remains as another city for conquest by Erie journalists, for the Quaker City was not to escape when all the rest of the western world was being captured. In 1882 there came to the *Dispatch* a recruit from North East. He came with Messrs. Johnson. Camp and Belknap when they took stock in Erie's morning paper. Two years later he crossed the state diagonally and ceased from his travels in the office of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*. In a remarkably short time the boy from the little Erie county town had made progress in the big city and was holding down with credit an important editorial position. Rather more than ten years later another *Dispatch* man, Henry M. Eaton (at the same time he was a member of the Erie bar) went to Philadelphia, and on the *Inquirer* and the *North American* distinctly made his mark. Both of these gentlemen are still identified with Philadelphia journalism.

There was another, who went to the Providence *Journal*; but he returned to Erie and was for a time with the *Dispatch*, but is not now of the profession; sometimes he tries his hand at the writing of history. It might be said of him, however, that his journalistic career began on the *Gazette* in 1875 under Frank A. Crandall, and that the *Dispatch* and *Times* have both had some of his services.

IN CONCLUSION.

A man of venerable aspect is seated on his easy chair placed in a shady corner on the veranda of the attractive farm house that, shaded by a row of fine maples, stands on a gentle eminence back a little way from the road. His work upon the old farm is over, and it is his privilege now to sit and dream of the past in the intervals between the flitting evidences of the present that ever and anon attract his attention. He is a pioneer. Not one of those who first opened a space the diameter of a tree-top through which to let the sunlight in through the leafy canopy of green spread unbroken as far as the keen vision of youth could penetrate. No. He was a pioneer, but he came when the settlements in Erie county were half a century old. But even at that he came into a region that was only emerging from the woods. And as he sits there, leaning his two hands upon his cane, his day-dream interrupted by the whistle of the trolley-car passing along on the farther side of the highway, he calls to mind what was, and what has since come to be.

He knew when he came that the lines for him had fallen in pleasanter places. He found roads that could without great difficulty be traveled, and he came in something of state, for he drove in with a team of horses and a good wagon. And when it came time to build a house for himself he could make it of sawn timber and boards, and it was possible to add some comforts. His house was vastly better than many another he had passed, driving out from town, and on his way to and from the mill, for they were built of logs. Yes; his experience had been a more pleasant one than that of his neighbors of the log houses.

But yet, the woods were everywhere; the clearings only here and there—little gaps in the forest—and most of his time in the fall and winter was devoted to the work of widening the open space in the woods. And as he sits this summer day and turns back in memory to traverse again the journey of his lifetime, he notes what the changes have been. He sees the slow widening of the fields; the toilsome work of clearing; the burning of his logs and brush; the conversion of the ashes into black salts; the laborious cultivation of his soil and the scant returns, barely enough to make ends meet. He recollects the rude implements with which he plowed and sowed and tilled and reaped when first his work as a farmer was taken up. And then he recalls

the changes, step by step. The crude cultivator and the shovel-plow, and the grain cradle—marvels of invention in their day. He remembers the threshing-floor of the old barn, where for many a day he swung the flail. He calls up in memory the advent of the threshing machine to which motion was imparted by the equine treadmill; and the fanning-mill that came about the same time.

Then into his recollection there comes the mowing machine. No longer need he swing the back-breaking scythe, but, like a conquering hero, ride across his fields upon a chariot and the grass is laid low. Upon its heels comes the reaper, and, more marvelous still, it is made to bind as well; and, when his crop is in, the threshing machine has given place to the separator, that, drawn to his barn by a species of locomotive, is by the same engine put in operation. And so, before his mental vision there passes in review a procession of progress, a cycle of change for the better that, as he views it in his mind's eye, takes on the character of the marvelous.

He looks beyond the stretch of close-cut lawn, beyond the orange hedge, and sees the winding road. He remembers the weekly post-boy with his mail sacks before him on the saddle; he recollects the plank road and its stage, and his trips once a week to the village post-office on the day the paper is due to arrive. Now as he sits in his easy chair the rural carrier in his uniform of gray stops at his gate and the daily paper and letters from his boys and girls, some in the city and some in other farming districts, are delivered in his mail box. He sees the interurban cars sweep by, filled with passengers, and presently another, that leaves on the platform by the roadside the empty cans in which the product of the dairy had that morning been sent by the same conveyance to the city. He sees it, and for a moment is surprised that all this has ceased to fill him with amazement, it is become so much the regular order of the day and time. His grandchildren troop in with merry shout, and cheer him with their sports, while one, with ready will, brings up the daily mail.

It has not been a transformation, though between the first and last the change has been so great. It has been but an evolution—the march of American progress; and one man in his lifetime has been a witness of it all.

But the wheels of Progress have not yet been stopped. Retrospection readily reveals a marvelous advance, and, whether, by the farmer pioneer or the city business man, the past is called up in review, the giant strides that have been taken forward and upward may well excite something akin to astonishment. But the end is not yet. The day of great things is not even at its meridian. Here, in Erie county, there have already been first steps taken toward results gigantic.

East of Erie, before the end of the second decade of this century there will have arisen a second city that may become a part of Erie, a community of the Twentieth century, the result of the development of Twentieth century science. It is not a matter or thing to be the subject of prophecy, but is already a settled fact. When the General Electric Company bought that tract of 800 acres of land, it was for the purpose of putting it to use, and already the plans for its development have been matured. The carrying out of these plans, which include extensive shops and residence districts, with streets and avenues and improvements, will require, for the industrial part of the undertaking alone, $10,000,000. The building of this manufacturing town is in the future; and yet it is history to a great extent, for the purchase of the land has been made, and the plans adopted.

Westward there is a project of even greater dimensions that contemplates the creation of a new port on the southern shore of Lake Erie. A few years since the United States Steel Corporation acquired a large tract of land at the western end of the county. Today the corporation is paying taxes on 1,600 acres in Girard township and 800 acres in Springfield township. The Girard holdings include the valley of Elk creek from the Lake Shore Railroad to the mouth of the stream. Out of this there is to be constructed a harbor. That it is possible to make of it a large harbor the work accomplished at Conneaut is proof. There is more room for a harbor in the Elk creek valley at the lake than at Conneaut. Plans have already been completed, with all the details, for the accommodation of the shipping; for the storage of ore and coal; for the railroad trackage; for mills and furnaces; and for every detail of the business, and nothing remains but to appoint the time to begin the work. That time is not far distant, according to statements that have been made by officials of the corporation—a year or two at the farthest.

Nor is it beyond the boundaries of the city alone that prophecies of progress may safely be made. The story of the industries of Erie has ever been a story of advance, and the expansion of Erie, if not swift, has been steady. Plans adopted and work already in progress bespeak remarkable enlargements and radical city improvements—grade crossings abolished, a new railroad station, new hotels, larger schools, more parks, more extensive mills and shops, and a cleaner and a healthier city.

INDEX

Academy Lands, 501.
Academy of Music, 848.
Academy Reunion, 792.
Adams, Frank F., Mayor, 637.
Adelphic Literary Society, 830.
Albion, 447, 449; Arrival of Jonathan Spaulding, 76.
Albion, Indian Mound, 14.
Almshouse, First, 113; the Present, 114.
Alpha Theatre, 850.
Alps Insurance Company, 734.
Amateur Baseball, 852.
American Hotel, 846.
Amity Township, 437.
Anchor Line Vessels, 649; 650.
Andastes Indians, 16.
Animals of the Great American Forest, 3.
Anshe Chesed Congregation, 827.
Arion Society, 831.
Art Club of Erie, 838.
Associate Judges, 376.
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 802.
Associated Charities of Erie, 774.
Asphalt Paving, 628.
Atlantic, Duluth & Pacific Line Steamers, 649.
Audubon Society, 842.
Austin, Mrs. T. M., 673.

Babbitt, Elijah, 623; His Last Trial, 380.
Babcock, J. W., 484.
Baker, B., 736.
Baldwin, Nelson, 878.
Ball & Colt, Bank, 733.
Ball Engine Company, 695.
Bank, First at Erie, 730.
Bank of Commerce, 731.
Baptists in Erie County, 173.
Baseball Clubs, 831.
Battle of Lake Erie, 137.
Battle of Manila, 393.
Battle of the Thames, 152.
Battles, R. S., 473.
Bay State Iron Works, 694.
Beaver Dam, 564.
Becker, Philip, Mayor, 637.
Becker, P. A., 736.
Belle Valley, 506.
Bell House, 846.
Bell of the Queen Charlotte, 763.
Bell Telephone Company, 741.
Bench and Bar, 374.
Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad, 304.
"Beyond the Rhine," 626.
Big Bend, 859.
Big Elephant Mound, 12.
Bigler, Prof. John F., 552.
Bird, James, and His Story, 156.
Bissell, Capt. Russell, 77.
Blancon Mill, Story of, 190.
Blast Furnace at Erie, 716.
Blila, A. W., 663.
Block House, on Wayne's Burial Place, 86.
"Blue Ruin," 691.
Board of Health, 638.
Board of Trade, Erie, 727.
Bog Iron, 8; Quarrying of, 689.
Borough, the Ancient, 556.
Boston Store, 738.
Boundary Line Dispute, 114.
Bouquet, Colonel, 47.
Bowman Academy, 790.
Boys' Club, 775.
Brady, John C., Mayor, 637.
Braddock's Defeat, 43.
Bradstreet, Colonel at Erie, 55.

Brant, Chief, Interest in the Triangle, 67.
Brewer, Eben, 876.
Brewing Industry, 701.
Brewster, Alexander W., 623.
Brewster (William) Industrial School for Girls, 773.
Brick Manufacture, 704.
Brick Paving, 629.
Brith Sholom Congregation, 828.
Brokenstraw Township, 563.
Brooklyn Fire, 536.
Brown Avenue U. P. Church, 808.
Brown, C. W., 684.
Brown's Hotel, 847.
Buehler's Hotel, 845.
Buffalo Road, 100.
Buffalo & Lake Erie Traction Company, 755.
Buildings, Old, of Erie, 615.
Building the Railroads, 294.
Burdett Organ Company, 725.
Bureau of Charities, 773.
Burgettstown, 513.
Burke Electric Company, 746.
Burrows, Judge Jerome B., 406.
Burrows, Sen. John Caesar, 405.
Burton (David) & Sons, 648.
Business Affairs of Erie, 727.
Business Men's Exchange, Erie, 729.

Caledonian Club, 840, 858.
Canal Basin, Construction of, 643.
Canal, the, Built, 234; Acquired by Private Corporation, 235; Location of, 237; Closed, 242.
Canal-bed Railroad, 304.
Candles, Manufacture of, 718.
Carnegie Steel Company, 651.
Carroll Dock, 652.
Carter Hill, 565.
Cascade Street M. E. Church, 815.
Catholic Cemetery, First, 865.
Catholic Church, Oldest in County, 498.
Catholic Orders, 844.
Catholic Parochial Schools, 800.
Catlin, Henry, 871.
Calvary Baptist Church, 817.
Cavalry Troops from Erie County, 339.
Cedar Post Campaign, 427.
Celoron Expedition, 21.
Cemeteries, Old, 864.
Cemetery, Erie, 865.
Centennial of Erie, 639.
Central Market, 685.
Central Presbyterian Church, 805.
Chamber of Commerce, Erie, 728.
Charter of Erie City, 623.
Chestnut Orchard, 590.
Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church, 806.
Christian Endeavor Convention, 829.
Christian Endeavor Union, 829.
Christian Science, 828.
Chrysanthemum Club, 840.
Churches (See chapters relating to the individual townships and cities).
Church History, 160; (see under names of denominations).
Churches of Erie, 802.
Church of Christ (Disciples), 828.
Church of the Holy Family, 825.
Church of the Redeemer, 810.
Church of the Sacred Heart, 825.
Circus Days at Girard, 471.
City Hall, Erie, 768.
City of Corry, 568.
City of Erie, (see Part III.).
City Solicitors, 387.
Civil War, Erie County, in, 324; Erie, in, 665; First Union Gun, 411.
Claims on the Triangle, 58.
Clarke, Charles S., Mayor, 637.
Claus Theatre, 851.
Clearing House, Erie, 734.
Clothing, Manufacture of at Erie, 704.
Cloughsburg, 626.
Collins, Napoleon, Naval Exploit, 343.
Colonial Theatre, 850.

Colonization by the French, Spanish and English, 19.
Colt, Judah, Arrival of, 78; Land Agent, 88.
Colt, Thomas G., 623, 624.
Colt's Station, 482.
Colt's Station Road, 102.
Coming of the Germans, 245.
Commerce, Development of, 203.
Commissioners and Clerks, County, 116.
"Company Store," 692.
Compton's Corners, 550.
Concord Township, 440.
Cone-in-Cone, 8.
Conneaut and Erie Traction Company, 759.
Conneaut Township, 443.
Conneauttee Lake, 548.
Conneauttee Township, 549.
Constitution Office Wrecked by Rippers, 289.
Contrecœur, Succeeds Legardeur, 42.
Cooper, Prof. J. A., 552.
Cornplanter's Friendship, 67.
Corry Bond Troubles, 571.
Corry, City of, 568.
Corry, Hiram, 568.
Corry, Indian Mound, 13.
Corry Water Works, 572.
Country Club, 836.
Country Clubs, 507.
County Boundaries, 114.
County Fairs, 507.
County Government Organized, 107.
County Officers, First, 110.
County Scrip, 363.
Court House, First, 111; Burning of, 111; First Public Building at Erie, 763; Second, 112; New, 764.
Court, First Held in Erie, 110.
Courts (see Bench and Bar).
Cowell, Edward J., 748.
Cranberry Day, 223.
Crandall, Frank A., 876.
Cranesville, 452.
Cross-cut Railroad, 303.
Crystal Point, 859.
Culbertson, William, 548.
Custom House, Old, 764.

Daughters of the American Revolution, 841.
Davenport, Miss Helen, 675.
Deacon Chamberlain's Story, 73.
Democratic State Convention at Erie, 428; 433.
Dentists, First, 780.
Depinet, John, Mayor, 638.
Devil's Backbone, 6.
Dickson's Hotel, 845.
Dinwiddie, Governor, and the French, 31.
Discovery of Lake Erie, 20.
Dispatch, the Daily, 874.
Dobbins, Captain and the President, 121.
Doom of the Eries, 16.
Downer Oil Co., 569.
Draft, First, in Civil War, 360; Second, 361; Third, 361.
Draketown, 550.
Drummer's Baseball Club, 853.
Duncan Tavern, 846.
Duquesne's Enterprise, 22.

Eagle Hotel, 847.
Eagle Village, 507.
Earliest Inhabitants of Erie County, 10.
Early Industries, 187.
Early Lake Navigators, 205.
Early Mail Service, 103.
Early Plagues at Erie, 607.
Eastern Baseball League, 853.
Eastminster Presbyterian Church, 806.
East Sixth Street Baptist Church, 818.
East Springfield, 526.
East Ward School, 793.
Eaton, Rev. Johnston, 459.
Edinboro, 551.
Edinboro Academy, 552.
Edison Electric Light & Power Company, 743.

Education in Erie County, 175.
Educational Evolution, 176.
Eichenlaub, V. D., 684.
Eighty-Third Regiment, 325.
Electric Lighting, 741.
Electric Railways, 748.
Elevator, Building of First, 648.
Elkcreek Township, 451.
Elks, B. P. O., 843.
Ellicott and Irvine, Surveyors, 593.
Ellsworth House, 847.
Engines, First Builders of in Erie, 693.
English Claims West of the Alleghanies, 40.
English Colonization, 19.
English Evang. Lutheran Church, 809.
Ensign Price at Le Bœuf, 51.
Episcopal Graveyard, 865.
Epizootic and Street Railways, 750.
Erhart, Stephen, 735.
Erhart, First of the Germans, 246.
Erie, Banks, 730; a Borough, 597; Erie Borough Scrip, 605; Boundaries Extended, 625; Business Affairs, 727; Business Organizations, 727; Cemetery, 865; Churches, 802; City Scrip, 630; Early Plagues, 607; Finances, 631; Fire Department, 634; Fireworks Appropriation, 631; First Borough Officers, 599; First House in, 595; First Jail, 596; First Main Sewer, 633; First Meeting City Council, 623; First Postoffice, 598; First Sewer, 610; First Water Works, 606; Grade Crossings, 638; Indian Fight at, 52; Industries, 688; in the Wars, 665; in the War of 1812, 611; Harbor, 641; Health Officers, 783; High School, 795; Hotels, 845; How Laid Out, 592; Journals and Journalists, 869; Lafayette's Visit, 612; Landmarks of Old Town, 615; Mayors, 637; Mercantile Trade, 735; Organization of City Government; 623; Parks and Resorts, 855; Paving of Streets, 627; Plan of, 591; Postoffice, 639; President Fillmore's Visit, 615; Public Buildings, 763; Public Library, 796; Public Markets, 680; Real Estate Boom of 1836, 608; Regulating the Streets, 600; Schools, 788; Social Organizations, 830; Sports, 845; Stock in Sunbury & Erie Railroad, 625; Street Lighting, 627; Suburbs, 626; Theatres, 845; Town Pump, 608; Town Clock, 609; Under Mayor Noble, 632; Under Mayor Scott, 637; Vanished Industries, 713; Visit by President Taylor, 614; Waterford's Contribution to, 558; Water Reservoir, 635.
Erie Academy, 791.
Erie Academy Lyceum, 830.
Erie Amusement Company, 849.
Erie Ball Players, Prominent, 853.
Erie Baseball Club, 853.
Erie Bethel Association, 828.
Erie Blast Furnace, 716.
Erie Car Works, 698.
Erie Centennial, 639;
Erie City Bank, 731.
Erie City Baseball Club, 831.
Erie City Iron Works, 693.
Erie City Railroad Company, 262.
Erie Club, 772, 832.
Erie College Women's Club, 842.
Erie Company, The, 745.
Erie County Bird Club, 841.
Erie County Electric Company, 744.
Erie County Lighting Company, 741.
Erie County Medical Society, 781.
Erie County Mutual Fire Insurance Company, 734.
Erie County Organized, 107.
Erie County Savings Bank, 734.

Erie Dime Savings & Loan Company, 733.
Erie Electric Motor Company, 752.
Erie Engine Works, 695.
Erie Forge, 698.
Erie Gas Company, 627.
Erie Golf Club, 834.
Erie Harbor Appropriations, 211.
Erie Harbor, Obstructions, 206; Channel Constructed, 206.
Erie Harbor Protection Begun, 208; Permanent Harbor Improvements, 210.
Erie Institute, 790.
Erie Kennel Club, 841.
Erie Liedertafel, 831.
Erie Lighthouses, 212.
Erie Malleable Iron Company, 698.
Erie Minute-men for Harrisburg, 354.
Erie Minute-men Go to Pittsburg, 355.
Erie Natural History Society, 840.
Erie Passenger Railway Company, 748.
Erie Press Club, 841.
Erie Railway, 301.
Erie Rapid Transit Street Railway Company, 757.
Erie Regiment in Civil War, 670.
Erie Soldiers of 1812, 120.
Erie Southern Railroad, 307.
Erie Transit Company, 755.
Erie Triangle, 57.
Erie Tribe of Indians, 14.
Erie Trust Company, 733.
Erie Water & Gas Company, 634.
Erie Women in War Time, 673.
Erie Yacht Club, 835.
Erie & North East Railroad, 259, 282.
Erie & Pittsburg Dock, 651.
Erie & Pittsburg Railroad, 299.
Erie & Western Transportation Company, 648.
Erie, Burning of the, 657.
Erie's Ancient Streams, 587.
Erie's War Regiments, 324.
Eries Exterminated, 17.
Evans Line Vessels, 649.
Executions for Murder, 389.
Exploration by the French, 20.

Fairs, 507.
Fairview Borough, 460.
Fairview Township, 455.
Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company, 734.
Farrar Hall, 848.
Federal Building, 766.
Federal Electric Company, 746.
Felgemaker Church Organs, 699.
Fenian Excitement at Erie, 371.
Fifteenth Regiment in Spanish War, 390.
Finnish Lutheran Church, 811.
Fire Engine, Keystone, 634.
Fire Commissioners, 638.
First Baptist Church, 816.
First Births, 94.
First Christian Church, 828.
First County Buildings, 114.
First County Officers, 110.
First Courts, 110.
First Erie County Families, 79.
First Erie School, 788.
First Death, Seth Reed, 93.
First Doctors, 779.
First Fishermen, 653.
First House in Erie, 595.
First Iron Foundry, 519.
First Jail in Erie, 596.
First Mail to Pittsburg, 104.
First Marriage, 93.
First Marriage in County, 502.
First M. E. Church, 812.
First Military Organizations at Erie, 667.
First National Bank, 731.
First Permanent Resident Attorney, 378.
First Polling Places in County, 419.
First Postoffice at Erie, 598.
First Presbyterian Church, Erie, 803.
First Public Building at Erie, 763.
First Resident Attorney, 378.
First School Superintendent, 183.

First Settlers, 90.
First Sewer, 610.
First Vessels Built for Lake Commerce, 204.
Fish Hatchery, 565; at Erie, 655;
Fishing at Erie, 653.
Fishing, Steamboat Introduced, 654.
Fist Fight Fixes Land Title, 108.
Florence Crittenton Home, 774.
Fort Ancient, 11, 12.
Fort at Wintergreen Gulf, 14.
Fort Duquesne, Building of, 42; Burned, 47.
Forbes, General, Expedition, 46.
Fort Le Bœuf, 24, 45, 51, 556; Evacuated, 48; Garrison at, 73.
Fort Niagara, Capture of, 48.
Fort Presque Isle, 45; Building of, 23; Building of American Fort, 77; Captured by Indians, 53; Description of, 28; Ensign Christie at, 52; Evacuated, 48.
Fort Stanwix Treaty, 61.
Fort Venango, 26.
Forster's Mills, 455.
Fossils, 8.
Franklin Canal Railroad, 260.
Franklin Literary Association, 830.
Franklin Township, 463.
Freemasonry, 842.
Freeport, 513.
Free School Act Accepted, 181.
French and Iroquois, 20.
French Claim of Title, 21.
French Claims to the West, 41.
French, Fall of Their Power, 40.
French Graveyard, 865.
French in Erie County, The, 19.
French Road, Old, 25, 98.
French Route, 556.
French Routes, 15.
Fuller School for Young Ladies, 790.
Furnaces, Iron at Erie, 689.
Furniture Business at Union City, 538.

Galbraith-Benson Campaign, 429.
Galbraiths, Father and Son, 381.
Gara, Mrs. I. B., 674.
Gara, Isaac B., 872.
Gas Tax, 627.
Gazette, The, 871.
General Electric Company, 703.
General Training Days, 666.
Geology of Erie County, 8.
German Baptist Church, 817.
German Evang. Trinity Church, 811.
Germans in Erie County, 245.
German Free School, 249.
German Free School Association, 794.
German Insurance Company, 734.
German Savings Institution, 734.
German Societies, 252.
Germer, Dr. E. W., 85, 254.
Germer Stove Company, 695.
Gibbons, James, 411.
Gibsonville, 513.
Gill-net Fishing Begun, 653.
Girard Borough, 468.
Girard Township, 466.
Glacial Remains, 9.
Glenwood Park, 863.
Gore, The, 115, 501.
Grace Lutheran Church, 810.
Grade Crossings, Abolition of, 638.
Graded Schools Introduced, 184.
Graham, Jake, 857.
Grand Army of the Republic, 843.
Grant and Lewis Defeated, 46.
Grant Presidential Campaigns, 424.
Grape Belt, The, 412.
Great Serpent Mound, 12.
Greeley, Family and Horace, 566.
Greeley, Horace, 400.
Greene Township, 477.
Greenfield Road, First, 99.
Greenfield Township, 481.
Gridley, Capt. C. V., 394; Burial of, 395.
Griffith, William, 413.
Griswold Manufacturing Company, 696.
Grove House Park, 863.
Grubb, Capt. John, 74.

Half-King's Rebuff, 25.
Hammermill Paper Company, 702.
Hammond, John W., Mayor, 637.
Hamot Hospital, 770.
Hanna (M. A.) & Company, 651.
Happy Valley Industries, 196.
Harbor at Erie (see Erie Harbor).
Harborcreek and the Railroad War, 282.
Harborcreek Township, 486.
Harbor of Erie, 641; Principal Trade of, 652.
Hardwick, William, Mayor, 638.
Hare, Michael, 559.
Harrisburg and Presque Isle Company, 69.
Harrisburg & Presque Isle Land Company, 455.
Harry G. Barnhurst, The, 860.
Harvest Home, 858.
Hays Manufacturing Company, 700.
Head, The, 856.
Hebrew Cemetery, 868.
Herald, The, 878.
Heroine of 1812, 129.
High School, Erie, 795.
High Schools, Township, 185.
Hoffman's Grove, 753.
Holland Land Company, 69.
Holley, Samuel E., 878.
Holy Trinity Catholic Church, 825.
Home for Aged Women, 772.
Home for the Friendless, Erie, 771.
Home Guards Build a Fort, 358.
Home Guard in Civil War, 353.
Home Heating Company, 745.
Home-made Uniforms for Soldiers, 673.
Homeopathic Doctors, First, 780.
Homeopathic Medical Society, 782.
Horticultural Society, 840.
Hospitals, Erie, 769.
Hotels, Erie, 845.
Howard's Falls, 7.
Howard's Stone Quarry, 7, 465.
Humboldt's Safe Deposit & Trust Company, 734.
Hunter, Capt. James, 857.
Hunter, Captain, Story of a Plot, 345.
Huron, Nation, 16.

Ichabod Run, 589.
Indian Clanship, 16.
Indian Corn, 12.
Indian Fight at Erie, 52.
Indian Marriage Law, 16.
Indian Mound at Albion, 14.
Indian Mound at Corry, 13.
Indian Mound in Wayne, 13.
Indian Population, 15.
Indian Trails, 2.
Indian Tribes of Erie County, 14.
Industries, Early, 187.
Industries of Erie, 688.
Industries Vanished, 713.
Ingersoll, Louisa and Calista, 790.
Irish, O. H., 409.
Iron Foundry, First in County, 519.
Iron Ore, Beginning of Trade in, 648.
Iron Works, First, 689.
Iroquois Indians, 15, 16.
Irvine and Ellicott, Commissioners, 74.
Irving Literary Institute, 830.

Jarecki, Herman T., 736.
Jarecki Manufacturing Company, 697.
Jericho, 626.
Jerusalem, 626.
Jerusalem Council, 842.
Jesuit Missionaries, 20.
Johnson, Sir William, 48.
Joncaire's Services, 27.
Jones, D. T., Mayor, 637.
Jones, Henry S., Erie School Superintendent, 794.
Journals and Journalists, Erie, 869.
Judges, President, of Erie District, 375.

Kahkwa Club, 833.
Kahkwa Indians, 14.
Kate White, The, 860.
Kearsarge, 506.

Keepville, 446.
Kellar, Harry, Magician, 407.
Kelsey, Sidney, 874.
Keystone Baseball Club, 852.
Keystone National Bank, 732.
Kimberly Hotel, 847.
Kingsley M. E. Church, 815.
Kingtown, 627.
Kinney, W. D., 878.
Knights of Pythias, 843.
Knoll's Band, 839.
Knox, Robert, 598.

Ladies' Aid Society in Civil War, 674.
Lafayette, Gen., Visits Erie, 612.
Lafferty, James, 662.
Laird House, 846.
Lake Commerce, 204.
Lake Erie, Discovery of, 20.
Lake Pleasant Road, 102.
Lake Road, 100.
Lake Shore Seminary, 517.
Lakes of Erie County, 6.
Lakeside Cemetery, 868.
Landmarks of Old Erie, 615.
Land Title, Disputed, 511.
Land Title, Settled by Fist Fight, 108.
Law and Lawyers, 374.
Lawyers, First, 374.
Lawyer, First Resident, 378.
Lawsuit, Famous, 388.
Le Bœuf (see also Fort Le Bœuf).
Le Bœuf Township, 491.
Lee's Run, 588.
Lee's Surrender Celebrated, 366.
Legardeur St. Pierre, 25, 34; Reply to Gov. Dinwiddie, 39.
Lexington, 446.
Liebel House, 847.
Liebel, Michael, Jr., Mayor, 638.
Lighthouses at Erie, 212.
Lincoln, Campaign of 1861, 422.
Lincoln, President, Call for Soldiers, 670.
Loesch Omnibus Line, 749.
Log Cabin Campaign, 420.
Lone Fisherman's Inn, 861.
Louis Phillipe of France in Erie County, 74.
Lovell Manufacturing Company, 702.
Lower Greenfield Township, 511.
Lowville, 544.
L. S. & M. S. Railroad, 265.
Luther Memorial Church, 809.
Lutheran Home for the Aged, 777.
Lutherans in Erie County, 169.
Lutje, W. F., 24.
"Lying Block," 598.
Lynn, B. F. H., 874.

Macadam Roads, 105.
Mail Service, Early, 103.
Maize, The Origin of, 12.
Majestic Theatre, 850.
Malting Manufacture, 701.
Manchester, 457.
Mansion House, 846.
Manufacturing (See in chapters relating to individual townships and cities).
Marine Hospital, 764; in Politics, 425; on the Peninsula, 229.
Marine National Bank, 732.
Marin's Expedition, 23.
Markets, Public, 680.
Martin, Artemas, 409.
Marvin, Selden, Mayor, 637.
Masonry, 842.
Massassauga Hotel Burned, 858.
Massassauga Point, 857.
McBride, Jerome, 663.
McCarter, Joseph, Mayor, 637.
McKean Township, 496.
McLallen's Corners, 550.
McLane, Capt. John W., 671.
McLane Village, 550.
Mead, John J., 877.
Medical Examiners, 783.
Medical Profession, 779.
Medicine and Politics, 782.
Mehl's Band, 839.
Merchants and Manufacturers Company, 745.
Methodism, Beginning of in Erie County, 525.

Methodist Church History, 165.
Michigan, Building of the, 611.
Middleboro, 498.
Middlebrook Church, 543.
Miles, James, 467.
Miles, William, 532.
Millcreek Township, 500.
Milling Business at Erie, 700.
Mills, Early, 188.
Millvillage, 494.
Ministerial Association of Erie, 829.
Minnig, Peter, 736.
Minute-Men and Conscripts in Civil War, 352.
Missimer, Henry C., School Superintendent, 795.
Mizener, Frank A., Mayor, 637.
Moravian Good Luck Grant, 493.
Moravian Hospitality Tract, 522.
Moravian Land Grant, 70.
Morton House, 847.
Monument at State Line, 62.
Mound Builders, 10, 13.
Mosblech, Dr. P. W., 783.
Mt. Olivet Commandery, 842.
"Muddy Dock," 648.
Muehler's Battery, 338.
Mulberry Orchard, 719.
Mutual Baseball Club, 852.
Mutual Telephone Company, 741.

Nagle Industries, 694.
National Foundry Company, 696.
National Game, The, 852.
National Guard, Erie Companies, 396.
Natural Features, 6, 7.
Naval Band, 840.
Naval Recruits for the Civil War, 341.
Neutral Nation, 16.
New Furnace, at Erie, 690.
Newspapers (see in chapters relating to individual townships and cities).
New York and Pennsylvania League, 854.
Nicholson Pavement, 628.
Nickel Plate Railroad, 303.
Noble, Orange, 632.
No-Man's Land, the Triangle, 58.
Normal School at Edinboro, 552.
North American Forest, 3.
North East Borough, 513.
North East and Grape Culture, 416.
North East Township, 510.
North Girard, 474.
North Park Row, Paving, 628.
North Presbyterian Church, 804.
Notable People, 400.

Oath of Loyalty by City Council, 631.
Odd Fellows Organizations, 843.
Ohio Company, The, 21.
Ohio and Pennsylvania League, 854.
Oil Barrels, Manufacture of, 724.
Oil Cloth Industry, 713.
Oil Creek Railroad, 302.
Oil Refining at Erie, 721.
Old Furnace at Erie, 690.
Old Yellow Meeting House School, 789.
Olds, Lewis, Recollections, 96.
One Hundred and Eleventh Regiment, 330.
One Hundred and Forty-Fifth Regiment, 334.
Organization of County, 107.
Original Site of Erie, 585.
Ottawa Indians and Pontiac, 50.
Overland Freight Route, 688.

Pageville, 452.
Parade Street Market, 686.
Park Hall, 848.
Park House, 846.
Park Market House, 682.
Park Opera House, 849.
Park Presbyterian Church, 805.
Park Spirit, Real, 863.
Park View Hotel, 847.
Parks and Resorts, 855.
Pean, and His Wife, 22.
Peninsula, The, Description of, 214; Transferred to U. S. Government, 228, 231.

Pennsylvania Petroleum Railroad, 307.
Pennsylvania Population Company, 65, 68.
People's Bank of Erie, 734.
People's Market, 686.
Perry, Commodore, Arrives at Erie, 124; Battle Flag, 135; Dispatch, 147; Fleet Afloat, 126; Fleet Built, 122; Losses, 148; Prize Money, 153; War Ships, Fate of, 154.
Perry Iron Company, 703.
Perry Masonic Lodge, 842.
Pest House, Erie, 769.
"Pewterinktum," 692.
Phelps, F. S., 877.
Philadelphia & Erie Railroad, 295.
Philadelphia Road, 99.
Philharmonia Band, 840.
Philippines, An Erie Officer in, 393.
Phillips, Gen. John, 544.
Phillipsville, 544.
Philo Parsons, The, Privateer, 349.
Pig Iron to Pittsburg, 689.
Pioneer Conditions, 95.
Pioneers, 90; Coming of, 72.
Pitt, William, Premier, 44.
Pittsburg Pirates, 854.
Plank Roads, 102; Erie Subscribes Stock in, 623.
Pleasure Steamboating Days, 860.
Political Meeting in Erie, Greatest, 421.
Political Record, 419.
Pontiac's Conspiracy, 49.
Population Road, 99.
Postal Service, Country, 116.
Postoffice, Erie, 639, 767.
Poultry and Pet Stock Association, 841.
Presbyterian Graveyard, 865.
Presbyterianism in the County, 161.
President Judges of Erie District, 375.
President Taylor Visits Erie, 614.
Presque Isle (see also Fort Presque Isle), 28; Fort, 23; Relics Found, 24.
Presque Isle Academy, 789.
Presque Isle Hotel, 845.
Presque Isle Lodge of Perfection, 842.
Press of Erie, The, 869.
Prosecuting (District) Attorneys, 387.
Public Buildings of Erie, 763.
Public Dock, 646.
Public Education, 177.
Public Library, Erie, 796.
Public School System, Adopted at Erie, 793.
Public Steamboat Landing, 652.
Public Wharf, 642.
Pumping Station of Erie, 635.
Putnam, Israel, at Erie, 55.

Quarrying, 8.

Race Track, at Erie, 851.
Railroad Bridge Pulled Down, 276.
Railroads, Building of, 294.
Railroad Consolidation Begun, 261; Opposed, 271.
Railroads, The, 258.
Railroad Trouble Adjusted, 290.
Railroad War, The, 267.
Rawle, Henry, Mayor, 637.
Real Estate Boom of 1836, 608.
Rebel Plot to Capture the Michigan, 344.
Red Bank, 855.
Red Man's Highways, 2.
Reed, C. M., Mayor, 637.
Reed Family, Arrival in Erie Co., 74.
Reed House, 846.
Reed, Miss Sarah, 678.
Reed, Seth, 74.
Reed Steamboats, 646.
Reed's Dock, 643.
Reed's Stage Line, 104.
Reed's Steam Mill, 195.
Rees, Thomas, 74.
Rees, Thomas, Makes Survey, 67.

Rees's Road, 98.
Regiments in Civil War, 325, foll.
Reis Theatre Circuit, 849.
Religious Beginnings in County, 160.
Reparti, Captain, 34.
Reservations and Grants of Land, 70.
Retail Merchants Association, 730.
Revolutionary Soldiers, at Erie, 666.
Rice, Dan, 470.
Ridge Road, 100.
Rindernecht, Mrs. W. F., 677.
Rippers and Shanghais, 279.
Roads, Laying Out of, 97.
Rocks of Erie County, 8.
Roman Catholic Church in Erie County, 171.
Rural Free Delivery, 639.
Rural Mail Routes, 116.
Rutledge, Ralph, Killed by Indians, 76.

St. Andrew's Catholic Church, 823.
St. Ann's Catholic Church, 825.
St. Benedict's Academy, 799.
St. Boniface Village, 479.
St. James A. M. E. Church, 815.
St. John's Catholic Church, 823.
St. John's Evang. Lutheran Church, 808.
St. Joseph's Catholic Church, 823.
St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, 777.
St. Luke's Evang. Lutheran Church, 812.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church, 819.
St. Mary's Catholic Church, 822.
St. Mary's College, 517.
St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, 810.
St. Michael's Catholic Church, 824.
St. Patrick's Pro-Cathedral, 821.
St. Patrick's Roman Cath. Church, 821.
St. Paul's Catholic Church, 824.
St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 818.
St. Paul's Evang. Lutheran Church, 811.
St. Peter's Cathedral, 822.
St. Stanislaus Catholic Church, 824.
St. Stephen's Lutheran Church, 810.
St. Vincent's Hospital, 769.
Sale of Water Lots in Erie, 604.
Salem Church, 826.
Saltsman, Robert J., Mayor, 637.
Sanford Library Project, 797.
Sanford Presbyterian Church, 807.
Sarah Hearn Memorial Presbyterian Church, 829.
Scene of the Story, 1.
School District of the City of Erie, 794.
School, Jane Wilson's, 789.
Schoolhouse, First in County, 516.
Schools, Earliest of the County, 179.
Schools (See in chapters relating to individual townships and cities).
Schools of the County, 175.
Schools of Erie, 788.
Schwingel Tragedy, 509.
Scott Republican Campaign, 430.
Scott, Walter, Mayor, 637.
Scott, William L., as Mayor, 637.
Scott (W. L.) & Co., 651.
Scott, W. L., His Farms in Millcreek, 504.
Scott's Music Hall, 851.
Seal of Harborcreek, 284.
Second Baptist Church, 817.
Second National Bank, 732.
Second Ward Market, 686.
Security Savings & Trust Company, 733.
Seminary, First, 790.
Settlement Acts, 68.
Settlement of Erie County, 65, 88.
Settlers, First, 72.
Seven Years' War, 40.
Sewers, First of Erie, 633.
Shenango Railroad, 304.
Shenk (Henry) Company, 699.
Ship Building at Erie, 704.
Shriners' Club, 835.
Sibley Campaign, 432.
Silk Manufacture, 719.
Simpson M. E. Church, 813.
Sixteenth Regiment, 399.

Sixth Judicial District, Its Changes, 375.
Skinner Engine Company, 694.
Slavery in Erie County, 308.
Soap Manufacture, 718.
Social Organizations, Erie, 830.
Soils of Erie County, 7.
Soldiers' Bounties, 362.
Soldiers of 1812 from Venango, 542.
Soldiers' Monument in Erie, 369.
Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, 765.
Sommerheim Association, 862.
Sommerheim Club, 840.
South Erie, 629.
South Erie Improvement Association, 730.
South Erie Iron Works, 696.
South Shore Wine Company, 414.
Soznoski, Madame, 790.
Spanish-American War, 390.
Spanish Colonization, 19.
Spaulding, Jonathan, 76.
Springfield Academies, 524.
Springfield Township, 522.
Sports, 845.
Stage Line, Reed's, 104.
Stanwix, General, 47.
Starch Manufacture, 725.
State Line Monument, 62.
State Line, The Old, 61.
State Street Improvement Begun, 601.
State Street Paving, 628.
Steamer Lena Knobloch, 860.
Steamer Massassauga, 860.
Sterrett, Joseph M., 871.
Sterrettania, 497.
Streams of Erie County, 6.
Street Market, 680.
Strong, Martin, Arrival of, 75; His Pioneer Experience, 94.
Sturgeon Fishing, 655.
Sturgeonville, 461.
Suburban Trolley Lines, 755.
Summit Township, 528.
Sunbury & Erie Railroad, 268, 625.
Superintendent, First School, 183.
Superintendent of Streets, 638.
Surrender of British to Perry, 150.
Surveying of Triangle, 67.
Surveyors' Starting Point in Erie, 594.
Swan's Tavern, 456.
Swedenborgian Church, 827.
Swedish Baptist Church, 817.
Swedish Lutheran Bethany Church, 811.

Tamarack Swamp, 8.
Tanning Industry at Erie, 703.
Tarbell, Ida M., 403.
Telephone, Beginnings of, 739.
Telephone Exchange, Invention of, 740.
Tenth Street M. E. Church, 814.
The Ancient Borough, 556.
"The Sleepy Borough," 598.
Theatres, Erie, 845.
Thompson, Denman, 408.
Thompson, Judge James, 381.
Times, The, 877.
Tinkcom, Douglas, 683.
Tobacco Indians, 16.
Topography of Erie County, 5.
Tourgee, Judge Albion W., 406.
Town Pump of Erie, 608; Town Clock, 609.
Township High Schools, 185.
Townships and Boroughs, 437.
Townships, Original, 109.
Tracy University, 793.
Trask, Prescott & Richardson Company, 738.
Trees of Erie County, 4.
Triangle, The, 57; Claims to, 58; Purchase of, 60.
Trinity Cemetery, 867.
Trinity Memorial Episcopal Church, 820.
True American, The, 871.
Truesdell, Albert, 581.
Turf, The, 851.
Tuscaroras, 16.
Tyrian Masonic Lodge, 842.

Underground Railroad, 311.
Undine Boat Club, 831.

Union City, 535.
Union Club, 834.
Union Iron Works, 695.
Union Mills Borough, 534.
Union Musical Association, 838.
Union Township, 531.
Union Telephone & Telegraph Company, 741.
Union & Titusville Railroad, 302.
United Presbyterian Church, 803.
United Presbyterian Graveyard, 865.
United States Bank, 730.
United States Hotel, 846.
United States Horse Shoe Company, 702.
U. S. Marshal Arrested in Railroad War, 286.
U. S. Steamer Michigan, 341.
Unitarian Church, 826.
Universalist Church, 826.

Venango Township, 541.
Vessels Owned at Erie, 652.
Villa Maria Academy, 799.

Wager of Battle, 108.
Wagner & Reis, 849.
Waldameer, 754.
Wales, 478.
Walther, Jacob F., 735.
War Debt Paid, 362.
War of 1812, 117, 128.
War of the Rebellion, 324.
War History of Erie, 665.
Warner Brothers, 735.
Warrentown, 506.
Water Commissioners, First, 635.
Water Lots and Harbor, 641.
Water Lots, Voted to Sunbury & Erie Railroad, 625.
Water Works, Erie, 635; First at Erie, 606.
Waterford Academy, 558.
Waterford Borough, 562.
Waterford's Contribution to Erie, 558.
Waterford Harbor, 557.
Waterford Township, 556.
Waterford Turnpike, 100.
Waterford, Washington at, 33.
Washington, George, His Mission to Erie County, 30.
Washington Township, 547.
Washington at Waterford, 33, 559.
Washington's Defeat, 43.
Washington's Expedition Against Fort Duquesne, 42.
Washington's Journal, 32.
Watson Dock, 651.
Watson Paper Mills, 702.
Wattsburg, 545.
Wattsburg Road, 102.
Wayne, Death of Gen. Anthony, 81; Removal of His Body, 84; Discovery of His Grave, 85.
Wayne Guards, 667.
Wayne Hall, 850.
Wayne Street M. E. Church, 814.
Wayne Township, 563.
Wayne Township, Indian Mound, 13.
Weeks, Seth, 565.
Weigeltown, 506.
Weiss Library, 505.
Wellsburg, 452.
Wesleyville, 487.
Western Fish Hatchery, 565.
West Springfield, 526.
West Ward School, 793.
Whallon Dock, 649.
Whitman, Benjamin, 877.
Whittier Literary Association, 831.
Willard, James R., 876.
Wintergreen Gulf, 6, 14.
Woman's Club of Erie, 836.
Women of Erie in War Time, 673.
Wonderland, 851.
Woolen Industry, 717.
Works of Mound Builders, 11.

Yankeetown, 506.
Y. M. C. A., 775.
Y. W. C. A., 775.
Zem-Zem Temple, Mystic Shrine, 843.
Zimmerman's Band, 839.
Zimmerly House, 847.
Zion's Lutheran Church, 810.

SEP 2 1 1931